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PAGE THE NATION

SENATOR WALTER MONDALE

Sunday, October 17, 1976

PANEL: George Herman, CBS News Correspondent, Moderator  
Jed Duvall, CBS News Correspondent  
Lou Cannon, Washington Post Political Correspondent

HERMAN: Senator Mondale, there has been a lot of talk about candidates for public office accepting plane trips and train trips and golf club visits and other kinds of amenities of that kind. Have you ever accepted any of that kind of amenity from anybody, and is it a good or a bad idea?

MONDALE: It's a bad idea and I have not. It seems to me that in public life it is terribly important that we establish standards that provide an example for the American people of how all of us should behave. In government you have a great deal of power, you have a great deal of influence, and it is not as though those visits and trips necessarily compromise you in the exercise of your duties, sometimes it might, but it's the fact that it gives an appearance that a public servant might not be fully committed to his duties of public service, and for that reason I think it's very important not only to behave in an independent way but act in a way that shows that you are independent.

HERMAN: Senator Mondale, I just want to revert to my opening question for a moment to make sure that I understood you correctly. There have been rumors and reports about almost every candidate that I can think of -- he went to the golf club, he accepted an airplane flight from a friend who happens to be in business. You were saying that you have never accepted any such free amenities of any kind.

MONDALE: That is correct. I have gone out to dinner with friends and so on, but I have not done that sort of thing.

MODERATOR: You talked in your reply about the importance of giving an appearance of complete propriety. In 1971, according to report filed with Congress, less than three months after you co-sponsored legislation to raise milk price supports, you received a \$5,000 contribution from the Associated Milk Producers. Does that -- if that is correct, does that accord with your idea of giving no impression that you might be beholden to some lobbyist group?

MONDALE: Well, may I say that I come from the second largest dairy state in the union. I was for 90% of parity minimum price supports when I was four years old. In our state it is very important, and I think we are right in wanting the the dairy farmer to have a decent return so he will stay in dairying so we can produce the milk that this country needs, and that we are doing. I don't think anybody in Minnesota thinks there is any relationship between that

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contribution which, indeed, is a very modest one on my behalf and my consistent support for dairy minimum price supports. One of our arguments against this administration is that they twice vetoed minimum price support legislation and that my opponent on the Republican ticket voted to sustain those vetoes. Let me say one other point: I think the whole present system of private financing of campaigns for public office, however, leads to the implications that is raised in your question. And I have always supported, for that reason, public financing of campaigns where the public, through the dollar check-off, finances a campaign so that neither directly or indirectly or through implication we have to speculate about whether there is a commitment that goes with private financing. We can do that either by an outright public financing prohibiting any private contributions, or we can do it by putting severe limits on individual contributions and having a public match. I have always been in favor of that because it does give the appearance of a possibility of conflict of interest and it puts us in a terrible position of trying to say, oh, no, we weren't influenced by a contribution. Particularly in this age when people have had their public trust and faith shaken so often, it is very difficult for us to try to argue that we were not. So I am saying that I was not influenced, that I have always been for that position, but I would much rather have a system in America where these kinds of questions would not be raised.

MODERATOR: Did I get it from the first part of your answer to Mr. Cannon's question about that contribution where you said, "I am from a dairy state", did you mean to imply that there is some special license if you come from a state say, a tobacco state or a particular state, that that adds to the validity of the contribution?

MONDALE: No. What I was saying is that being in the state, like Minnesota, with a large population of dairy farmers, I have always had a great interest, as their representative, in dairy farming and I have had a position all my life in support of decent programs for dairy farmers, and what I was really trying to say was that in light of that commitment and the rest I think that contribution was an exceedingly small one.

MODERATOR: This brings up the whole question of how you square a politician's, an elected official's duty to his constituents with his broader concept. For example, the whole Carter-Mondale ticket is very strongly for tax reform. You have always been very strongly for tax reform. You have also always been fairly strong, or frequently been fairly strongly for tax benefits for certain groups in Minnesota. You have sponsored a provision that would have helped IDS, you actively supported a provision that would have given some big grain companies a total of some thirty or more million dollars in tax relief. How do you square this broad concept of wanting to reform taxes with this more parochial

state concept of wanting to help the people in your state by putting in loopholes? (5)

MONDALE: Well, the fact is that my record in the United State Senate in favor of tax reform is one of the best in the United State Senate. My opponent's record, and the record of Mr. Ford when he was in --

MODERATOR: But I am interested in the internal contradictions of your own program. Mr. Dole is another program.

MONDALE: Yes, but I think I am going to be able to demonstrate to you that I have had a solid record of tax reform, including --

MODERATOR: Look, I believe I so stated that as my premise, that you do have a record of tax reform and I am trying to find out how you square these little deviations.

MONDALE: I am trying to answer the question.

MODERATOR: Excuse me.

MONDALE: Many of the tax changes that I have sponsored, would increase dramatically taxes on Minnesota businesses. For example, I have sponsored legislation, fought for legislation to repeal these tax shelters. Well, there are many people in Minnesota who benefit from that. I sponsored legislation to eliminate the foreign tax deferral. There are many Minnesota businesses that benefit from that. I have sponsored legislation in many other areas, for



Jim Johnson -  
Raphoor rewrite  
#2

MONDALE :60

I'm Senator Walter Mondale, the Democratic nominee for Vice President.

Just the other night I debated Robert Dole, Gerald Ford's running mate.

I think those 90 minutes said a lot about Senator Dole.

And I think they said more about the Republican Party.

Not once did he address himself to the issues that concern Americans.

Not once did he offer solutions to inflation, unemployment, adequate housing or education.

(He did richly earn his reputation as a hatchet man--by calling World War I and II wars that Democrats started--can you imagine?)

There are important issues to be discussed in this election.

They are, how to put 9 1/2 million people back to work.

How to stop the inflation that's robbing us all.

How to provide affordable housing, health care and education.

How to stop the tremendous waste in Washington.

My running mate Jimmy Carter and I don't have all of the answers.

And the only promise we can make is that we're going to try.

We hope that you'll give us that chance on November 2nd.

*Jim Jones - These are Kefauver's  
re-writer -  
Lil #1*

I'm Walter Mondale, the Democratic Nominee for Vice-President,  
And I'd like to talk to you about my running mate, Jimmy Carter.  
I remember in 1960 when a man named John Kennedy ran for President.  
A lot of people thought he was different,  
because they didn't know his background, or his religion,  
Or his accents--when he came to my state he called it "Minnesotah"  
But we came to know him, and we elected him,  
And, because of the way he made us feel inside,  
We wept when he died.

This year, people are looking at Governor Jimmy Carter,  
The way they looked at Senator John Kennedy.  
But I don't think it's any ~~more~~ different now than it was in 1960.  
It's what a person stands for that's important.  
It's his willingness to tackle tough problems.  
To be a leader.

There's no special part of the country that gives us a person like this.  
It's just up to us to recognize him when he comes along--and that's why  
I'm running with Jimmy Carter.

I see in him what I saw in John Kennedy.  
I think he'll make a great President.  
I hope you'll vote for him November 2nd.

[047]  
CONFIDENTIAL MEMO

TO: DICK MOE, ELIOT CUTLER (CC: PAT CADDELL)  
FROM: RON ATKINSON  
SUBJECT: RATINGS OF SENATOR MONDALE

The attached listing provides the most recent available data on favorability ratings of Senator Mondale. States are ranked in order of favorability, based on the positive-to-negative ratio. Ratings of Dole do not affect this ranking, yet are provided for comparative purposes.

This list does not include Iowa or Connecticut, where our surveys preceeded the Democratic convention. I have excluded Southern states since you indicate you will not campaign there extensively.

Let me know if I can provide additional related information from our surveys

A last comment... these ratings relate to the entire state, and do not reflect parts of states where one of the men may be comparatively stronger or weaker.



FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL  
NOMINEES

	MONDALE (FAV/UNFAV)	DOLE (FAV/UNFAV)
Minnesota	71/24	37/30
New Jersey	40/14	25/23
South Dakota	55/20	30/23
Pennsylvania	46/17	38/25
Montana	41/15	28/14
Vermont	45/17	29/21
Massachusetts	39/15	-
Maryland	48/19	30/25
North Dakota	55/25	42/18*
Rhode Island	28/14	-
Wisconsin	43/22	30/24
West Virginia	37/20	22/26*
Delaware	38/21	27/19
Maine	35/19	32/19
Virginia	38/22	34/22
New York	40/23	25/26
Washington	42/25	39/25
New Mexico	35/21*	33/18
Missouri	38/23	43/23
Florida	42/26	36/28
California	38/24	31/27
Indiana	34/22	31/23
Michigan	37/24	31/20
Colorado	38/26	38/23
Oregon	38/26**	25/25
Texas	36/25	39/19
Nebraska	36/25	45/18
Idaho	30/27	29/21
Nevada	32/23	-
Wyoming	32/23	32/12
Oklahoma	35/26	35/24*
Ohio	35/26	28/26
Illinois	33/25	33/22
New Hampshire	27/21	23/18
Arizona	31/25*	38/17
Utah	23/23*	-

\*Denotes significantly higher ratings among Undecided voters.

\*\*The highest rating of all four primary candidates among Undecideds.

# NATIONAL

## Favorable-Unfavorable Rating

	<u>All voters</u>		<u>Undecided</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		<u>Independents</u>		<u>Republicans</u>	
	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.
Walter Mondale										
May 21-June 1	11	17	8	16	13	17	10	14	7	23
July 29-Aug. 1	38	20	25	14	53	9	31	24	21	36
August 6 - 15	43	23	25	18	54	16	40	23	25	42
August 23-25	38	19	28	12	54	10	30	17	21	40
Aug. 25-Sept. 13	38	20	36	13	49	10	31	25	23	34
Sept. 20-22	42	21	38	17	54	11	38	23	26	39
Robert Dole										
May 21-June 1	Not Asked									
July 29-Aug. 1	Not Asked									
August 6 - 15	Not Asked									
August 23-25	29	19	33	4	25	27	28	12	43	14
Aug. 25-Sept. 13	30	20	26	13	18	27	33	15	51	8
Sept. 20-22	33	25	20	21	23	34	36	23	54	10

President Ford in Minnesota, according to a statewide survey taken last weekend by the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll.

The vote preferences of Minnesotans who say they probably will or certainly will vote in November:

Would vote for Carter-Mondale	55%
Would vote for Ford-Dole	31
Not sure	17
	100%

The Democratic ticket gains strong support in the survey from members of the party, liberals and men and women living in union households. (A union household is one in which the chief wage earner is a union member or in which the person interviewed belongs to a union.)

Independent-Republicans are solidly for the Ford-Dole ticket and independent voters divide 4 to 3 in favor of the GOP.

Minnesotans tend to think the

## Minnesota Poll

Carter-Mondale ticket will win in November, but they are not as certain of this as in August. Forty-eight percent of the probable voters think victory will go to Carter-Mondale, while 31 percent predict the Ford-Dole ticket will win.

A total of 603 men and women living throughout the state were interviewed Sept. 24-27, right after the first TV debate between Carter and Ford. Because of late delivery of 38 interviews, much of the data in this report are based on slightly less than a complete sampling, but this does not change the findings.

When Minnesotans were asked how much interest they have in following what the candidates do and say, 41 percent said they have a great deal of interest, 40 per-

Minnesota Poll continued on 10A

Participants next were asked:

"What are the chances of your voting in the November elections for president — are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances about 50-50, only slight, or do you think you probably won't vote in the fall elections?"

Nearly 9-out of every 10 people said they are almost certain to vote (81 percent did) or probably will (7 percent). The rest of the people showed a disposition not to vote and were not asked this question:

"The major party candidates in the presidential elections are Gerald Ford for president and Robert Dole for vice president on the Republican ticket, and Jimmy Carter for president and Walter Mondale for vice president on the Democratic ticket. If the election were to be held tomorrow, would you vote for Carter and Mondale, the Democrats, or for Ford and Dole, the Republicans?"

The replies among certain and probable voters:

	Carter-Mondale	Ford-Dole	Not Opinion
All voters	55%	31%	17%
Men	53	34	13
Women	48	33	21
Democratic			
Farmer-Laborites	54	6	19
Independent-Republicans	7	84	9
Independents	32	43	25
Liberals	70	17	13
Moderates	46	35	19
Conservatives	49	44	16
Southern Minn.	41	55	21
Twice Cities area	59	33	17
Northern Minn.	53	29	18
Urban households	59	27	13

All adults were asked about the outcome of the election:

"Regardless of whom you yourself support, which ticket do you think will actually win in November—Carter and Mondale, the Democrats, or Ford and Dole, the Republicans?"

The answers:

Carter-Mondale will win	47%
Ford-Dole will win	32
Not sure	21
	100%

Carter-Mondale supporters are about as optimistic now as they were in August. Ford-Dole backers are noticeably more enthusiastic about their ticket now than in August. These are the predictions recorded for each voter group in the current survey.

Think Carter-Mondale will win	71%	24%
Think Ford-Dole will win	14	64
Not sure	15	12
	100%	100%

Everyone interviewed was asked:

"Did you watch the debate on television between presidential candidates Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford? Which of the candidates did a better job in the debate — Ford or Carter?"

The replies for all adults and for probable voters who support each ticket:

	All vote for Carter-Mondale	Will vote for Ford-Dole	Will vote for Carter-Mondale
Ford did better job	21%	59%	5%
Carter did better job	16	4	31
Both the same, neither	23	21	34
Not sure	6	7	4
Didn't watch debate	28	18	23
	100%	100%	100%

This Minnesota Poll involved interviews with 602 men and women 18 and over throughout Minnesota. As a scientifically based opinion survey, it provides an approximation of the response that could be expected if all adult Minnesotans had been interviewed.

Results of such surveys are subject to sampling error. For a random sample of this size, it is possible to say that the error will not exceed about 4 percentage points either way. Since this sample is taken only from households with telephones, the error may be slightly larger than for a completely random sampling. For sub-samples of the entire population—for example, independent voters—the error could be larger.

5 SKID  
Carter leads Ford  
17 points in state

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## CLOSING STATEMENT

During this debate and during this campaign, the Republican ticket has not passed the first test of leadership -- by responding to the critical economic needs of our nation. Instead they have shown the same negative, reactive leadership that has characterized Mr. Ford's term in office.

- . They tell us there is no way to achieve full employment.
- . They tell us there is no need for tax reform.
- . They tell us there is no better plan to manage this economy.

Double diget wholesale price inflation, and they have no better plan.

Eight million Americans out of work, and they have no better plan.

The cost of health care, home ownership and college education soaring beyond the reach of middle income families and they have no better plan.

Their plans are the same, but hear how their rhetoric has changed:

. After bitterly opposing a Congressional amendment to fight the Arab boycott, Mr. Ford not only praised that amendment -- he tried to take credit for it.

. To the astonishment of his own advisors, Mr. Ford promised to release the names of companies participating in the Arab boycott, -- a promise that was broken the very next day.

## Closing Statement

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. And on the eve of this election, Mr. Ford reversed his prior positions by imposing import quotas on beef, by promising comprehensive medicare, and by reviving a housing program he once tried to kill.

Cynical, last minute, politically-motivated campaign promises cannot undue the record of the Ford Administration. The American people will not be deceived.

There is a second test of leadership, to restore public faith in government after the abuses not only of the Nixon, but of prior Democratic Administrations as well.

The Framers of our Constitution above all feared that government itself could become a menace to individual liberties. They trusted not in personalities but in the law and checks and balances through the separation of power among the Congress, the President and the Courts.

The Republican ticket has shown a consistent insensitivity to these clear principles not only during Watergate but following Watergate as well.

. The Ford Administration tried to kill, then weaken the provisions for an independent special prosecutor in the Watergate reform bill.

. Mr. Ford fought proposals to define and limit by law the power of federal agencies to violate the rights and privacy of American citizens, and instead issued "executive guidelines" many of which are secret and all of which can be changed overnight.



## Closing Statement

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. And Mr. Ford vetoed the Freedom of Information Act Amendments overwhelmingly passed by Congress to lift the veil of secrecy surrounding improper or illegal activities of federal agencies.

If this nation is to preserve and extend into a third century, the rights and liberties we celebrated in this bicentennial, there is no more time for equivocation on the rule of law.

We are committed to the very reforms this Administration has repeatedly fought. In law as well as spirit, we pledge a new openness . . . and a new restraint . . . to restore respect in government.

With public confidence, we can put America back to work, we can stop inflation, and we can bring decent housing and health care and education within the reach of the American people once again.

After all of the disappointment, the tyranny and suffering of past experience, our ancestors had the courage to hope and to try. It is that courage which has made America unique. We don't have every answer, but we are willing to hope and we are ready to try, not asking for trust, but trusting ourselves to the courage and strength and wisdom of the American people.

Designements

Contribution to campaign

Contribution to administration

Openness in foreign policy

Washington Mass Question

OPENING STATEMENT

(Oct 7 1976)

These last eight weeks I've travelled all over the United States, talking with people from Miami to Seattle, from San Diego, to Lewiston, Maine.

There is no <sup>question</sup> debate about the real issues of this campaign. People want national leadership that can restore our economy to its full capacity, restore our dollars to their full value and restore our great country to its full potential as the leading democracy and world spokesman for human rights.

Think what the last eight years of Republican rule have given us:

Record inflation that has robbed and demoralized us -- inflation so high that today real income of the average family is below the <sup>level</sup> leavel achieved a decade ago.

The worst unemployment since the Great Depression, unemployment that has stolen not only the paychecks but also the confidence and self-respect of jobless Americans.

And eight years of budget deficits that have added more to the public debt than all the previous 192 years of our nation's history.

For every 10 people in the unemployment lines the day Mr. Ford was sworn in, there are 15 people in the unemployment lines today.

Wholesale and industrial price inflation is again raging at double digit rates.

## Opening Statement

Page 2

And nearly all of the recent economic indicators -- stock prices, layoffs, new orders for plant and equipment, show that our economy is in deepening trouble.

Only strong leadership in the White House can stop inflation and put America back to work. Governor Carter can provide that leadership.

There are thousands of jobs crying out to be done, jobs to provide better housing, better health care, better transportation and a better environment. With Presidential leadership, we can lower interest rates. We can work with private industry to build homes, libraries, parks, pollution control equipment and to modernize our railroads.

We can close the outrageous loopholes in our tax system.

And we can recapture the spirit that once animated our foreign policy.

As we enter our third century, Americans are ready to make a fresh start, ready to leave behind the negative, reactive, backward-looking politics of the past. Governor Carter and I represent a new generation of leadership. We are ready to begin again, secure in the principles of our Constitution and confident that the vitality of the people, if only tapped, can be reflected again in a dynamic, growing economy and in a new era of leadership for freedom and human justice.

[02/1976]

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West Virginia	37/20	22/26*
Delaware	38/21	27/19
Maine	35/19	32/19
Virginia	38/22	34/22
New York	40/23	25/26
Washington	42/25	39/25
New Mexico	35/21*	33/18
Missouri	38/23	43/23
Florida	42/26	36/28
California	38/24	31/27
Indiana	34/22	31/23
Michigan	37/24	31/20
Colorado	38/26	38/23
Oregon	38/26**	25/25
Texas	36/25	39/19
Nebraska	36/25	45/18
Idaho	30/27	29/21
Nevada	32/23	-
Wyoming	32/23	32/12
Oklahoma	35/26	35/24*
Ohio	35/26	28/26
Illinois	33/25	33/22
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