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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1976

GUESTS:

SENATOR RICHARD SCHWEIKER (R. Pa.)
Ronald Reagan's choice for Vice Presidential
Running Mate

SENATOR HOWARD BAKER (R. Tenn) Republican
Convention Keynoter

SENATOR ROBERT DOLE (R. Kans.)
Temporary Convention Chairman

Senator Robert Griffin (R. Mich.) President Ford's
Floor Manager

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Roger Peterson - ABC News Correspondent.

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This is a rush transcript for
the press. Any questions re-
garding accuracy should be re-
ferred to ISSUES AND ANSWERS

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MR. CLARK: Senator, as you know, there has been a good deal of talk about dumping you if Ronald Reagan should get the nomination, and picking someone else for Vice President. Do you feel totally secure? Have you gotten any recent assurances from Reagan that he will not yield to any such pressure?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I do feel totally secure, because when Governor Reagan and I first talked about it, he made it very plainly clear that this was a selection that would go all the way through to a winning victory in November. In addition, both Senator Laxalt and John Sears have also made it abundantly clear, and they said without any question the decision stands, and I feel very confident it does. In fact I trust Governor Reagan. I think it is interesting, Governor Reagan trusts me. We also trust the delegates by telling them ahead of time who our Vice Presidential choice is, and the big question is why won't the Ford people trust their delegates?

I think the delegates deserve to know who is going to run with Jerry Ford, instead of handing out a laundry list of 19 names. I think he owes it to the delegates to tell who it is.

MR. CLARK: Senator, this controversy over your nomination has all stirred up in the last two or three weeks, well after you were named by Governor Reagan. My question is, have you discussed it with him recently? Have you gotten any fresh assurances from him that you will stay on the ticket?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, I didn't get any fresh assurances recently from him personally because I didn't think it was necessary. But I have a firm reassurance from Senator Laxalt, who volunteered it on his own, and from John Sears. That is good enough for me. And I am confident it is just where it is. I think it is just one of these fabrications that come up in a convention. I suspect the Ford people had a little bit to do with it. And we are proud of our ticket; it is a winning ticket. In fact, I would say Reagan-Schweiker could beat Jimmy Carter, and frankly Ford-What's-his-name can't.

MR. PETERSON: Are you saying, Senator, then to those delegates who are here and may have been hearing talk from Reagan supporters, "Look, let's go ahead and get the Governor in and then we can take care of this other problem;" that there is no way that can happen?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: That is exactly what I am saying.

MR. PETERSON: So they should ignore any entreaties from the Reagan camp to vote for Reagan and then worry about Schweiker later?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, there are not any of those going on from the Reagan camp and I think it is just the other side is stirring up fabrications because they are making do with the fact that they don't have their own team; they don't have their own second choice and they are still dangling to 19 people the opportunity that only one can have and in lieu of that they are trying to shoot our team down.

MR. CLARK: Senator, one option that is being suggested by conservatives is to have an open ballot for the vice presidential nomination with the choice thrown to the convention. Would that be one way to resolve the controversy that is swirling around you?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I don't think that makes very much sense, Bob, for this reason: How can you elect two people who couldn't work together, who wouldn't be compatible? You would have a twin-headed monster. Nobody could predict what the outcome of something like that would be. You may well end up with two people running in totally different directions. So I don't think it makes sense.

I do think it makes sense to tell ahead of time what kind of a team you are going to have, what their formula for victory is, and what kind of strategy they have in November and that is exactly what the delegates deserve to know; who Ford's choice for vice president is.

MR. CLARK: And do you accept the rather overwhelming evidence from a number of surveys that have been made of delegates that the convention appears to be strongly against your nomination?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, I certainly don't, Bob. I think this really is not the case. Actually, none of the major surveys show that the Ford people have made it over the top yet and only last week Roger Morton, in essence, said that nobody has it locked up; that they are going to Kansas City without any person having a lock on it. When their own campaign manager says it isn't locked up, it isn't locked up. We are going to have a rules fight; we are going to have some platform fights.

I was at the '52 convention. Everybody went in there saying it was all sewed up for Taft; he was 100 votes ahead.

Very similar to what some people are claiming now. They had one fight; that did it; it was kaput and the other side won.

I think it is very similar to that kind of situation. It is a very delicate --

MR. CLARK: Senator, I was referring to surveys of vice presidential preferences among the delegates. There have been a number showing that the convention appears to be strongly against you. Do you accept that?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, I don't accept that. As a matter of fact, it depends a little bit on what survey you are talking about. The Gallup poll made a survey which showed Governor Reagan's position in terms of his relative standing has slightly improved --

MR. CLARK: That is a survey of the national voters. I am talking about the surveys of delegates here at the convention.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: As I recall, nobody has more than 10 or 15 percent, Bob. How can you say that is an overwhelming choice?

MR. CLARK: The Washington Post, for instance, had a survey which showed that you ^{had} only about two and a half percent of the delegates that favored you.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: As I say, nobody had more than 15.

MR. CLARK: I believe it showed Reagan himself comes out strongest as a vice presidential preference in the convention as a whole. John Connally is something like 17 percent. Baker runs up there. You ran ninth, as I recall, in the Washington Post survey.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, let me say this. It is interesting. I have been a Vice Presidential candidate for two and a half weeks. Walter Mondale was a Presidential candidate for something like three or four months, and in two and a half weeks I had more points than Walter Mondale had. So I don't think a survey at this early stage is very indicative. Nobody had a majority in that survey. You are quite right that Governor Reagan was in the lead, no question about it. But I think Governor Reagan has made it very clear that he isn't going to be a Vice Presidential candidate; he is going to be on the Presidential ticket, and I think that is the answer. And after you leave Governor Reagan it is a very mixed bag.

MR. PETERSON: How many votes do you think your candidacy has brought to the Reagan camp?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think you can look at the Pennsylvania delegation as a good case in point. I can't speak for some of the other delegations, but I think you will see a similar analogy in the Northeast. For example, in Pennsylvania before I was nominated as his Vice Presidential runningmate, Reagan people had five votes. The week after I got into the race we picked up another five, that's ten. Our hard-core count is now that we have 23 votes in Pennsylvania. That is a big switch, when the Ford people said originally there were only five or six votes for Reagan in the whole delegation. We are up to 23. There is still a possibility we may get four or five more, although that is just potential. So we have gone from 5 to 23, and I think you will find --

MR. PETERSON: Why do you find that so impressive in your home state?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, because the Ford people said that they had it all locked up, everybody was in concrete and picking Dick Schweiker in Pennsylvania wouldn't make any difference.

So all I am saying, I think that going a reversal of 20 votes when you are that close, it was 20 votes on one side versus 20 on the other, is really a 40-vote split.

MR. PETERSON: How many in total do you think you have added to the ticket?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I don't think we will actually know until the balloting begins, but I do think we have added substantially in the Northeast. I think you will see a similar pattern in New York.

MR. PETERSON: Do you have any figures, sir?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes. In New York there are some 20 Reagan delegates that they have figured on. In Essence we figure we have a chance of getting 35 to 40, so here is a potential pickup of another 20 there.

In New Jersey we have another pickup possibility there.

So if you talk about 20-some in Pennsylvania, another 20 in New York and another 10 or so in New Jersey, that is enough to make the difference.

MR. CLARK: Senator, you say there is a hard-core count of 23 Reagan-Schweiker votes in Pennsylvania. There are a lot of conflicting headcounts out here, and as you know, I am sure, the Ford headcount for Pennsylvania shows only 9 -- shows 10 Reagan-Schweiker votes and 9 uncommitted.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: But how many Ford votes do they show, Bob?

MR. CLARK: They show the remainder of the delegation.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, they don't. They have only been claiming 84 to 86. They show the rest undecided, and this is the point.

MR. CLARK: No, they show 9 undecided, 10 Reagan-Schweiker, and the rest Ford.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, they show only --

MR. CLARK: That was yesterday.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yesterday the Ford chairman said they had 86 votes. Now, let's go back to the arithmetic. They started out saying they had 96 votes, then they dropped down to 90. Now they are saying they have 86 votes, and most surveys are saying they have 80 votes.

MR. CLARK: This appears to be you are counting all the uncommitted on your side. Can you give us any names or any specifics to back up that --

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: We are going to have some within the next few days who are coming out to verify exactly what we said. But the important thing is they started saying there was 95, then they dropped to 90. Now by their own count it is 85. By most everybody else's count it is 80. So something has been slipping, somebody is going soft, and it is coming to our side.

Now, there is no other candidate in Pennsylvania --

MR. CLARK: How about some other states? You said the South would hold for Reagan despite your candidacy, the South would hold. Is the South holding?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think we had basically a situation where first some shock set in, no question about it, but I think Mississippi obviously is a critical area, but the Ford people started saying before I even became a candidate that Ford was going to take away Mississippi. Ford hasn't taken away Mississippi in four weeks. Every week they come out with another story about how Ford is going to take Mississippi. He hasn't taken Mississippi yet, and I predict when they caucus today or tomorrow they still won't take Mississippi. So all the propaganda, they haven't taken Mississippi, yet.

MR. PETERSON: Do you think when you went down to Mississippi, you and the Governor went down there, that you convinced them? I think you used the phrase at one point, you "didn't have horns"?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think all I tried to do with Mississippi was to show my total picture as a candidate. I think immediately people had picked up certain labels and certain stereotypes, and my purpose in going to Mississippi was to show a balanced picture. But it also was to show why we could win. We also said down there it is the first time in history the Republican Party has tried to build coalition of its conservative-moderate wing. We also said that you have a ticket led by Governor Reagan that can carry the first largest state electorally votewise, and a ticket that can carry the third largest state electorally votewise, which I have done, and a base in the South, and we say that is stronger than Ford's ticket. Ford has never even run statewide in the State of Michigan.

MR. PETERSON: Some of the reaction of some of your old friends in Pennsylvania, do you think you could really run that strong now, running with Governor Reagan?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, let me say this:

MR. PETERSON: You ran very strong in your Senate races, but this is a different ballgame.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Every election I have gone into people never thought I would win. I upset the organization the first time for Congress. 10 to 1 odds I/they said I couldn't win. couldn't beat Senator Joe Clark from Pennsylvania, two-term senator and mayor. They said that Pete Flaherty, the mayor of Pittsburgh, would beat me. Each time I put a winning coalition together and I think Governor Reagan and I have that; we have the coalition for human life; we have the sportsmen; we have the various ethnic groups. We believe we can bring the blue collar groups in because of the themes we are going to espouse and this is what we told the people in Mississippi.

I want to make one other point too, and that is that Governor Reagan has an exceedingly able ability to debate and we have already made it clear we are going to debate the Carter-Mondale ticket.

Ford hasn't said whether he will debate or not and the whole thing could hinge on whether or not you are going to pin Jimmy Carter to the wall in television debate. He has said he is going to debate. Governor Reagan has said he is going to debate. Ford won't debate. The only possible way we can beat Carter is a TV debate and I put my chips on Governor Reagan being able to best Jimmy Carter in debate and that is exactly what we are telling the people of Mississippi in this convention. It gets back to Reagan-Schweiker can win.

(Announcements)

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MR. CLARK: Senator, when Governor Reagan picked you as his runningmate he said that something had to be done to bridge the gap between the conservative and liberal wings of the party, and reach out to independence if Republicans were going to win in November. Now, you have been challenging repeatedly, and other Reagan forces have repeatedly challenged the President to name his runningmate. Are you saying that he has to name a liberal, too, if the party is going to win in November?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: All we are saying basically, Bob, is that we would like to see the package ahead of time. We would like to know his strategy. He has come up with 19 names. I honestly don't know what this strategy is going to be.

MR. CLARK: Senator, you have announced your strategy.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes.

MR. CLARK: And you have said very strongly that you feel there has to be a bridge between the liberals and the conservatives; that is why you were picked.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Right.

MR. CLARK: Why aren't you telling the President to pick a liberal?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, for this reason, Bob: I think one of the reasons that President Ford is 33 points behind Jimmy Carter, even though he is an incumbent President, and one of the other reasons that he hasn't sewn up the nomination -- and here, unprecedented -- here is the convention, a day or two ahead of time he still hasn't locked it up, is he has never been clearly identified with any wing of the party, and that is the appeal that our ticket has. Governor Reagan has been identified with the conservative wing, I have been identified with the moderate wing. I think the reason Jerry Ford has problems in beating Carter is he doesn't have that identification. So I can't tell you who he should pick; I really don't know who he should pick. But I wish he would tell the delegates so we all can figure out how they expect to win. I don't think they are going to be able to win.

MR. PETERSON: Senator, would you call the President a liberal or a moderate?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I don't know that you can put any tag on him, and that is the point. I think that is why he doesn't do well in the polls; that is why he won't do well in this election. He has no clearly definable identification with a set philosophic base, and that is where the appeal is lacking. That is why the incumbency hasn't meant anything to him, and that is the whole point we are trying to get across.



MR. PETERSON: This Vice Presidential ploy, you are doing this through the Rules Committee, amendment to Rule 16, which would require the President to name his man, or the Presidential candidates name their man by Wednesday morning, in effect. What chance does that have of getting out of the Rules Committee today -- they are going to be voting on it -- what chance does it have on the floor on Tuesday?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, it is a very close vote in the Rules Committee. I frankly wouldn't want to predict because I think a few votes either way will determine it. But that doesn't make any difference, because we do intend to take it to the floor, and it will be a floor issue on Tuesday. And I really believe the delegates will want to know where this laundry list of 19 candidates, who their Vice Presidential --

MR. PETERSON: Do you think the vote on the floor on Tuesday is going to be a strong indication, or the indication of just where the Reagan-Ford split is?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I certainly think that will be one of the key tests, yes. There well may be one or two others in the platform or other rules, but yes, the answer is that will be a key task.

MR. CLARK: Senator, Governor Reagan surprised some people yesterday by saying he is extremely pleased with the platform drafted this week. Are you all that pleased with the platform, even though it has a rather strong conservative taint to it?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: In general I am, Bob. I went back to the wire that Governor Reagan had sent out to all the platform delegates, and in going over the list of all the things that he had asked to be included, virtually every point that he made in his wire to the platform delegates was in fact included. Now, there has been quite a process between what was originally drafted and what the input has been, and I think there has been a lot of success --

MR. CLARK: Senator, thinking back to your record in the Senate, the platform contains planks opposing two major programs you have supported and co-sponsored in the Senate: The Full Employment Bill and compulsory national health insurance. Now, you have said you would support the platform. Does that mean that you are going to abandon your support of these two programs?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, let's take national health insurance. First of all, the issue is dead for this session of Congress. Everybody knows there is no bill coming out. Also, everybody knows that with our financial problems nobody could put that kind of a burden on either the Social Security Trust Fund or general revenues; so for all practical purposes, the bill, per se, is dead.

I did indicate by co-sponsorship an interest and support in this area, but when I was with Governor Reagan, we decided --

MR. CLARK: Correct me if I am wrong: You say an interest in supporting the area. You were a co-sponsor of the Kennedy National Health Insurance Plan, were you not?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes. I indicated I could indicate --

MR. CLARK: Which is a plan that would cost something like \$100 billion a year, and a plan that is violently opposed by conservatives in the party. Is that correct?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: That is correct. And what I am saying is that there is no practical way that the bill could pass. Nobody is really pushing the bill, even the Kennedy people --

MR. PETERSON: Are you saying support for that is a dead issue --

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I am saying because the economic facts of life are such that no one is pushing this particular bill, and what I am saying is the thing that Governor Reagan and I talked about was catastrophic health insurance. This is where we can do something realistically, and this is where we can invoke the private sector, and this is what the platform says, and this is what we do.

I think it is important to say that basically no one group has the unique idea. There is more than one way to solve a problem, and catastrophic health insurance is a very logical way to start.

MR. CLARK: Well, Senator, you know as a supporter of the Kennedy health insurance program that there is a tremendous difference between the comprehensive national health insurance and catastrophic health insurance, which would cost just a fraction of the money and cover just a fraction of the people.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: But what I am also saying, Bob, is that you know the Kennedy Health Insurance issue is dead, so why --

MR. CLARK: You knew when you co-sponsored it didn't you, at that time, very few realists --

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Exactly right, and the reason for co-sponsoring was to show we ought to do something more in health insurance than we are doing. I wasn't the author of it; I didn't draft it; but I did say health insurance is a top priority, and the realistic way to go is catastrophic, and I certainly feel very happy and comfortable in supporting it. And I think that is very consistent.

MR. PETERSON: Senator, I would like to get to one area here. If I remember what I have heard and what I have read recently, you say that the seeming contradictions in your background, your voting record -- you were trying to reflect your constituency, a conservative congressional district, a more liberal state and, if elected Vice President, it would be a country you see becoming more conservative. Is that basically correct?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I would like to go back one because I think this has been somewhat misconstrued, although you have recounted some of what has been said.

First of all, we formed a coalition. We make no bones that it is a coalition. Now, why is it wrong for Republicans to have a coalition? F.D.R. picked John Nance Garner. Adlai Stevenson picked Sparkman from Alabama. Jack Kennedy picked Lyndon Johnson, who was a Southern caucus leader and

MR. PETERSON: (Inaudible.)

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, but I want to make my point now and my point is where is it wrong for Republicans to unite conservative and differing views like you are saying I have done, and why aren't you going after the Democrats? Why aren't we asking why Mondale can run on the platform that Jimmy Carter ran when he was Governor of Georgia? Why they are poles apart. The platform for Governor of Georgia for Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale are 180 degrees out of sync so all I say is, let's use the same standard for Democrats that we are using for Republicans. Now, I will answer your question.

MR. PETERSON: I am wondering what is your political philosophy. If you are elected, do you vote your convictions, do you vote your constituency's convictions?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, you certainly are going to support your basic principles and beliefs and this is what Governor Reagan and I did talk about when we first got together. In addition, a Congressman or a Senator also has to represent his particular sectional interest and his parochial interests and all I am saying is that I would feel, having represented a state interest and a parochial interest, as I think I should as Senator, I think you have to be fair when you go to another job to look at the other 49 states too --

MR. PETERSON: If the elected official is supposed to reflect his constituency, I wonder how you feel about the delegates here who were elected to reflect their states' constituency and yet they may have been elected on a Ford ticket and may favor Reagan or they are on a Reagan ticket and may favor Ford. Now which way should they vote here?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: You see, I made two points. I guess I didn't make them very well. That an elected official has two responsibilities.

MR. PETERSON: Are you saying the delegates should vote their personal convictions here in this convention and not reflect the voters of their state?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I am not telling the delegates what to do. You asked me what I am doing and what I am doing is as Senator that I am reflecting my principles and my beliefs. One of those is that we can use the private sector to solve social problems that nobody else has listened to or advocated previously to Governor Reagan's situation.

The other is that beyond the principles and beliefs that there are certain economic interests and certain special interests of your state that you do reflect, and they are two different things. Now, how you carry that analogy to the delegates --

MR. PETERSON: The question is if you can carry it, that is what I am asking.

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I don't quite see the analogy because here you are nominating a President as opposed to 600 votes a year. I am not sure I understand your question.

MR. CLARK: Senator, you voted in the Senate as I recall for the Equal Rights Amendment and I believe were one of the staunch supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment. Governor Reagan, of course, has been staunchly opposed to it out here in the platform at the moment and it looks as if it will stay there.

Have you changed your position on the Equal Rights Amendment?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: No, I stand by -- some years back I did vote for it. I stand by that. My position is unchanged.

MR. CLARK: Is there going to be a floor battle by the Reagan forces as far as you know to knock the Equal Rights provision -- we talk about the Women's Rights provision, of course -- out of the platform?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Bob, I really don't know. I think the Reagan people are looking over several issues that they are considering challenging on. Whether they are going to challenge on this or not, I think there are two or three areas they might be challenging on. This might well not be one of the areas that they challenge on.

MR. PETERSON: How do you feel now that you have gotten to Kansas City and had a chance to taste the atmosphere here? Are you still confident --

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Yes, I am. I think there is a Reagan-Schweiker momentum and I think we have the Ford forces on the defensive on their cumbersome idea of 19 candidates and we are going to press that issue and we are going to go ask who their vice president is and we are going to try to have them trust the delegates and we are going to have

them say ahead of time who that is because I think the people have a right to know.

MR. CLARK: And you would feel slighted, I know, Senator, if we didn't mention that 100 percent vote record that you earned last year from organized labor --

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Whoa, Bob. That is a question --

MR. CLARK: One of the reasons that you got that 100 percent record was that you supported public works programs and public service jobs programs. Now you are going to support a platform that is against the full employment bill. Is this another major shift in your position?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Well, Bob, you have picked 100 percent and this is my criticism of the present. Why do you always pick the highest year? Why not say I have an overall average of 67 percent?

MR. CLARK: Sixteen years in Congress -- 100 per cent in 1975 --

you had 91 percent in 1974. I think it is reasonably fair to judge you on your current record, don't you?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Why?

MR. CLARK: Well, should we, in Ronald Reagan's case, go back to the days when he was a New Deal Democrat and average out his record over the years?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: I think in my case you should look at the two different --

MR. CLARK: Why not in Governor Reagan's case?

SENATOR SCHWEIKER: Because I think he has made it clear his change of philosophy --

MR. CLARK: Senator, I am sorry, we are out of time. Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

(Announcements)

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MR. CLARK: Gentlemen, the Republican Convention opens here tomorrow after one of the most bitterly fought campaigns in the party's history, yet both candidates say they are happy with the platform that has been drafted this week, and there are a lot of people still having trouble detecting much difference between Jerry Ford and Ronald Reagan. What is the fight all about? What do you see as the big issues dividing Governor Reagan and President Ford at this convention?

Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: I think it gets down to who has the most delegates. We are down to that point. We have been through the platform. I was on the Platform Committee. We didn't really have any problems. There may be some minority efforts to add amendments, but I don't think they are going to be successful, because we have a good platform that I think appeals to both Reagan and Ford.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, doesn't the mere fact that an incumbent President is in such a tight battle for the nomination have to reflect on his performance in office as he is rated by the members of his own party?

SENATOR BAKER: Bob, I don't think so, really, and I don't think that is what is happening in this contest. I think what we are seeing is the beginning of a new political era. I think with the advent of mass communications, instantaneous electronic communications, with quick travel across the country, with access to the Presidential primary system, that incumbency is no longer has the overwhelming advantage it once did. I think in the future you are going to see other challenges to other incumbent Presidents.

MR. CLARK: Senator Griffin, we will turn this question in another direction. A Gallup poll this week showed that Ronald Reagan is the first choice of Republican voters to be Mr. Ford's runningmate if he gets the nomination, and polls of delegates here at the Convention show the same thing. You are all supporting President Ford. Do any of you think that dream ticket, as some Republicans see it, of Mr. Ford and Governor Reagan, is still possible?

Senator Griffin?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: If you were President Ford's floor manager and responsible to gather the votes to get him the nomination, I don't think you would be advocating any particular candidate for Vice President at the present time. I am not, either.

I would say that the attempt to amend the rules which the Reagan forces have been trying to get launched, and probably you may want to refer to it later, would actually preclude Governor Reagan from being considered. I think that he is on the list of those who President Ford is considering -- and should be -- and I don't know what is going to happen.

MR. CLARK: We will put the next question to Senator Dole, because you will be the temporary chairman of the Convention. The Ford forces today in the Resolutions Committee beat down Reagan efforts to force the President to name his runningmate. What is that going to mean on the Floor? Does this mean the battle is over, or could you still lose it on the Floor?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't think it means the battle is over. I think it is a very significant event today, but I think what we may have now is a challenge on the Floor, probably Tuesday evening, which could take a great deal of time. It is very significant. If the Reagan forces should lose on the Floor, I think it is a clear indication of even greater strength for President Ford. But it is a very -- they are putting a great deal of pressure, of course, on President Ford, but I don't believe this change will be adopted.

MR. CLARK: And at least two of you, Senator Baker and Senator Dole, are on Mr. Ford's list of possible Vice Presidential runningmates. Senator Griffin, you have been whispering advice into the President's ear from time to time. Who would make the strongest runningmate for the President if he gets the nomination? I want Senator Dole and Senator Baker each to feel free to name themselves if they would like.

SENATOR BAKER: I thought you were going to say both of us should feel free to listen to what the other had to say. I would pick up on a question you asked a minute ago about Reagan as a Vice Presidential candidate. For a long time I recommended a ticket of Ford-Reagan, and not only recommended it, but I suggested it both to Ford at one time and to Reagan at one time or the other, and both of them sort of didn't like the idea much. But there is still a possibility of that. I would not completely rule it out. It creates some sparks and some very, very controversial -- it creates some controversial issues, but it still ought to be taken account of.

MR. CLARK: It probably isn't a fair question to ask you, because you are a leading contender yourself, but do you think a Ford-Reagan ticket would be the strongest possible ticket?

SENATOR BAKER: It depends. I think it depends on how the first ballot goes, how the nomination of the Presidential candidate goes. There are too many factors to be taken account of to say in advance who would be the most advantageous Vice Presidential nominee. Only one person can decide that, and that is really the way it ought to be, and that is the Presidential nominee after he is nominated.

MR. CLARK: Senator Dole, who do you think would make the strongest runningmate?

SENATOR BAKER: I didn't say. You better not, either.

SENATOR DOLE: I have been promoting Howard Baker but since he is not promoting me, I think I better move on to a different candidate. I take Ronald Reagan at his word. I think a Ford-Reagan ticket has a great deal of appeal, particularly to the delegates, but we are looking at a nationwide contest, and I don't believe that Governor Reagan has any interest in being on the ticket in second place. I sent my list of names to President Ford, but I concur with what has been said, we are not really in a position, we can recommend, but the decision is going to be made by the President.

I think he is going to take a look at all the factors, maybe some of the polls, but he has to determine whether he can be helped or maybe not hurt by his choice, and it is going to be very difficult choice, but I think there are a number of qualified people.

MR. CLARK: I believe you have indicated a preference in the past for John Connally. Do you think his chances for success are still alive?

SENATOR DOLE: I think so. I think John Connally did what he should do. He took his case to the people. It is all out there now and it can be judged by the delegates and by others in the Republican party.

MR. CLARK: Is he still your first choice?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know if I have a first choice. I think I tried to not do mine in a circle, but I tried to indicate that there are very qualified people, and I left a little space in there so they could write in one or two other names.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, you have said your big goal is to be the Republican candidate for President in 1980 or even later. How badly do you want the vice presidential nomination this year?

SENATOR BAKER: That is a tough question. I have made no campaign for the vice presidency. I haven't tried to corral delegates nor tried to mount an effort to get the nomination, but by the same token, if there were a realistic possibility of gaining the nomination, not only would I be happy to have it, but I would be most enthusiastic with it. But what I am saying, I guess, is there is no way to run for vice president and there is a way to run for president, and some of these days maybe I would like to do that.

SENATOR GRIFFIN: Bob, one thing I would like to add somewhere along the line here, and I think it says a lot about the Republican party that we have so many well qualified candidates to choose from for vice president. We really do. We have got not only Reagan and Connally and Rockefeller, but some governors, Bob Ray and Dan Evans. We have got any number of Senators, in addition to the two we have here.

MR. CLARK: That is what you have been telling the

President, "I really don't care who you pick."

(Laughter.)

I want to ask you another question since you will be President Ford's floor manager at the convention and the Ford forces are now claiming 1135 hard delegates, which would not mean victory by five on the first ballot. Are you, as the floor manager, that confident of a first ballot victory?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: Yes. If we could start right off at the convention and have the balloting for the nomination for President, I have no question in my mind that President Ford would win going away. That 1135, incidentally, doesn't include any from Mississippi and I think everybody knows we are going to get 14 or 15 out of Mississippi at least.

The only thing that can happen at this convention is at some point before we get to the balloting for the nomination for President, the Reagan forces could hope to change something or other. That is what our job is to do, make sure that doesn't happen.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, you have had fairly close relations with the Reagan camp. While you are a Ford man, you have maintained contact with both.

Isn't the bitterness of this fight jeopardizing Republican chances for victory in November?

SENATOR BAKER: I don't really think it has been a bitter fight. It has been an energetic fight. I believe back in May or June of this year, certainly in the early part of the summer of '76, I think I detected a coming together of Republicans, sort of an unspoken realization that we have got to come out of this thing united and together. That is sort of what I had in mind, by the way, when Reagan was in Tennessee and I asked him to be my overnight guest, and I caught a lot of criticism for it among some. But you know, to symbolize that I am for Ford, and Governor Reagan sat there and listened to me make my Ford speech, and then I took him home with me, and I think the fact we are all Republicans began to simmer and emerge then as an unspoken realization. I don't think '76 is a replica of '64. I do not find the acrimonious debate, the hatreds, the disenchantment that marked that campaign. I think we are going to come out of this Convention in pretty good shape.

SENATOR DOLE: I think, to underscore that just briefly, having been on the Platform Committee last week, from 1:00 in the morning, 2:00 in the morning and later, working with Ford and Reagan people, their primary concern is winning.

MR. CLARK: Gentlemen, we are going to take a short break here. We will be back in just a moment with more ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. CLARK: Our guests are Senator Howard Baker, Senator Robert Dole, and Senator Robert Griffin.

Gentlemen, there are reports the President has narrowed his Vice Presidential list to exclude both the liberals who are under attack from conservative forces and John Connally, who is under attack from moderates in the party. We discussed part of this problem before. But this, Senator Griffin, would appear to be one of the questions you are going to get on the Floor. People are going to come up and ask you, "Has the President really narrowed his list or eliminated people?"

What are you going to tell them?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: Bob, I will look them right in the eye and tell them truthfully, I don't know. I have not talked to the President recently about the matter of the Vice President. A lot of people think I have, but I haven't. I have been very busy out here at Kansas City getting organized for the Convention.

MR. CLARK: Wouldn't this be a rather critical element in Floor strategy, though, if the head of a delegation comes over rather upset and says, "We have to know more about who the President is going to name as his runningmate,

or you may lose a couple of votes here"?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: The advice I have given to the President, and I would stick with it right up through the time he is nominated, is he should not indicate in advance who he is going --

MR. CLARK: Not even narrow it?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: No, he might want to do some narrowing, but if he has done any, I am not aware of it.

MR. CLARK: Whatever Ronald Reagan's real reason for picking Senator Schweiker, many political analysts agree with the reason he gave, which is that the Republican Party has to do something to bridge the gap between the liberal and conservative wings if it is going to attract independents and win in November. Do you all agree with that as a basic political strategy?

Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: I share that view. I don't think you go quite that far, as far as Reagan; not nearly that far in my view. I think you need some moderate-conservative running-mate. I think we must make an effort to broaden the appeal of the Republican Party, when we look at the figures at 22 percent. But I also believe if we leave this Convention as a united party, the polls today indicate that Ford, who was 30-some points behind Carter, is now only 20. So you know, the polls are artificially high right now for Carter. It is going to shape up into a good contest by November. But we are going to articulate our positions and I think attract other people.

MR. CLARK: You say you do not feel that President Ford needs to go as far as Ronald Reagan did --

SENATOR DOLE: He doesn't need to go over the brink. He can go part way.

MR. CLARK: But there are at least four liberals on the President's Vice Presidential list, and that is Senators Brooke, Percy, Weiker and Hatfield.

Senator Baker, do you think any of these are too far out, that it would be a mistake to put any of them on the ticket?

SENATOR BAKER: I really don't think it would be a mistake, but you know, that is a Presidential choice, or the nominee's choice, and it is uniquely and specially his choice to make. It wouldn't bother me. It may bother some. The President no doubt will take account of that. But the important thing as far as we are concerned in my view is not whether you pick some allegedly ideological liberal or moderate or conservative as the runningmate, but rather what programs you run on, what proposals you advocate to the country, and how the great independent sector in the country responds to that.

I don't think you are going to make the party attractive by making an arithmetical balance between a conservative and a liberal as runningmates. You are going to do it more on how the campaign shapes up and what the issues are after they are joined, and what the Republican nominee proposes. That will broden the base; not the choice.

SENATOR DOLE: I think two of those have already removed themselves, Senator Brooke and Senator Weiker.

I was interested in if you had an update on who the survivors were on the list.

MR. CLARK: Among the liberals it would appear to be Percy and Hatfield.

SENATOR DOLE: Do you have any other information?

MR. CLARK: Looking at the broad list and thinking of that criticism that is coming from conservatives like Clark Reid from Mississippi, do you, all of you, find those four liberals acceptable? You would not rule any of them out?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: Coming from Michigan, in Michigan, of course, we would be able to get along with a more liberal runningmate, I suppose, than some other parts of the country, but I realize this is a national campaign and President Ford has got to look at it that way, and I certainly would not say that he has got to pick one of those or that, if he does, that we would not run with him. We would be glad to.

SENATOR BAKER: Let me say a word about that. You know there is a difference in what we may think and what some others may think in other areas. You mentioned Clark Reid. Clark really is a savvy politician. He is extremely sensitive to the concerns in his area. That is what I meant a minute ago when I said it may be important to some delegations when it appears not to be important to others. That is an example of why the President needs maximum flexibility to make that determination. Nobody can say but the nominee.

SENATOR DOLE: But I don't -- I just want to comment. I don't know whether those four would fit the liberal category. Certainly Percy and Hatfield and Weicker, and I think even Ed Brooke for the most part, are very conservative as far as economic matters are concerned. You look at what Ed Brooke would bring to the ticket, not just the fact he may be liberal, but all the other assets.

MR. CLARK: I would have to correct that, I believe. If you look at Ed Brooke's overall voting record, it is probably a little more liberal than Senator Schweiker's. He also had a zero percent rating --

SENATOR DOLE: I think Ed Brooke is a liberal. I think he would bring to the ticket other assets to offset that, but I think with Schweiker, and he is a friend of mine, I think he only brought the liberal record.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, I would like to ask you this one? You will be delivering the keynote address on Monday night. You are scheduled to be introduced by Senator Buckley who is still debating whether to let his name be put before the convention. If he has not made up his mind, or if he announces that he will have a go at the nomination or getting a few delegates, will he still introduce you?

SENATOR BAKER: I don't know. Let me say this: After the National Committee notified me that Senator Buckley had been chosen to introduce me, I told them I was delighted because Buckley is my colleague in the Senate, is also my friend, and

I know him to be an honorable man. I would speculate that if Jim Buckley has not made up his mind, and certainly if he has made up his mind to let his name be entered one way or the other, that probably he will ask out of that assignment. But I think that will resolve itself before the convention is under way.

MR. CLARK: Do any of you, are any of you especially concerned about Senator Buckley's intentions? Would it worry you if he moved in and possibly kept President Ford, or tried to keep President Ford from sewing up the nomination on the first ballot?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: Being the President's floor manager, it would worry me if I could see some Ford delegates going to Senator Buckley. We have checked the New York delegation and we don't find there would be any particular slippage and we looked around and checked in other areas of the country and we don't find there would be any. Now, whatever votes I would say for the most part at least that Senator Buckley might get would be taken away from Governor Reagan.

MR. CLARK: How about the other two? Do you see any serious threat in the Buckley --

SENATOR DOLE: I think Howard's comment, and I certainly share that view, I will be introducing Senator Buckley. I need to know in advance whether I introduce him as a candidate for re-election or candidate for the presidency; if he does carry through with it. I think Howard is correct. Jim Buckley is a man of great integrity and he will make that decision himself and it will be resolved. I don't believe he will go through with it myself.

MR. CLARK: And some conservatives at the convention are pushing for an open ballot on the vice presidential nomination, to just throw it to the convention and let the delegates pick the vice presidential candidate. This presumably would apply if Ford is the nominee. How does that strike you, Senator Baker?

SENATOR BAKER: I think it is a pretty good idea. It has never worked very well in the past, but it may be a desirable thing to do. That is the privilege, I think, of the presidential nominee to state as well. I think some day we have got to pick a different and better way to select vice-presidential candidates, but we can't do it now at this convention under these circumstances in my view.

I think the options that a nominee has are either to name his choice after he has been nominated, or to give it to the convention, and I would be happy with either one.

MR. CLARK: Senator Griffin, would you be happy with an open ballot?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: It would not be my recommendation. I think President Ford ought to indicate his selection after he has been nominated. Adding to what Howard said about the

fact that our present method of selecting vice presidents is inadequate, I have said that over and over again. I think a small step in the direction of reform at a convention like this would be to adopt a platform after you nominate the President, and allow an additional 24 hours between -- so that the President would have another 24 hours to consult and check and not name the vice president the very next morning. I do think that that procedure is not the best.

MR. CLARK: Senator Dole, what are your feelings about an open ballot?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think if we look at this convention and we, of course, understand that this morning the Rules Committee has rejected the Reagan effort to have the candidate named in advance, if we look down the road perhaps there should be a 30-day notice, perhaps there should be a slate. This is a proposal advocated by Congressman Frenzel of Minnesota and Margaret Hechler of Massachusetts. It seems in this convention where it is almost 50-50, split down the middle, you are deprived --- say if Ford is the nominee, I am certain Ronald Reagan is going to have some input. I just don't believe at this late date we are going to change the rules this year, or should change the rules.

SENATOR GRIFFIN: I don't have any doubt in my mind that after President Ford gets the nomination, and I am convinced that he will, that he will consult with Governor Reagan before he makes his decision.

MR. CLARK: Do you think that would be a serious consultation, that he might go with Governor Reagan's choice?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: I think he would weigh it very carefully and want his advice.

SENATOR DOLE: The Reagan people have been very cooperative. Paul Laxalt, as Bob Griffin knows, has worked very closely with us, and he will be the floor manager for Reagan. The leadership in the Reagan camp have been very cooperative, and I think President Ford has always been cooperative. So I see this happening.

MR. CLARK: Wouldn't Governor Reagan be locked into a position, having picked a liberal, Richard Schweiker as his runningmate, that he could either tell the President he would take it himself, or he would sort of be honor-bound to recommend another liberal, wouldn't he?

SENATOR BAKER: I don't think he would. I think the President at that time would be in a position to say "I honestly want your advice, Governor Reagan," and Reagan would be in a position to say, "Look, you know I picked Schweiker, but that was if I were the nominee. You are the nominee and a different set of circumstances prevails." So I don't think it limits his choice at all.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, the keynote address traditionally rhapsodizes about party harmony and all the things that bind good Republicans together. Isn't that going to be a rather difficult speech for you to make to this divided Convention?

SENATOR BAKER: No. As I said a minute ago, I think the party is not divided. I think the delegates are, and the count is going to be pretty close. I think we are going to come out in good shape. The important thing to me is to sound a keynote for this party, and to signal not only to ourselves but to the country this election is winnable, and it is eminently winnable on the issues, if we make them.

MR. CLARK: And Senator Dole, you will also be addressing the Convention on Monday, and you have been quoted as saying that they have tapped you to throw some raw meat to the delegates. Does that mean you are going to deliver what we call a slashing attack on Jimmy Carter and the Democratic ticket?

SENATOR DOLE: I will attempt to shell a few peanuts while I am up there, but there will be so many speakers that evening, and I assume they are all going to be partly attack and partly conciliatory, I don't intend to be personal, but I want to start setting the record straight on the many,

many contradictions. He has had so many positions on 14-B, if he were asked tomorrow he would probably say it is his shoe size. I think we must set the record straight on some of these areas.

MR. CLARK: What do you see, and we just have a few seconds left here, as the single area where Carter is most vulnerable, whoever the Republican nominee may be?

SENATOR GRIFFIN: He is unknown in terms of where he will take the country, because he has been on all sides of every issue. I think in contrast to that we have a President in office that does know where he is going and has taken this country in the right direction, & I think who the people will stick with.

MR. CLARK: Senator Baker, do you share that view?

SENATOR BAKER: Yes, I think so. I think the disparity between the perception of Carter as a moderate or conservative candidate, and that is sort of the way he came through in the campaign, versus the Carter as the Democratic nominee, who will be very liberal, will be disillusioning to a lot of people.

MR. CLARK: Gentlemen, we are now out of time. Thank you all for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

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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, AUGUST 22, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR CHARLES McC MATHIAS (R. Md.)

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Catherine Mackin - NBC News

Nick Thimmesch - Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Ernest B. Furgurson - Baltimore Sun

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Charles McC Mathias of Maryland who is normally identified as a moderate or as a liberal Republican. Mr. Mathias served four terms as a member of the House of Representatives and is now in his second term as Senator. A critic of what he regards as narrow Republicanism, he has occasionally talked of leaving the Republican party and last winter briefly explored the possibility of becoming an independent third party candidate for President. He was a delegate to the GOP Convention just concluded in Kansas City.

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

MS. MACKIN: Senator, the first necessary question, can the Ford-Dole ticket win?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I think the Ford-Dole ticket can win provided they adopt a positive and a progressive stance with a broad appeal. I don't think it can win on a narrow-based campaign.

MS. MACKIN: Isn't it necessarily narrow-based because of the two people involved from the same section of the country with the same political views?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Not necessarily, and I think that is where the opportunity for progressive Republicans lies, in helping President Ford and Senator Dole to make a broad-based appeal and we are prepared to do that.

MS. MACKIN: How will you do that?

SENATOR MATHIAS: By participation in planning for the campaign, by actually campaigning, but, of course, all of this is contingent upon President Ford's willingness to give us that role, and I think that is a very important question which has to be answered in the very near future.

MS. MACKIN: Well, you didn't have that role during the convention, did you?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, the convention was a special circumstance. You look at the final roll call figures. A difference of 59 votes would have brought the convention out the other way and so I think you have to look at the circumstances of the convention without feeling that that necessarily limits the scope of the campaign.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. THIMMESCH: Senator Mathias, are you satisfied with President Ford's selection of Senator Dole as his runningmate?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, I have known Bob Dole since we first came to Congress together in the election of 1960. We moved to the Senate together in 1968, so I know him very well and I think very highly of him, of his capacity, of his integrity. It is well known that I was urging the President to pick a runningmate who would broaden the base of the Republican party, who would supplement the President's own talents and his own point of view, and with a broader appeal. But Senator

Dole is an articulate and able campaigner.

MR. THIMMESCH: Do you expect that Senator Dole will hit hard on some social issues as we heard, say, busing, abortion or amnesty in these areas where they claim that Mr. Carter has soft support?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Bob Dole is a tough fighter and he does hit hard. At the same time, I have found that he is sensitive to people's views; that he is sensitive to public opinion; he has always, I think, been understanding of the problems that I had as an Atlantic Coast Republican, and I think he will be measured in his approach.

MR. THIMMESCH: Now, you and Senator Dole differ on these issues, I believe. Would this put you and other moderate Republicans in an embarrassing situation this fall?

SENATOR MATHIAS: This has got to be a broad-based campaign and I think that the party has got to avoid exacerbating differences within the party. That will be a very important question of restraint because, if the differences among us are exacerbated, then you will find, as in 1964, that people are getting off the train at various stations as you go down towards November.

MR. FURGURSON: Last winter when you were considering the possibility of becoming an independent candidate if the Republican party didn't move in the direction that you considered progressive, you decided against that; you would give them a chance apparently to move into the summer and see what happened then.

Now at the Convention in Kansas City as you have just indicated in a very gentle way, they didn't choose a candidate for Vice President who really suits your idea of issues and policies.

At what point, if things continue in this direction, are you going to finally make a break with the Republican party?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, Mr. Furgurson, I think one important thing happened in Kansas City, and that was the option was retained. Had there been a Reagan victory, I am not sure there would have been an option for progressive Republicans. But I think as things turned out, there was an option. That option remains. It is an option that President Ford is going to have to exercise: Whether he is going to make full use of the talents and creativity of this whole progressive wing of the Republican party. We are ready if he is ready. But if we don't find a home in the very few weeks that lie between us today, and the election, then I think we have to look at the alternatives.

MR. FURGURSON: Are those alternatives, as far as you are concerned, have they ever included the idea of becoming a Democrat?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I never really seriously contemplated that, but I think you have to look at the situation as it develops. What I am thinking about now is what we can do to contribute to this campaign and to make the Republican party as positive as I would like to see it, to restore it in the affection and confidence of the American people as it was at great moments in American history, during the Lincoln Administration, during the Theodore Roosevelt Administration, during the Eisenhower Administration.

MR. FURGURSON: So you are saying if the President doesn't reach out to Republicans of your type in this campaign you are opening the possibility that you may change parties?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, I think we want to play an active role. I don't want to just sit around and wait for Ron Nessen to tell me what is happening in the world. And I think we can play an active role. I think we can do many useful things in the Republican Party. But if they want us to go down in the marketplace, they have got to give us the goods to take to market. We can't just simply go out campaigning in areas where we have some personal following and some personal influence without any basis for making a good argument, any basis for the campaign.

So what I am saying is we are ready to go to work, we want to go to work, I think we have talent and ability to contribute; but we also want to play a part in the decisions of the campaign as they are made.

MR. MONROE: Senator Mathias, you implied in answering Mr. Thimmesch but didn't quite say that Senator Dole was not the kind of Vice Presidential candidate you had in mind to broaden the base of the party. Would you clarify that?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I think the President said it himself. He said that he and Senator Dole have identical points of view, and of course from one point of view, from one vantage point that is desirable; it makes the ticket very compatible. But we have many examples in American history -- for instance Dewey and Bricker, where the party deliberately chose candidates who had somewhat different views so there was a wider appeal.

MR. MONROE: The President chose not to broaden way you see it by appointing Senator Dole, making him his Vice Presidential nominee. What about the Republican platform? Did that go in the direction of broadening the base of the party?

SENATOR MATHIAS: No, it certainly didn't. But again I think you have to look at the mathematics of the convention, a convention divided exactly in half, and a platform

which was produced reflecting that. Now of course the platform is very general in its terms. It touches the problem of unemployment in very general terms. Well, the actual steps to be taken to insure that Americans have jobs are going to have to be spelled out in the President's campaign positions. And, incidentally, that is the kind of area in which I think progressive Republicans can be of great help.

MR. MONROE: Considering the selection of Senator Dole, considering the Republican platform, considering the almost invisibility of you liberals and moderates at the Republican convention, do you expect the President to turn around now and give liberal and moderate Republicans a prominent role in the campaign?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I think the President is aware of how we feel. I think he is aware of the condition of the Republican party. It is not merely a question that we are down to 18 percent of the national electorate; it is not merely that we are down to only 15 percent of young Americans, people under the age of 30; but we are in worse shape office-wise than we were after the 1964 debacle. There are only five more Republicans in the House of Representatives than there were then, there is only one more Senator than there was then. We control actually only four state legislatures as opposed to 6 after '64, which is nothing to brag about, and we have only 13 governors as against 17 in '64. Now, this is a pretty desperate point from which to start.



And I think the President is well aware that he is going to have to have the active support and the vote of every Republican if he is going to win this election, and I think he is going to reach out, and I hope that there will be some signs while he is at Vail that this is his state of mind and his intention.

MS. MACKIN: Senator, what will make it a broad-based campaign? What should we look for? What positions on what issues?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I think concern about jobs would be very high on the agenda because there are lots of Americans who want jobs. The platform merely says that unemployment results from inflation. Well, that is an oversimplification. There is some truth to it, but there are certain special kinds of unemployment. For instance, just this morning I stopped at a gas station, and the attendant recognized me, and he pulled up his shirt and showed me the results of kidney operations which limits his ability to get jobs. Now, that is the kind of structural problem that we have to attack. The special reasons for unemployment - young people, minority groups, structural changes in the economy that deal with these problems which are concerning the American people.

MS. MACKIN: Are you saying that the President has to walk away from the Reagan campaign and the Reagan delegates at that

convention who put pressure on him to move to the right?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I don't think he walks away from them. I think they deserve the consideration and the weight that they contribute of their contribution to the party, and I don't think we ought to foreclose the participation of any group. My theory has always been that the political parties, both the Democratic and the Republican party should be very big houses. There is room for everyone.

MS. MACKIN: They almost won the nomination, which means that their weight must be fairly substantial in the party.

SENATOR MATHIAS: And therefore I don't recommend that he foreclose them, and I have never advocated that. I am saying that there are some practical problems and some pragmatic situations that are going to have to be viewed.

MS. MACKIN: When you say "We are ready," who do you include in the "we;" that is the progressives and the moderates who once talked to the President and want to help out?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I think the cast of characters is pretty well known. It is not my role to sign on individuals by name at this point. But I think the general mood -- Senator Javits, in his statements at the convention, Senator Brooke in his statements at the convention, and others, all are willing. Congressman John Anderson of Illinois, the Chairman of the Republican Caucus in the House; all well-known progressive Republicans who are ready now, but who

I think feel that now is the time.

MR. THIMMESCH: There was a great deal of criticism of the Democratic Congress at the Republican convention, particularly on scandals among some of the Democratic leaders. Do you think this should be an issue in the campaign? Should Republicans pursue this?

SENATOR MATHIAS: It seems to me we have got such serious things to talk about -- we have got national issues of real importance to the American people. Now, I think the American people can make up their minds about subsidized sex in Washington without having us waste time during the campaign on that. I think it is an outrage; I think it is disgraceful; I think most of the American people do. And I think we can get on with more constructive debate.

MR. THIMMESCH: I was thinking more of the examples of the abuse of power that have been cited, not the sex scandals. Would you be willing to go out and campaign on that basis?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, I think where there have been clear abuses of power which are not fully exposed, I think that is a legitimate form of campaigning. But it does seem to me that we have to look at the future, because America has a very great role to play in the world and many very serious decisions, and that the American people could profit by this campaign, as an educational experience.

I would hope that the level of debate was raised rather than lowered to concentration on abuses of the past.

MR. THIMMESCH: How do you think the Republicans should answer questions about the pardon of Richard Nixon by President Ford, if that becomes an issue?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, I think the best approach is simply to expound very fully the President's reasons for doing what he did. I don't think that there is any way that that question can be avoided, and perhaps the man who has to do it is the President himself, because he knows most fully what was in his own mind at that moment. And I think his motivation was good, but I think he may have to lay that out for the American people at some point during his campaign.

MR. FURGURSON: Senator, over the years you have taken more verbal abuse from members of your own party than from the Democrats. They have included criticism of your attitudes on foreign policy; specifically, for example, your participation in what is known as the Bilderberger Conferences, a group of international, I'd say progressive international thinkers on international affairs.

Now, you are suggesting that the President call on you to go out and campaign on his behalf among people of all kinds on a platform that states very much the principles of the Reagan part of the party, which is at direct variance with what you have stood for all these years. How could you handle that?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, Mr. Furgurson, I have had to tell the truth on some occasions and people don't always like to hear the truth. I have had to say some hard things to my friends and colleagues in the Republican party, things that I felt needed to be said, and they have, upon occasion, I think, resented it. It doesn't mean that they weren't true and that they weren't the right things to say at that time.

Now, I would have to do the same with regard to the foreign policy planks of this platform. I think the amendment which was accepted was an unfortunate amendment. I don't think it added anything to the platform policywise because it didn't

recommend any action which is not already being undertaken by the State Department under Secretary Kissinger's leadership.

I think it was intended in a kind of a mean way to criticize the Secretary and it demonstrated its own ignorance of foreign affairs, it seems to me, by portraying the Helsinki Agreement as a bipartisan agreement between Russia and the United States when in fact it is an agreement in which only 35 nations participated, including the Vatican, which has never been accused of being soft on communism.

So I think you have to deal with the situation as you see it, and I have done that in the past and it may have earned me a few brickbats, but I am willing to do it in the future.

MR. FURGURSON: Senator, if you should be the good soldier and go out and campaign for this ticket this fall, assuming you are asked, and the party should lose by anything like the proportions that are indicated by recent public opinion polls, do you think then that you and people of your approximate stripe would be in a position to pick up the pieces and turn this party around?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, let me say that I volunteered to be the good soldier but I have to have the tools to do the job. And it is only the President and the campaign that can make it possible for me and for progressive Republicans like me to do that job.

Now, if we win, well and good. If we lose, then I think,

given the low point at which we start, the future is going to have to be looked at very carefully and I think then it would be clear that we were at some point of transition.

It is clear the Democrats are also in a state of transition and the Republicans would, I think, then have signs of a sea change which would demand some very close evaluation.

MR. MONROE: We have about three minutes left.

Senator Mathias, you said a moment ago you hope to see some signal from Vale where the President is now vacationing, to encourage moderates in the party. Have you had any suggestion of a signal to the White House?

SENATOR MATHIAS: The President has announced he will begin planning the campaign at Vale and to use the old phrase that Senator Vandenberg liked, we would like to be in on the takeoff as well as the landing.

MR. MONROE: You don't have anything specific in mind, any special signal you want the President to deliver?

SENATOR MATHIAS: No, except I think the planning of the campaign ought to comprehend all elements of the Republican party and this would be the place to start.

MR. MONROE: Senator, wouldn't a conservative Republican have the right to say to you, in view of the convention, the platform, the vice presidential nominee, the numbers at the convention, you and other Republican moderates represent a very tiny segment of opinion in the Republican party, and to

many of the conservatives it would seem to be a sort of Democratic kind of viewpoint.

Under those circumstances should you expect to have much influence in the Republican party or should you go around complaining about it?

SENATOR MATHIAS: I am not complaining. I am just pointing out that the progressive Republicans have been a very important element of victory in every great victory the Republican party has ever won, in every great administration the Republican party has ever brought to the American people, and we are available now. Whether we will be indefinitely I think has to be a serious question.

MS. MACKIN: Will the Ford-Dole ticket win in your own home state of Maryland which generally goes Democratic?

SENATOR MATHIAS: It is tough for any Republican to win in Maryland and I think that the Ford-Dole ticket would have a tough time but it is not impossible.

MR. THIMMESCH: Senator, what is the potential vote of your friend, Eugene McCarthy -- former Senator -- who is running this year?

SENATOR MATHIAS: Well, there are some pollsters who claim that Senator McCarthy might get as high as ten percent of the total vote. I think that is a very speculative figure at this moment.

MR. THIMMESCH: Do you see down the road somewhere a

third political force developing in this country?

. SENATOR MATHIAS: There is a sea change in American politics today and this election is so important because it is more than just the selection of a President; it is the determination of the course of the future.

MR. THIMMESCH: Some surveys show that the word "independent" is the most popular word in the political lexicon today, and the Minnesota Republican party I notice changed its name to the Independent Republican Party.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Thimmesch, that was about to be a good question for which we have no time for an answer.

Thank you, Senator Mathias, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

(Next week: Black Activist and Author, Eldredge Cleaver.)

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