

The original documents are located in Box 24, folder “Dole, Robert” of the Robert T. Hartmann Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Republican Convention - 55

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I see Americans who love their husbands, their wives and their children.

I see Americans who love their country for what it has been and what it must become.

I see Americans who worked hard but who are willing to sacrifice all they have worked for to keep their children and their country free.

I see Americans who in their own quiet way pray for peace among nations and peace among themselves. We do love our neighbors and we do forgive those who have trespassed against us.

I see a new generation that knows what is right and knows itself—a generation determined to preserve its ideals, its environment, our nation and the world.

My fellow Americans, I like what I see. I have no fear for the future of this great country. And as we go forward, together, I promise you once more what I promised before: To uphold the Constitution; to do what is right, as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America.

God helping me, I won't let you down. ■

Dole Address

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I listened to the earlier newscasts, and many were saying that Dole is not a

household word. But it is a four-letter word you can get used to.

I stand before you tonight proud of the confidence our President has shown in me, gratified by your trust, humbled by this new opportunity to serve the nation we love and determined to work with all my heart to insure four more years of Republican leadership in the White House.

President Ford's administration began with prayer. Trusting in a just and beneficent God, and in the courage and wisdom and good will of our people, the President accepted stewardship of our Nation in one of the most difficult times in our history.

With the help of God, with the goodwill of our people and with his courage, compassion and wisdom, America has weathered the storm.

Today, there are those who tell Americans to lower their expectations. America was not built by men and women with limited vision and small hopes and low expectations.

It was built by men and women with tomorrow on their minds. It was built by believers—by those who could look across the broad sweep of a bounteous land of unbounded opportunity and see possibilities none before had ever dreamed of.

In their eyes, the future gleamed brightly, and upon their achievements we live today—with more freedom, more opportunity, more dignity, more wealth and with greater obligations than any people before in history.

My fellow Republicans—we need not ask the American people to lower their expectations.

Rather let us ask them to raise their sights ever higher—as they always have done in the past—let us do so with that confidence which comes with the knowledge that we have a President who has met and will continue to meet the highest expectations of the American people.

We have heard much about offering the American people a choice this year. I believe we should. I believe we do.

The eyes of the world—and the hopes of those who are free and those who wish to be free—focus on this country.

Wherever tyranny reigns in this world, it reigns through the instruments of government.

All history tells us that to maximize government is to minimize human freedom.

I believe that the promise of America is not told, nor shall it be fulfilled, through the oppressive constraints of government.

The question and the purpose of human liberty are not the rights of government, the dignity of government, or the future of government. Rather they are the rights of the individual, the hopes and dreams of the individual, the dignity of the individual and the future of humanity itself.

We have written a long and noble chapter in the history of human liberty. We have proved that it works—that the powerful engines of freedom push mankind

further toward justice, toward equality, toward prosperity and security than ever government managed to drag humanity in those directions.

And so, my fellow Republicans, let us not define ourselves in terms of what we stand against—but in terms of what we stand for.

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But President Ford understood that a free people are never too tired to defend their freedom. And so where our rights and interests have been threatened, he has responded—and upon the evidence of America's will to stand fast for what it believes, a structure of peace is being erected in the world.

And in the wake of a continued inflation and recession, there are those who argued that the best medicine for a crippled economy was to cripple it further. They advocated the short-term solution for long-term disaster, believing the American people were unwilling to make the necessary sacrifices to restore prosperity to our land. They were wrong. President Ford knows the way back to prosperity is through persistence and perseverance. Yes, and through sacrifice.

The way back to a healthy economy has been difficult and painful. But by refusing to resign us to the seductive panaceas of more government spending, President Ford has persisted, he has persevered—and he has prevailed.

He has suffered abuse, he has endured accusations about his concern for the jobless; he has borne with patience those who have questioned his compassion for the poor, and he has put this economy back on the road to good health.

The shrill denunciations of those who oppose his economic policies come not from concern that he might fail, but from desperation at the fact that he is succeeding.

And he is succeeding, my friends, because he has placed his faith in the American people, and not in the discredited gimmicks of government.

My fellow Americans, President Ford has begun the great work of building peace, renewing prosperity and restoring confidence in the basic institutions of freedom in America.

But there is much more to be done.

We are at peace with the world, but the world is not at peace with itself. We live in a dangerous world, and the danger for us is lessened only by the fact that those whose ambitions might exceed their common sense know what the President of the United States of America stands for.

Here at home, there are still those who believe in government rather than in people. We have, for example, a Congress

which lurches along in a search for more and more ways to gain control not merely over the way we live, but over the purposes for which we live—which ought to be left to the decisions of the hearts and minds of each single individual.

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And, in my opinion, we have to free the enterprise system.

Until we get government out of the

business sector, we are going to have difficulty getting people back into jobs that are real and productive.

Until we get government out of the credit markets, business will be unable to expand as it ought to and employ more people.

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Legislative Action

continued from p. 2276

D.C. Pretrial Release

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The legislation affects criminal prosecutions only in the District of Columbia. Criminal law is primarily under state and local control; Congress can enact non-federal criminal legislation affecting only the District of Columbia. However, in the past D.C. crime laws sometimes have been used as models by other jurisdictions.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

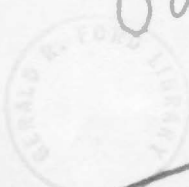
File

TO: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: DOUG SMITH

These contacts may be valuable.
Apparently Mike Duval is in
overall charge of debate planning.

*Came to
Bob Holle
in Kansas*



~~Send copy to
[scribble]~~



1976 Republican National Convention

Committee On
Arrangements

McDill (Huck) Boyd, Chairman
Subcommittee on News Media Operations
257 F Street
Phillipsburg, Kansas 67661
(913) 543-5242

Aug. 27, 1976

Mr. Robert Hartman,
Councillor to the President
White House Staff,
Vail, Colo.

Dear Bob:

The two Georgia senators who contended with Jimmy Carter so successfully on the floor of the Georgia Senate, and who know what angers him, and what disturbs his thought processes:

Sen. Billie Adams, now our candidate for Congress
in the 8th district, and

Sen. Oliver Bateman, minority floor leader in the
Georgia state senate.

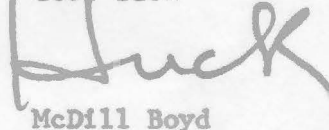
If you believe they would be of value in planning the series of debates, Ray Humphries, Haymarket, Va. (ph. 7030754-4710) has the details. His Washington phone is 202-543-0229.

Please relay to someone of the staff the following names:

Edward J. Drake, First National Bank Bld.g, Dallas (former Dallas county Democrat chairman, and past president of the National Easter Seal Society, is interested in a Democrats for Ford movement; and comes highly recommended by Peter O'Donnell (but not for top spot).

And Aris (Bob) Mallas, president, Management Services Associates, Inc., Box 3750, Austin, Tex 78764 (512-327-2680) who will "do anything" and says he has a list of 20,000 names available "many of whom should be good donors" in the campaign.

Good luck


McDill Boyd



 **1976 Republican National Convention**

30 Aug 76 TSD



Hon. Robert Hartman
Councillor to the President
White House Staff
Vail, Colo.



FOR RELEASE
6:00 pm E.D.T.
Thursday, September 9, 1976

TEXT OF REMARKS BY
SENATOR BOB DOLE
TO THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

IT IS A PLEASURE TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO BE WITH YOU
TONIGHT.

MEN IN POLITICS RARELY ADMIT TO ANY DIFFICULTY AT FINDING
THE RIGHT WORDS TO SAY, AND I HAVE NEVER PERSONALLY BEEN ACCUSED OF
BEING AT A LOSS FOR WORDS. NEVERTHELESS, TO SPEAK BEFORE A ZIONIST
GROUP IS NOT AN EASY TASK.

THE MATTERS THAT CONCERN US MUTUALLY ARE AS COMPLEX AS ANY
WHICH MEN MAY CONCEIVE OF, OR CIRCUMSTANCES PRODUCE. THEY ARE MORAL,
HISTORICAL, CULTURAL, POLITICAL, ETHICAL, SOCIAL, AND IN SOME PART,
SENTIMENTAL. IT IS A PATTERN OF ISSUES REQUIRING EXTREME REASON TO
ADDRESS, AND EXTREME COURAGE TO COPE WITH.

AND THERE IS ANOTHER SMALL CONCERN, PROVOKED PERHAPS BY
VANITY, WHICH IS THE RECOGNITION THAT HEBREW AND JEWISH ORATORY HAS
ALWAYS KNOWN HOW TO STRIKE FIRE FROM LANGUAGE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO
MATCH THAT CAPACITY FOR LANGUAGE.

EVEN MOSES RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM WHEN HE SHRANK FROM GOD'S COMMAND TO LEAD THE HEBREW PEOPLE, SAYING, "I AM NOT ELOQUENT . . . BUT I AM SLOW OF SPEECH AND OF A SLOW TONGUE."

NEITHER AM I ELOQUENT, BUT I DO CLAIM A RECORD OF POSITIVE EFFORTS ON ISRAEL'S BEHALF, AND UPON THAT PROOF OF SINCEREITY, I WILL TRY TO ADDRESS THE CONCERNS THAT BIND US.

ELECTION YEAR

THIS IS AN ELECTION YEAR, AND IT IS TRADITIONAL FOR CANDIDATES TO GO BEFORE AUDIENCES, SAYING WHAT THEIR AUDIENCES WANT TO HEAR, PROMISING WHAT THEIR AUDIENCES WANT PROMISED, SEEKING VOTES IN RETURN FOR ASSURANCES OF FAST POSITIVE ANSWERS TO WHATEVER QUESTIONS OR DIFFICULTIES CONFRONT THEIR AUDIENCES.

IT WOULD BE A FOOLISH THING TO COME BEFORE REPRESENTATIVES OF A PEOPLE WHO HAVE STRUGGLED, SUFFERED AND SURVIVED FOR FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AND SPEAK OF FAST OR EASY SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS THAT CONCERN YOU.

IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO COME BEFORE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF A PEOPLE SOME OF WHOM ARE STILL SCATTERED IN DISPERSION, PROSPERING HERE IN THIS TIME, STARVING THERE IN ANOTHER TIME, EXALTED IN ONE PLACE, CONDEMNED IN ANOTHER -- AND SAY TO YOU THAT THERE IS ONE COURSE OF ACTION, ONE POLICY TO PURSUE IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, IN ALL PLACES FOR ALL TIME, AND IF YOU WILL SUPPORT US IN THAT POLICY TONIGHT, WE WILL GIVE YOU THE MILLENNIUM IN THE MORNING.

NO ALTERNATIVE

IT IS PROPER, HOWEVER, TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN UNCHANGING OBJECTIVES. GOLDA MEIR USED TO SPEAK OF A SECRET WEAPON WHICH ENABLED ISRAEL TO SURVIVE. THE SECRET WEAPON WAS: "AYN BREIRA" -- NO ALTERNATIVE.

THAT SECRET WEAPON IS, HAS BEEN, AND SHALL CONTINUE TO BE THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST. IT ADMITS OF NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL.

BUT THE WORD "SURVIVAL," SUGGESTS A MINIMAL SITUATION. WHO IN AMERICA, IF ASKED WHAT THEY WISHED FOR THIS NATION, WOULD SAY MERELY: SURVIVAL?

SURELY, ISRAEL CAN SURVIVE, SHE CAN SURVIVE BY WINNING ALL HER WARS. BUT THE PRICE OF SURVIVAL ON THESE TERMS IS THAT SHE MUST ALWAYS BE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE HER SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO WAR. AND THAT IS A HARSH AND HEARTBREAKING KIND OF SURVIVAL.

ALWAYS BE PREPARED

ISRAEL CAN SURVIVE BY BEING ALWAYS PREPARED FOR WAR. BUT THAT MEANS CONTINUING TO SPEND MOST OF HER RESOURCES ON PLANES AND TANKS AND GUNS AND THE PEOPLE TO OPERATE THEM. IT MEANS NEVER ENJOYING A LEVEL OF PERSONAL PROSPERITY CONSISTENT WITH THE HARD WORK WHICH THE ISRAELI PEOPLE BRING TO BUILDING THEIR ECONOMY. IT MEANS NOT PASSING ON TO HER CHILDREN A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING.

ISRAEL CAN AND WILL SURVIVE. BUT UNTIL THE OVERALL PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST ARE RESOLVED, THERE WILL BE NO ASSURANCE THAT SHE WILL HAVE THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY THAT MAKE SURVIVAL SOMETHING MORE THAN A GRIM DUTY.

I SAID EARLIER THAT WE FACE TOGETHER A PATTERN OF ISSUES AND CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRING EXTREME REASON TO ADDRESS.

CONSIDER THE UNREASONABLENESS OF THE SITUATION TODAY.

RACISTS?

WE SEE MEN ARISE IN A WORLD FORUM, REPRESENTING A SEMITIC PEOPLE, AND ACCUSE ANOTHER SEMITIC PEOPLE OF BEING RACISTS. RACISTS AGAINST WHOM? RACISTS AGAINST THOSE OF THEIR OWN RACE. HOW CAN WE GET ANY SENSE OUT OF THAT?

THE ISRAELI MIRACLE

WE SEE A SMALL GREEN OASIS IN A SEA OF BARREN SAND AND HOSTILITY. ONCE THE OASIS ITSELF WAS BARREN. THE JEWS CAME HOME AND MADE IT BLOOM, MADE IT THE LAND OF MILK AND HONEY PROMISED LONG AGO. THEY FEED THEIR PEOPLE. THEIR DREAMS ARE NOT OF MERE ADEQUACY, BUT OF ABUNDANCE. THEY GROW ORANGES FOR EXPORT AROUND THE WORLD. WHERE THERE WAS SALT AND BRACKISH WATER, THEY NOW FARM TROUT. THEY GROW GRAPES FOR WINE.

AND ISRAEL HAS EXTENDED HER HAND TO COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, OFFERING HER HELP, HER LEARNING, HER EXPERIENCE. BUT, TOO OFTEN, SHE IS TURNED DOWN.

TODAY, PROGRESS IS BEING LOST, AND CHILDREN SUFFER FROM MALNUTRITION AND DIE OF STARVATION, AND LANDS LIE BARREN STILL AND HOSTILE -- ALL TO SPITE ISRAEL.

WHO CAN MAKE SENSE OF IT?

TERRORISM

WE SEE TERRORISTS, IN LEAGUE WITH IDI AMIN, HIJACK AN AIRPLANE AND PREPARE TO TAKE THE LIVES OF A HUNDRED INNOCENT PEOPLE.

AND WE SEE ISRAEL CASTIGATED AND CONDEMNED FOR SAVING THE LIVES OF THOSE HUNDRED PEOPLE.

WHO CAN MAKE SENSE OF IT?

THERE IS NO REASON IN ANY OF IT.

HOPELESS?

THERE IS A TEMPTATION TO SAY IT IS HOPELESS.

BUT WHO CAN SAY TO A PEOPLE WHO HAVE SURVIVED FOUR THOUSAND YEARS THAT A THING IS HOPELESS?

WHO CAN SAY TO A NATION WHOSE NATIONAL ANTHEM IS HATIKVAH (THE HOPE) THAT A THING IS HOPELESS?

AND WHO IN THIS OLD REPUBLIC, WHICH HAS GIVEN HOPE TO MILLIONS FOR TWO HUNDRED YEARS, WOULD DARE TO TELL A PARTNER IN LIBERTY THAT, FINALLY, WE HAVE FOUND A SITUATION THAT IS HOPELESS.

NO ONE.

IN THE FACE OF ALL HOSTILITY AND UNREASON, OUR COURAGE, OUR MORALS, OUR PRIDE, OUR HERITAGE, OUR MINDS AND OUR HEARTS TELL US THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE NOT HOPELESS.

TO THE CONTRARY, IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING, THEY ARE MORE PROMISING TODAY THAN THEY HAVE BEEN AT ANY TIME SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

THE PALESTINIANS

BEGINNING IN 1948, DEMAGOGUES USED THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO STIR UP HATRED AGAINST ISRAEL.

THE PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES WERE NOWHERE ASSIMILATED, BUT WERE KEPT IN CAMPS AND FED ON HATRED. FINALLY, THE GENERATION THAT GREW UP IN THE CAMP WAS SET LOOSE, NOT MERELY ON ISRAEL, BUT ON THE WORLD.

PALESTINIAN ARMED FORCES WERE CREATED TO THROW AGAINST ISRAEL. INSTEAD, IN A GRIM IRONY, THOSE FORCES HAVE NOW LED A FORMERLY PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS ARAB STATE TO THE BRINK OF TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

THERE CAN BE NO SATISFACTION FOR ISRAEL IN WHAT HAS OCCURED IN LEBANON, AND I KNOW THERE IS NONE. THE SITUATION THERE REMAINS EXTREMELY TRAGIC -- AND DANGEROUS.

BUT THE AGONY OF LEBANON HAS DEMONSTRATED AT LEAST ONE THING: THE PALESTINIAN ARGUMENT -- THE SO-CALLED "MODERATE" ARGUMENT -- IS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE MADE A SECULAR STATE OCCUPIED AND GOVERNED BY CHRISTIANS, MUSLIMS AND JEWS. THE STATE THEY ENVISION FOR THE FUTURE LOOKS PRECISELY LIKE LEBANON BEFORE THEY TORE LEBANON APART. THE EVENTS IN LEBANON ARE THE BEST REFUTATION OF THE PALESTINIAN ARGUMENT FOR A NEW STATE.

NO ONE CAN PREDICT WHAT WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF EVENTS IN LEBANON.

IN ADDITION TO THE TRAGEDY IT HAS BROUGHT TO THE LEBANESE, IT PROVIDES GROUND FOR NEW DIVISIONS BETWEEN OTHER ARAB STATES. AGAIN, THERE IS LITTLE COMFORT IN THAT FOR ISRAEL. IT MERELY PROLONGS THE PERIOD IN WHICH ISRAEL MUST WAIT FOR THE STABILITY WHICH CAN LEAD TO PEACE.

CAUSE FOR HOPE

NEVERTHELESS, THE SITUATION IS NOT COMPLETELY DISCOURAGING. THERE ARE SOME RELATIVELY BRIGHT SPOTS -- EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY DARK EVENTS.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE YOM KIPPUR WAR, ISRAEL AND EGYPT SAT DOWN TO NEGOTIATE A SUCCESSFUL DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IN JANUARY, 1974. SIMILAR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA WERE SUCCESSFUL IN MAY OF 1974.

ARAB NATIONS, WHICH BROKE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES IN 1967 MOVED TO RESTORE THOSE RELATIONS IN 1973 AND 1974, SO THAT WE HAD A NEW OPPORTUNITY, NEW CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION, AND NEW LEADERSHIP WITH WHOM TO WORK TOWARD A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

PRESIDENT FORD'S DIPLOMACY

IN JUNE OF 1974, PRESIDENT NIXON HELD AN INTENSIVE SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH ARAB LEADERS AND WITH PRESIDENT RABIN. IN THE SPRING OF 1975, PRESIDENT FORD CONDUCTED FURTHER MEETINGS IN THE AREA, MOVING THE PROCESS OF PEACE-MAKING ALONG, AND MOVING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ALONG.

IN JUNE OF 1975, EGYPT RE-OPENED THE SUEZ CANAL. IT WAS A BOLD STEP, DEMONSTRATING MODERATION AND INCREASING CONFIDENCE BY BOTH SIDES IN THE NEW POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE.

FINALLY, IN SEPTEMBER OF 1975, THOSE EFFORTS BORE THEIR FIRST REAL FRUIT, WHEN THE SINAI AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. IT WAS THE FIRST ARAB-ISRAELI AGREEMENT WHICH WAS NOT THE IMMEDIATE RESULT OF HOSTILITIES. BOTH SIDES HAILED THE ACHIEVEMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS PLAYING A KEY ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE MECHANISMS THAT ASSUME OBSERVANCE OF THE SINAI AGREEMENT.

WITH THIS PROGRESS AS A BACKDROP, PRESIDENT FORD WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BASED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

PRESIDENT FORD'S LEADERSHIP

HE WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE. HE HAS THEIR CONFIDENCE. HE IS PATIENT AND HE IS EXPERIENCED.

IN THE MEANTIME, WE CAN ONLY ENCOURAGE PEACE BY ACTING TO DISCOURAGE WAR. THIS MEANS MAINTAINING THE STRENGTH OF ISRAEL, AND MAKING CLEAR THE CONTINUED STRENGTH OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL.

IN THE FIRST TWO BUDGETS FORMULATED WHILE HE HAS BEEN IN OFFICE, PRESIDENT FORD HAS REQUESTED MORE THAN \$4.2 BILLION FOR ISRAEL. TO PUT THAT SUM IN PERSPECTIVE, IT IS TWO-FIFTHS OF ALL U.S. AID GIVEN TO ISRAEL IN THE PERIOD SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

I BELIEVE NO ENEMY OF ISRAEL, REAL OR POTENTIAL, CAN MISTAKE THE WILL OR THE INTENTIONS OF PRESIDENT FORD TOWARD THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

JEWS OUTSIDE ISRAEL

BUT THE WELL-BEING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL CANNOT BE SEPARATED, EITHER MORALLY OR PRACTICALLY, FROM THE WELL-BEING OF JEWS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

THE SITUATION INVOLVING SOVIET JEWRY WAS A PART OF THE IMPETUS BEHIND AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.

AS YOU KNOW, ONE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT AIMS AT MAKING IT EASIER FOR FAMILIES TO BE REUNITED ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS, AND FACILITATING TRAVEL BETWEEN NATIONS.

IT IS NOT A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT, IT IS TRUE. BUT MANY USEFUL AGREEMENTS ARE NOT LEGALLY BINDING, AND MANY LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENTS ARE NOT KEPT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. THIS AGREEMENT IS STILL NOT FULLY OBSERVED BY ALL THE SIGNATORIES. PERHAPS IT WILL NOT BE -- OR AT LEAST NOT FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

WE ARE DEALING WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH THE RIGHTS OF SOME STATES ARE CONSIDERED SUPERIOR TO THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. SO ANY PROGRESS TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT IS PROGRESS AWAY FROM TOTALITARIAN TYRANNY. WE MUST NOT WONDER IF PROGRESS IS SLOW. WE SHOULD, RATHER, REJOICE FOR ANY PROGRESS AT ALL.

PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE

IT IS FRUSTRATING, CERTAINLY, WHEN WE SEEM TO BE TAKING TEN STEPS FORWARD AND NINE STEPS BACKWARD. BUT WE MUST BE WILLING TO DO IT FOR THE SAKE OF THAT ONE STEP TOWARD PROGRESS. WE MUST BE WILLING TO EXPLORE ALL AVENUES, BECAUSE WE NEVER KNOW FOR CERTAIN WHICH STEP WILL BE THE ONE STEP TOWARD PROGRESS. IN JANUARY OF 1971, WHEN THE SOVIETS SENTENCED TWO JEWS TO DEATH FOR ALLEGEDLY HIJACKING AN AIRPLANE, I INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE ASKING THE SOVIETS TO COMMUTE THOSE SENTENCES. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE SENTENCES WERE COMMUTED.

WHO CAN SAY THE SENATE RESOLUTION HAD ANY IMPACT?

WHO CAN SAY IT DID NOT?

SILVA ZALMENSON

THE FOLLOWING DECEMBER, WHEN SILVA ZALMENSON WAS DYING OF TUBERCULOSIS IN SIBERIA, I INTRODUCED ANOTHER SENATE RESOLUTION, REQUESTING THAT SHE BE BROUGHT OUT OF SIBERIA AND GIVEN MEDICAL ATTENTION. WHAT THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS WERE, I DO NOT KNOW. HAPPILY, SHE IS OUT OF SIBERIA, OUT OF RUSSIA, AND AT HOME IN ISRAEL. THE POINT IS THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT AN EXACT SCIENCE.

WHETHER WE ARE TRYING TO SAVE A LIFE IN RUSSIA OR ENSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE EVENTUAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF ISRAEL, WE HAVE TO TRY EVERYTHING, PRESS AT EVERY POINT, AND EVEN SETTLE SOMETIMES FOR HALF MEASURES.

HELSINKI'S OBJECTIVES

WE SHOULD NOT SELL THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT SHORT BECAUSE IT FALLS SHORT OF ALL OF ITS OBJECTIVES. THE UNITED NATIONS FALLS SHORT OF ITS OBJECTIVES. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN WE MUST WONDER IF IT IS NOT MORE A THREAT TO THE PEACE THAN A CONTRIBUTION, BUT WE STICK WITH IT. ANY INSTITUTION, ANY AGREEMENT, ANY UNDERTAKING WHICH SEEKS TO BRIDGE DIFFERENCES, RATHER THAN EXACERBATE THEM, MUST BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO WORK.

WE COME TO THIS CONCLUSION SIMPLY BECAUSE WE KNOW THERE IS NO OTHER CONCLUSION TO COME TO.

THERE ARE NO EASY ANSWERS. THERE ARE NO PANACEAS. THOSE WHO ADVOCATE SIMPLE SOLUTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE SIMPLY TOO UNINFORMED AND INEXPERIENCED TO UNDERSTAND THE FORCES AT PLAY THERE. NOTHING IS SIMPLE OR EASY. HOWEVER, SOME OF THE ELEMENTS ESSENTIAL TO PEACE, WHICH WERE UNIMAGINABLE A FEW YEARS AGO, ARE NOW PRESENT.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH ARAB STATES

I KNOW THERE ARE THOSE WHO QUESTION U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES. THERE ARE THOSE WHO WORK ON THE PREMISE THAT MY ENEMY'S ENEMY IS MY FRIEND, AND THEY WOULD FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE IF THE U.S. DID NOT SEEK TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE ARAB NATIONS. THIS IS SHORT-SIGHTED AND DANGEROUS. THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT A MONOLITH. IF PEACE IS TO COME THERE, IT MUST COME TO ALL -- AND IT WILL HAVE TO COME BY DIFFERENT AVENUES BECAUSE THERE ARE SO MANY COMPETING AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS THERE. THE U.S. HAS A ROLE TO PLAY WITH EACH NATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THOSE WHO DOUBT OR SUSPECT THE MOTIVES AND ACTIONS OF THE U.S. IN THAT REGARD SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL REST WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT THERE WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES AND BENEFICIAL TO ALL PARTIES.

CARTER'S DISTORTIONS

ON APRIL 1, THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT SPOKE TO A GROUP OF JEWISH LEADERS HERE IN NEW YORK. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION RATED SUPPLIES OF CRUDE OIL FOR AMERICA EQUAL TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

HE ASKED, "SHOULD MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS BE AT THE RISK OF SACRIFICING A PROGRESSIVE, ADVANCED DEMOCRATIC NATION WHICH IS OUR FRIEND?"

I THINK THE INFERENCES CONTAINED IN THAT SPEECH GO FAR BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL RHETORIC, LET ALONE REASON.

I WOULD BE REMISS IF I DID NOT CONDEMN ON THIS OCCASION ANY EFFORT TO CHOP AWAY AT THE CONFIDENCE OF ISRAEL AND ITS SUPPORTERS, IN PRESIDENT FORD.

CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE

YESTERDAY, MR. CARTER ADDRESSED B'NAI B'RITH BIENNIAL CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON, AND HAS RETURNED AGAIN TO THE EFFORT TO DESTROY THAT CONFIDENCE SO ESSENTIAL BETWEEN AMERICA AND HER ALLIES.

IT WOULD BE MOST CHARITABLE TO SIMPLY CONCUR WITH THE CONSTANT STREAM OF PRESS COMMENTARY ABOUT MR. CARTER'S TOTAL LACK OF EXPERIENCE, UNDERSTANDING OR ABILITY IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. JOE KRAFT, FOR EXAMPLE, URGED THAT "CARTER OUGHT TO STOP TREATING WORLD AFFAIRS AS A KIND OF WONDERLAND."

CARTER GLIBLY CRITICIZES ARMS SALES TO AMERICAN ALLIES, REVEALING A DANGEROUSLY SUPERFICIAL UNDERSTANDING OF FUNDAMENTAL GEOPOLITICS. LET ME TAKE JUST THE EXAMPLE OF IRAN AS A NATION TO WHICH WE SELL ARMS.

IRAN IS ONE OF OUR CLOSEST ALLIES AND HAS BEEN FOR DECADES. IT IS A SITUATED ON THE SOVIET BORDER AND HOLDS A PIVOTAL POSITION IN SECURING THE STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF REGION AND ITS VAST PETROLEUM RESOURCES. IRAN PROVIDES OIL TO ISRAEL AND HAS BEEN A GOOD FRIEND. IRAN IS A MATURE SOCIETY OF PROUD PEOPLE SEEKING TO DEVELOP THEMSELVES UNDER SECURE CONDITIONS AND RESPONSIBLE PRO-WESTERN LEADERSHIP. IT STRIKES ME AS A STRANGE PERCEPTION OF AMERICAN INTEREST TO SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE WILLING TO SELL GOODS AND SERVICES TO A NATION LIKE IRAN.

MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, I CANNOT ABIDE THE COLOSSAL HYPOCRISY OF MR. CARTER OMITTING REFERENCE TO THE COUNTRY TO WHICH PRESIDENT FORD HAS MADE THE LARGEST VOLUME OF SALES -- ISRAEL -- WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MORALIZING AD NAUSEAM ABOUT THE EVILS OF SELLING ARMS.

CARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS

ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MR. CARTER SAYS, "THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED TO MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO GET THE RUSSIANS TO PERMIT GREATER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TO EMIGRATE FREELY TO THE COUNTRY OF THEIR CHOICE, AND I COMMEND THOSE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND OTHERS WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED A STRONG PERSONAL CONCERN AND COMMITMENT TO THAT GOAL."

THIS IS CYNICAL HYPOCRISY, AND REPRESENTS ANOTHER CARTER FLIP-FLOP. IN HIS INTERVIEW IN THE NEW YORK TIMES, JULY 7, HE SAID: "I THINK THE JACKSON AMENDMENT AND THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT WERE MISTAKEN. . . . I THINK THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE AMENABLE TO QUIET BUT FIRM DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATION THAN THE HIGHLY PUBLICIZED PRESSURE PLACED ON THE SOVIET UNION BY AN ACT OF CONGRESS."

IN 1974, PRESIDENT FORD RAISED THE SUBJECT PERSONALLY WITH MR. BREZHNEV AT HELSINKI IN AN EFFORT TO RESTORE THE EMIGRATION LEVELS THAT WERE PREVALENT BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

MR. CARTER FINDS IT CONVENIENT TO IGNORE THAT IT WAS A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH ACHIEVED THE HIGHEST EMIGRATION RATE OF SOVIET JEWRY IN HISTORY -- 50 FOLD OVER WHAT IT HAD BEEN UNDER THE LAST DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION.

THE RECORD OF THE PAST EIGHT YEARS IN U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS HAS BEEN ONE OF UNPARALLELED DANGER AND UNPRECEDENTED PROGRESS. IN 1973, THE U.S. NEARLY WENT TO WAR ITSELF OVER THE YOM KIPPUR WAR. THAT IS NO SECRET TO ANYONE.

DEFENSE CUTS DANGEROUS

FURTHER IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE U.S. SEVERELY, CRITICALLY, DIMINISHED ITS OWN ARSENAL TO SUPPLY ISRAEL WITH EVERYTHING SHE NEEDED TO REVERSE THE TIDE OF THAT WAR. LET ME TELL YOU THAT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITH DEFENSE FORCES REDUCED BY SPENDING CUTS OF \$5 TO \$7 BILLION AS ARE BEING PROPOSED TODAY BY MR. CARTER'S DEMOCRAT PLATFORM.

AND FINALLY, IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN WATCHING THE SITUATION CLOSELY, ALWAYS VIGILANT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF DANGER TO ISRAEL, SO THAT WHEN THE WAR CAME, THOUGH IT CAUGHT ISRAEL WITH ITS GUARD DOWN, WE REACTED QUICKLY BY FURNISHING NEEDED SUPPLIES.

ON QUESTIONING MOTIVES

SO I BELIEVE DECENT MEN CAN DIFFER OVER POLICIES AND OVER THE WISDOM OF THIS OR THAT ACTION. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE ARE GROUNDS TO QUESTION THE MOTIVES OF THOSE WHO ARE ENGAGED CONSTANTLY IN THE SEARCH FOR A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE SAFETY OF ISRAEL

AND I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE ARE ANY GROUNDS UPON WHICH TO SUPPOSE THAT ISRAEL WILL BE SAFE IN THE TERMS SHE WISHES TO BE SAFE -- SAFE TO BEAT HER SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES -- UNTIL A LASTING PEACE IS ACHIEVED THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST.

I WISH IT WERE POSSIBLE TO COME HERE TONIGHT AND TO LAY BEFORE YOU SOME RADICAL NEW INITIATIVE, SOME GRAND STRATEGY FOR PEACE. INSTEAD, I COME ONLY WITH THE FIRM COMMITMENT THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION WILL CONTINUE THE SEARCH, AND THAT IT WILL NEVER JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, NOR WILL IT RETREAT ONE INCH FROM ITS COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

DAVID BEN-BURION USED TO SAY THAT ISRAEL'S MANDATE WAS THE BIBLE. HE WAS VERY CLEAR IN WHAT HE MEANT BY THAT. HE WROTE THAT THE JEWS "ELABORATE THEIR BIBLE SO THAT, WHILE ITS ETHICAL MESSAGE REMAINS UNIVERSAL, IT SPECIFICALLY TELLS THE STORY OF A SINGLE PEOPLE WHOSE DESTINY IT ASSOCIATES INDISSOLUBLY WITH A MOUNTAIN TOP, A DESERT WILDERNESS, A CAPITAL CITY, A GEOGRAPHY." HE WROTE OF THIS "GEOGRAPHICAL ANCHOR" GIVING SUBSTANCE TO THE SPIRITUAL IDEALS WHICH ENDOW JEWISH PEOPLE WITH THEIR INTELLECTUAL AND EMOTIONAL FORCE.

ISRAELI NATION BUILDING

WITH ALL THAT HAS TRANSPIRED SINCE 1948, IT IS PERHAPS UNDERSTANDABLE IF WE SOMETIMES FOCUS ON THE BIBLICAL MANDATE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF ISRAEL'S REBIRTH, AND NOT FOCUS AS MUCH AS WE OUGHT TO ON THE COURAGE, THE HARD WORK, THE SACRIFICES AND THE FAITH WHICH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAVE BROUGHT TO THE TASK OF NATION BUILDING.

THEY HAVE BUILT A GREAT, FREE NATION. WE HERE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN PRESERVING IT. WE INTEND TO DO ALL THAT HUMAN WISDOM AND WILL CAN DO IN THE SERVICE OF THAT OBJECTIVE.

THE TASK THAT REMAINS

NEVERTHELESS, THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TASK REMIND US THAT HUMAN WISDOM AND WILL ARE NOT ENOUGH. THAT WHILE THE ANCIENT LAWS WHICH GOVERN HUMAN CONDUCT GUARD AND GUIDE US, WE REMAIN RELATIVELY HELPLESS WITHOUT THE HAND OF THE LAWGIVER. WE KNOW THAT AS WE PURSUE OUR TASK OF PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION, HOWEVER NOBLY AND VALIANTLY WE MAY STRIVE, IT IS AS TRUE TODAY AS IT WAS FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO, THAT "EXCEPT THE LORD KEEP THE CITY, THE WATCHMAN WAKETH BUT IN VAIN."

THANK YOU.

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

ROBERT J. DOLE

SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

THE BRIEFING ROOM

12:11 P.M. EDT

MR. ROBERTS: There will be 15 minutes filing time after the appearance of Senator Dole and with that, in response to your request, here is Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: Good morning. I have only been in this room one other time, and I think that is when I was leaving as Chairman of the Party. (Laughter)

Q What does that mean?

SENATOR DOLE: That means I am no longer the Chairman.

I have just had a very fine visit with President Ford. We were talking about where I have been and what I have said and what I have done and how the campaign looks.

Q Are you selling tickets? (Laughter)

SENATOR DOLE: Right, but I think I can say with a straight face, and maybe some bit of bias and prejudice, that we are going to win this campaign. Things are on the upbeat. I have been in politics for a while, and when you start to feel good about the campaign, it does mean something: either you are exhausted or the campaign is looking better. Since I am not exhausted, it must mean the campaign is looking better.

We have had large, enthusiastic crowds in farm areas and wherever we have gone. It just seems to me things are coming together at about the right time. The polls look better. We reported on some we picked up in Nebraska where we were 17 points ahead, Indiana 7 or 8, and scattered polls of that kind.

If you have any questions I will be glad to respond.

Q Will you elaborate on how much ahead you are in these States?

MORE

SENATOR DOLE: All I know is based on polls that we have seen going around. I mentioned a couple to the President that we had heard about -- Indiana 7 or 8 points; in Nebraska 17 points; in my State of Kansas, 5 points; reports that it is even-up in Pennsylvania and about the same in California.

Q What, behind, you mean?

SENATOR DOLE: No, even-up. I didn't give you anywhere we were behind. (Laughter)

Q These are based on what, Republican polls or general public opinion polls or Teeter's polls or whose?

SENATOR DOLE: Just the information I had from Republicans based on polls they were aware of and had seen. Others were based on newspaper polls.

Q Senator, you have been going around the country apparently suggesting possibly where the Special Prosecutor's probe was politically motivated. I was wondering, inasmuch as the Attorney General has now taken responsibility for ordering that investigation, along with his top aides, do you think it appropriate to apologize to the Special Prosecutor?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't think so. I just said it was highly coincidental and the timing was somewhat remarkable. But the President -- we also touched on that in our visit upstairs -- he said to me what he said to you yesterday. I certainly believe President Ford. I think, as he indicated, integrity is the important thing and that is what he brings to this place, this White House and this country, and justice delayed is justice denied, and that is where it stands.

Q Senator, I don't think perhaps --

SENATOR DOLE: I understand the question. (Laughter)

Q You haven't answered it.

Q Do you think perhaps you owe an apology to the Special Prosecutor, inasmuch as it was the Justice Department and not any political motivation?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't think so.

Q Do you think it is politically motivated?

Q There still hangs in the air the allegation of a \$5,000 alleged contribution to you, which was the subject of a Federal inquiry, which may still be going on. Will you write the Special Prosecutor and ask the status of that inquiry?

MORE

SENATOR DOLE: We have said from the start, you know, that our records are available, that they can have all the records we have. I am not certain whether I should be in touch with the Special Prosecutor on a personal basis or write letters to the Special Prosecutor. I think that has been one of the clear distinctions made by President Ford. He hasn't contacted anyone. No one can say we have directly or indirectly pressurized anyone. They certainly have a right to conduct an investigation. No one quarrels with that.

Q Do you think the American people should have to go to the polls not knowing what the status of this inquiry is?

SENATOR DOLE: I think you could check with the Special Prosecutor.

Q We can't. We understand you have to ask directly.

SENATOR DOLE: If I do that, I am putting pressure on the Special Prosecutor.

Q I don't think that is true. I think that would clear the air.

SENATOR DOLE: You may not, but there may be nine others here that do. I want to add, in addition -- and I know you have a proper concern for that -- I think the press has every right to make inquiries, and they make a great many inquiries, and we try to be responsive and responsible, but I want to keep it in bounds and that is about where I see it. I have said as far as I am concerned there is nothing to it, and I think it is not up to me to press it further. But I think the one thing in this campaign that indicates there is movement and the responsibility for movement in this campaign is the great doubt about Governor Carter -- his weird performance and his judgment -- and I think what people want now, particularly in foreign policy, is experience and not an experiment.

We are getting more and more people and we are, of course, raising questions that he talked about -- income tax, he has talked about defense, and he has so many positions on the various issues that it just seems to me when all this comes together it is going to mean victory on November 2, and that is what this is all about.

Q Senator, what is the difference now why you see the campaign is on an upbeat, what is the issue that makes it an increase for you people?

MORE

SENATOR DOLE: I think the debates were a big factor. I have been asked probably everywhere I have been since the debate, who won the debates? I would stand up and say, "President Ford won the debate." I can also back that up with every poll I have seen. Whether it is CBS, Newsweek or Time, or whatever local poll it may have been, it indicates very clearly that President Ford was the winner. I think he is going to be even a clearer winner in the foreign policy debate. It indicates not just that he won. The American people are not so concerned about that. But how do they see Governor Carter? How do they see President Ford? I think President Ford has projected that confidence and leadership the American people are looking for. It is going to make a difference on the outcome on November 2.

Q What do you mean by "weird." (Laughter)

SENATOR DOLE: I thought nobody would ask. (Laughter)

Q Can you elaborate on that?

SENATOR DOLE: It just strikes me as rather strange that someone, whether it is Governor "X" or John Smith or who, can always find fault in a very harsh way. He can refer to former Presidents now deceased as liars, cheats and distorts the facts and run to the telephone and call the widow and say, "I didn't really mean it." He can talk about raising the taxes of those above the median income and then have his running mate run off to Maine and say he didn't really mean it, he meant the rich. If you look at all the buzz words that he uses, it is always loopholes, or the rich, or cheats, or liars, or distorters, or insensitive, and then you look at his judgment in the Playboy interview and his interview with Norman Mailer. It just seems to me that it indicates -- then his private meeting with some of the press where he, in effect, complained about the bad coverage he had, the hard questions he had, that President Ford had the soft balls. It seems to me there was some effort to intimidate the press -- it is all rather strange -- which indicates to me the campaign is in great difficulty.

Q In bringing up Carter, Senator, aren't you showing concern that the focus of the campaign be off Carter and his mistakes and maybe onto the President in this investigation?

SENATOR DOLE: Am I showing concern?

Q Yes. Do you think the focus has switched?

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SENATOR DOLE: I don't think the focus has switched. I think the focus is right out there. I think the American people have confidence in President Ford. He has leveled with the American people from the first day he walked in this White House. That hasn't changed, and it is not going to change. I think the focus is clearly where it belongs: Who can best lead this country in the next four years? That is what it is all about. The first debate indicated who can do it the best in domestic areas. The second debate will cover foreign policy. The third debate will sort of be the second --

Q I would like to go back to an earlier question. Did you know, before you made your comments about Ruff, that Mr. Levy had initiated the probe, and if you didn't know that, would you have made the same comments?

SENATOR DOLE: Probably not. I didn't know that. I probably wouldn't have made the same comment.

Q You didn't know?

SENATOR DOLE: No.

Q Senator, speaking of intimidating the press, did the President encourage you to continue attacking the New York Times?

SENATOR DOLE: I can answer that several ways, but he didn't.

Q Senator, what was wrong with the Mailer interview, would you tell us, Mr. Carter's interview with Mailer? Would you say that was one of the bad judgments?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't really know because they didn't print all the language. I want to commend the New York Times for not printing all that interview. (Laughter)

Q Would you say Levi is politically motivated?

SENATOR DOLE: Not in the least. I think that is the strength of this Administration.

Q If Ruff would be, why wouldn't the other one?

SENATOR DOLE: There is a distinction, I guess. I don't know.

Q By saying "weird," are you suggesting Governor Carter lacks the psychological make-up to --

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SENATOR DOLE: No, not in the least.

Q Senator, speaking of weird performances, doesn't your staff know you don't just tear pages out of ledger books?

SENATOR DOLE: I think it depends on the time it was done. If somebody picks up a book way back when you are keeping your records and says well, here is one that we will take out some pages -- I don't know what happened. I didn't keep my records. If you are insinuating that someone did it after the investigation started, you are wrong and I resent that.

Q I am not insinuating that.

SENATOR DOLE: You are insinuating that. That is not the case. The Special Prosecutor didn't say that at all. It was only raised by the press, after we accommodated some member of the press for 3-1/2 hours -- and I wasn't present -- to go over all my records, he has to write something bad, so he writes that.

Q How do you know the Special Prosecutor has no problem? Have you talked to him about it?

SENATOR DOLE: That is my understanding, but I haven't talked to him about it.

Q Are you saying that the Washington Post deliberately wrote something bad or twisted something about you? Are you referring to the Washington Post article about --

SENATOR DOLE: I am suggesting -- we had an inquiry. We tried to cooperate. We are trying to cooperate with the press, and I understand that he floated the so-called "missing pages." It had sort of a sinister note to it.

Q Senator, do you think you put yourself perhaps in league with Governor Carter? If I understand correctly, at one point you accuse Governor Carter of attacking the press and you seem to be doing the same thing now. Am I misinterpreting something?

SENATOR DOLE: No, I think there is a vast difference. As I said with reference to the New York Times, I don't have to like every story that appears in the New York Times, but I don't have to call them in to a private session, an off-the-record session, for two or three hours and complain and moan about my treatment by the press. If I have something to say about the press, I will say it openly. We don't have to like every story that shows up. They don't like everything we say. I don't see any problem with that, but I think it is when we try to gather everybody together and complain in private that we are not treated properly, that is the --

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Q Are you saying in effect that your criticism in being open in public and direct is more akin to what Spiro Agnew did?

SENATOR DOLE: No, I didn't say that at all. I would say we have a right to disagree. I hope we have that right. That is a First Amendment right, as I understand it, free speech as well as free press.

Q I don't understand why the first nine pages were missing. Would you go into that again?

SENATOR DOLE: You would have to ask Joanne Coe. I didn't keep the records. As I understand, they had an old book, they had some other material in it and when they started, they just started fresh --

Q Was that an economy measure?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know whether it is economy or not. The point is the figures are what is important. It is not how many pages are missing. She might have started on page 20. Somebody said, "Why are the first pages blank?" I don't know. I didn't keep the record. The point is we kept track of all our cash receipts. They are there. They have been available. Joanne Coe kept the records, I didn't.

Q In a short while the President will have to decide whether he is going to sign a \$4 billion appropriations bill to create more public service jobs. How will you vote on that bill? Pardon me, what will be your recommendation?

SENATOR DOLE: I didn't make a recommendation on that bill. I leave that up to the President.

Q How would you have voted?

SENATOR DOLE: I think I might have voted for it.

MORE

Q Senator, did you understand that some in the White House might be a little unhappy with the thrust of your campaign, they want you to focus more on Carter and less on the New York Times? Did you get any kind of --

SENATOR DOLE: I haven't really focused on the New York Times. I made one little statement out in --

Q Okay, but have you been asked to be more forceful on Carter?

SENATOR DOLE: No.

Q When are you going to take the gloves off?

SENATOR DOLE: I have been portrayed as -- the press set me up as a hatchet man almost before I opened my mouth, so I have been afraid to say anything. I am not intimidated by the press, but I want to try to be a nice fellow. But, we are going to try to get around to some of the more specific areas as far as Governor Carter is concerned.

I found nothing but praise from President Ford. I can say that very honestly, when I walked in and when I walked out. The first thing he said was you are doing a great job and the last thing he said was keep it up. I had to assume that he thinks I am doing a good job.

Now the polls are changing. I don't suggest I deserve much of the credit for it, but we have been in farmareas, we have been in cities, we have been meeting with the Mexican-Americans who said before I went in there -- they are 80 to 90 percent Democratic in Los Angeles -- they are going to support President Ford. We think we have had a fair way to gauge the electorate.

I am not perfect, but I think I can tell movement when I see it, and when I feel it, and it is there. Now we are still behind. I don't think anybody suggests we are ahead nationwide, but it is close and it is getting closer. The timing is right and on November 2 we are going to win.

Q Senator, what would be the reason why the Mexican-Americans would have changed from Democrat to Ford? What has he done for them recently?

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SENATOR DOLE: I think that is the same, what I think is a prime factor in this campaign. President Ford is a known quantity. He is dependable. He is in a sense predictable and people have trust in President Ford. They may not always agree, but they know where he is going to be tomorrow or next week. They know he is accessible. They know they can have their input.

Governor Carter, on the other hand, may be here today on defense, there tomorrow, and somewhere else. He says himself he likes to shade his comments to coincide with the audience. He not only shades his comments, he shades his policies. I think it is that same lack of certainty. Some call it fear. I call it doubt. There is a great doubt about Governor Carter, and I suggested -- you know, we are having three debates, so he can give all his positions but --

Q Senator, you told a group of Mexican-Americans on September 24 in Los Angeles that you opposed Proposition 14 and put fair labor standards in the agricultural field. Ten days before you told a group of businessmen in San Francisco that you do oppose it -- I am sorry, you told the Mexican-Americans you had not taken a stand and you told the businessmen ten days before you flatly opposed it.

How can you attack Governor Carter for inconsistency when you appear to have the same problem?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't think I have that problem. I said in San Francisco that I opposed Proposition 14, but I said at the Mexican-American meeting -- and there wasn't any secret about it, they knew how I stood before I walked into it -- my views on Proposition 14, what I said and what I intended to relay, and I think I did relay to those who were there that I was not out crusading for or against Proposition 14 as compared to Governor Carter who, on the pro forces, whatever it is he is out there lining up with Cranston, Tunney and others -- not Bernie Sisk, he resigned -- but I haven't gone to California to speak at any Proposition 14 rally. I just stated my own opinion, I didn't state the President's position. I don't know the President's position. I stated mine.

Q Senator Dole, you mentioned Governor Carter's weird judgments and performance. Do you see any similarity in the mental make-up of Governor Carter's performance and judgments and that of former President Nixon?

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SENATOR DOLE: No, I am not suggesting that. I am just suggesting that I find it hard to understand a man who finds it so easy to find fault with everyone. Now, they have gotten Billy Graham into the act. Somebody will say, well, that is his son. Well, he probably heard it at home. You know, who knows?

Q Senator, yesterday your representatives and Mondale's representatives met to talk about the debate. Will it be just like the Presidential debates in format and setting and style?

SENATOR DOLE: Style? (Laughter)

Well, I don't know. It is going to be on a Friday night, which is the all-American high school football night, and if anybody is watching it, it will be by accident. But, there is some question on whether it should be on the 15th or the 16th. There is some question on the site, there is some question on the format and there is some question on the length.

Beyond that, all the other issues have been resolved. (Laughter)

Q Do you want it to be just like the first Presidential debate in style?

SENATOR DOLE: I think it should be a little shorter. I thought 90 minutes was a bit much. Of course, you had that other gap in there. I won't mention it to you, Ann, but it was -- (Laughter)

Q Senator, wouldn't you like to have it different? You and Mondale could really put on a good show.

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know whether we are supposed to entertain or help our running mates.

Q You could have a real debate. Wouldn't you like to have a real, honest-to-God debate?

SENATOR DOLE: Before or after the election?

Q On this particular occasion, you know what I am talking about.

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know. I think we are somewhat constrained by what President Ford has said in the first and second debates. Anyone who is running for Vice President who thinks he is a policy maker should go back and look at history. I can't stand up and say in the first 100 days I am going to do this. I might not do anything the first 100 days. (Laughter) That might be a good statement to make. I think the American people would be assured. Here is a guy who says he is not going to do anything for 100 days. I will vote for him. (Laughter)

Q Just as a "yes man," as the Vice President, do you think that is the only role?

SENATOR DOLE: No, but I have to be there first, you know, before I develop that role. When you are behind in the polls, you don't spend all day planning on what you are going to do in January. I am planning now on going to Russell, Kansas and on to the election and being there to watch the returns come in.

Q Where do you go today, tomorrow and so forth?

SENATOR DOLE: I go to Connecticut today, tomorrow we go to Vermont and Maine, Sunday we go to New Hampshire, Monday we are here to talk to the American Bankers and Tuesday we go to Virginia. Hopefully sometime we will get a little time off to work on the debate or there will be just one debater there, and that will be Mondale. (Laughter)

Q Senator, while you were up talking to the President, presumably you discussed a little bit about how you are campaigning, how you are going to interact with him, how your strategy works together. Will you tell us what was decided, whether there will be any changes in the way to go about, whether there will be more coordination?

SENATOR DOLE: We think our scheduling now is based, at least in large part, on polling information, indications where we can either strengthen ourselves or otherwise. In addition, I have sort of the role of going to fund-raising activities for candidates running for Congress and Governor, so we get that added duty.

So, I just say in closing it looks good and I hope to come back to this room after the election and tell you how it happened, how we did it.

Q Sir, this week a Texas Democratic Congressman said to me that he believes Governor Carter will lose Texas.

SENATOR DOLE: I agree with him.

Q What are you hearing on the subject of the polls?

SENATOR DOLE: The last survey had showed we were about five points behind in Texas, and that has been two or three weeks ago. I think there has been movement in the South, and I have to believe the remark about the former President didn't set many on fire down there.

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Q Sir, a Texas Democratic Congress said to me he thought Carter would win. What do you think about that?

SENATOR DOLE: They both can't be right, and I will take the first one. (Laughter)

THE PRESS: Thank you, Senator.

END (AT 12:35 P.M. EDT)