

1 Club, met some small businessmen there, said, don't  
2 worry about taxes, I won't do anything for at least  
3 a year. That is after he said the taxes was a  
4 disgrace.

5 We have peace in this country today. That  
6 is important to me, important to mothers who might  
7 be listening.

8 They talk about their full employment when we  
9 took over, that is because they had a full grown war  
10 going in Southeast Asia. That is not the way we try  
11 to end unemployment in the Republican Party.

12 MR. HOGE: Mr. Bruno, your question, your  
13 question of Senator Mondale.

14 MR. BRUNO: Senator Mondale, everyone seems  
15 to agree that solving the economic problems of  
16 inflation and unemployment have to be given top priority.  
17 You and Governor Carter have a whole shopping list of  
18 things you want to do.

19 After the economic problem, what do you see  
20 as the next most urgent and crucial domestic problem,  
21 in what order of importance would you go to work on such  
22 problems as the decay and bankruptcy of the cities, tax  
23 reforms, health insurance, help to the poor and the  
24 elderly.

25 In short, after the economy, what would be the

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1 very specific priorities of a Carter Administration?

2 SENATOR MONDALE: You have to work on several  
3 problems at once, because they all demand the attention  
4 of the American people. One of the key problems would  
5 be to try to finally get a health insurance program  
6 to deal with the health crisis in America. In just the  
7 past two years, health costs in America have risen  
8 in the cities by over twenty-five percent. We have  
9 to do something about that. There is no hope under the  
10 Republican administration. Mr. Ford said he would  
11 veto any legislation if we sent it.

12 We have to do something about housing. We  
13 are in a housing depression. Today, nearly twenty  
14 percent of the building tradesman in America are un-  
15 employed. We need to put them back to work to build  
16 housing that Americans need. We need to continue to  
17 build support, as the budget permits, for education.  
18 We need to get back to work on the problems of senior  
19 citizens.

20 So, all of this has to be done prudently,  
21 within a budget and within the constraints that our  
22 resources permit. But, once we put people back to  
23 work, once we end this recession, which we will do,  
24 even the President's own estimate indicate that we will  
25 have somewhere between sixty and seventy billion dollars

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1 of increased revenue on existing tax rates just from  
2 economic growth, which we can use to work on these  
3 programs. Then, we will have tax return.

4 And, I want to deal with this problem just a  
5 moment. Mr. Dole has probably the worst record in  
6 favor of loop holes of any Senator in the United States  
7 Senate. Mr. Ford has one of the worst records in favor  
8 of tax loop holes in the history of the House of  
9 Representatives.

10 I have one of the best records of tax reform  
11 in the United States Senate. And, I find it very  
12 peculiar to find two people who spent their Congressional  
13 careers trying to block tax reform that permits very  
14 wealthy Americans to avoid most of their taxes, to  
15 suddenly complains when the Congress hasn't passed the  
16 kind of legislation that we are talking about.

17 What we are basically talking about is  
18 Presidential leadership. We need leadership in the  
19 Presidency, to help support those of us in the  
20 Congress that have been pushing for tax reform. And  
21 then we will have it. It is now possible for people of  
22 great wealth, by using complete tax fictions to avoid  
23 all or most of their taxes. But, most Americans  
24 listening to me tonight could hire the best tax lawyer  
25 in America, and they couldn't save a dime. There are

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1 no loop holes for you.

2 MR. HOGE: Senator Dole, your response.

3 SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think Senator Mondale  
4 is a little nervous. But, talking about making a  
5 loop hole, I think Governor Carter -- I don't know why  
6 it comes to me, but I remember on his '75 tax return,  
7 you have probably seen it since it is public, his  
8 tax liability was \$58,000.

9 Not many Americans, I don't imagine many of  
10 you in the viewing audience had to worry about a  
11 \$58,000 tax bill. I didn't. But Governor Carter did,  
12 until he took off \$41,000. That is called investment  
13 tax credit. He bought some peanut machinery so he could  
14 use it next year. They took \$41,000 off his tax, and  
15 sent the government a check for \$17,000. How much  
16 did he pay on his income? Well, he paid about 12.8  
17 percent.

18 This is that same man, the same Governor  
19 Carter who runs around the country talking about tax  
20 reform, loop holes, and the rich.

21 I don't know who rates Senator Mondale on  
22 the Finance Committee. I don't know how they rated  
23 him on the Honeywell Amendment he offered, and the  
24 I.D.S. Amendment he offered. They never passed. They  
25 never got out of the Senate. They are both special

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1 interest amendments. That is all right. Those are  
2 his amendments.

3 I don't know where Governor Carter's corporate  
4 returns are and his partnership returns. I haven't seen  
5 those published anywhere. But I know about his tax  
6 reform.

7 I want to get back to the question, if that  
8 is all right. We are talking about the economy, what  
9 are we going to do after the economy is taken care of.  
10 Well, I don't know, if it has occurred to me, and I am  
11 certain it hasn't occurred to my counterpart, we might  
12 -- it is not illegal to take some of that surplus and  
13 apply it to the national debt. We have never done it.  
14 But we wouldn't be put in jail if Congress voted to try  
15 to retire some of that debt, take some of the pressure  
16 off of the American working men, the American working  
17 woman.

18 I get a little tired of Governor Carter's  
19 anti-business attitude. I know they get great support,  
20 monetary support from George Meany. In fact, I have  
21 been suggesting that George Meany was probably Senator  
22 Mondale's make up man. He may or may not have been.  
23 They did a good job.

24 But, I think it is time the American people  
25 understand this is a very serious election. We have got

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1 a tough choice to make.

2 Governor Carter talks about raising everyone's  
3 taxes above the median income. He didn't know what  
4 the median income was, of course. It is fourteen  
5 thousand dollars per American family. That is what it  
6 is.. So I say, take a look and you will vote for Ford.

7 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale.

8 SENATOR MONDALE: The question was what would  
9 we do to deal with the human problems in America. The  
10 first thing we would do is to put people back to work.  
11 The most atrocious result of the Republican policy is  
12 massive unemployment. It cost us fifty billion dollars  
13 this year.

14 Secondly, we will fight inflation. Today  
15 inflation is three times worse than it was under the  
16 Democrats. And, the latest index indicates that it is  
17 back on its way up. No effort to fight this at all.

18 We will have tax reform. There is no question  
19 about our commitment to tax reform. My record proves  
20 it, Governor Carter's positions prove that. We are  
21 fully committed to tax reform. And, when the Republicans  
22 are raising money around the country, they say, give  
23 us some money to defeat Governor Carter, because if he  
24 gets elected, there will be tax reforms. And, they are  
25 right when they say that. Because we will have tax

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1 reform and bring relief to the average income earner  
2 in this country. They know what Governor Carter is  
3 talking about. He is talking about the loop holes that  
4 favor Americans usually earning above fifty thousand  
5 dollars a year.

6 MR. HOGE: Thank you, Senator Mondale.

7 We now turn to questions on foreign and  
8 defense issues.

9 Ms. Berger, you have the first question in  
10 the subject area, and it is for Senator Dole.

11 MS. BERGER: Senator Dole, President Ford  
12 said in an interview this week that if he is elected  
13 that he would like to see Henry Kissinger stay on as  
14 Secretary of State.

15 This hardly seems to square with the Republican  
16 Platform, which appears to repudiate much of Kissinger's  
17 foreign policy.

18 Which way do you go, Senator Dole, with  
19 President Ford or the Republican Platform.

20 SENATOR DOLE: I go with both, and stay with  
21 Henry. If you look back over history, President  
22 Washington had Thomas Jefferson for his Secretary of  
23 State, Harry Truman had Dean Acheson for his Secretary  
24 of State, both very strong men, both very active men,  
25 both very powerful men. Henry Kissinger is a powerful

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1 man. And, I haven't always agreed with Henry Kissinger,  
2 but I -- when I start disagreeing with Henry, I start  
3 looking to what he has done for America, and what he  
4 has done for the free world.

5 I think about the break through in China,  
6 I think about our increased responsive relations with  
7 the Soviet Union, I think about winding down the war  
8 that we inherited from another Democrat administration  
9 in Southeast Asia. I think most recently about his  
10 efforts in South Africa, where he is trying to protect  
11 the rights of majority and the rights of the minority.

12 Now, we sort of thought that Henry had a role  
13 to play in grain embargoes, so we weren't totally happy  
14 at that time. We are not happy with embargoes, there  
15 will not be any more embargoes except in extreme  
16 circumstances under a Ford - Dole Administration.

17 So, I agree with the President. Secretary  
18 Kissinger has performed yeoman service. Anywhere you  
19 look, you find Henry's tracks, and they are tracks that  
20 are right for America. They are tracks that are right  
21 for the free world.

22 I wonder how many mothers and how many  
23 fathers and how many young men and young women who may  
24 be viewing tonight, have really stopped to think about  
25 what this Republican Administration has done. No one

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1 is being drafted, no one is going off to war, no one  
2 is being shot at, no one is being hospitalized, no one  
3 is being buried in America, not a single shot being  
4 fired in anger. And, this is a Republican Administration,  
5 this is a Republican policy, and this policy by and  
6 large has been spearheaded by one Henry Kissinger. And we  
7 can have our differences, and I looked at the platform,  
8 I was on the Platform Committee, I don't see any  
9 contradiction in that platform. I have read the  
10 morality section. I think it sustains President  
11 Ford and sustains Secretary Kissinger.

12 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale, your response.

13 SENATOR MONDALE: The real question of the  
14 foreign policy of the next administration is the  
15 responsibility of the President of the United States.  
16 He is the person elected to discharge the responsibility  
17 of foreign policy. He is the person that must conduct  
18 it and lead this nation's efforts.

19 And, that is where I think the key difference  
20 between the two parties are. We want a change, we want  
21 new leadership. And, above all, we want to change  
22 the philosophy and direction.

23 America's greatest strength is to be found  
24 in its values and its beliefs. And, every time in our  
25 pursuit of foreign policy that we disregard those basic

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1 values, the freedom, democracy of national independence,  
2 To pursue a policy that is not credible, that is not  
3 sustainable, either overseas or at home.

4 Let me say what I mean. For example, in  
5 Africa, for seven and a half years, it was the policy  
6 of this administration to support the colonial control of  
7 Black Africans, and support white minority rule in  
8 majority black states. That was our explicit policy.  
9 And, after that failed, and on the eve of this election,  
10 suddenly we have turned around and wanted to be believed  
11 as we pursued the policy that we should have pursued in  
12 the first place. Failure to follow our beliefs in the  
13 first instance is causing us great trouble in Africa.

14 Look at Greece. During the whole period that  
15 the military junta controlled Greek government, this  
16 administration cozied up to that military dictatorship,  
17 befriended them, did everything they could to support  
18 them. But once Greece restored their own democracy we  
19 turned their back on them, and have not assisted them  
20 in seeking a just and final settlement on the Island  
21 of Cyprus.

22 Take the issue of the Middle East. This  
23 government of ours is pursuing a policy of permitting  
24 the vicious Arab boycott to continue in this country.  
25 They have not sought any reform. They are pursuing an

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1 arms peddling policy in this world, in which we sell  
2 more arms by double of all of the rest of the world  
3 put together. And last year alone, or this year, we  
4 are selling and contracting for seven and a half  
5 billion dollars of arms for Saudi Arabia and only a  
6 billion four for Israel.

7 We have lost our way. We need a new sense  
8 of values, and we intend to restore them.

9 MR. HOGE: Senator Dole.

10 SENATOR DOLE: I noticed in all of that  
11 discussion he never once criticized Secretary Kissinger.  
12 I don't recall Senator Mondale ever criticizing Secretary  
13 Kissinger.

14 As I think back, the Democrat policy and  
15 their secret agreements at Yalta and Potsdam and how  
16 this had the effect of enslaving Eastern Europe, and as  
17 I think of the leadership of President Roosevelt, I think  
18 about that every day because of a personal experience in  
19 World War II, I am kind of thankful that we have got  
20 somebody who is concerned about peace. And, whether  
21 Senator Mondale likes it or not, or whether Governor  
22 Carter likes it or not -- and Governor Carter won't  
23 tell us who he is going to put in the Cabinet -- he  
24 probably doesn't know -- I think it is kind of nice to  
25 be at peace in the world, to be respected in the world.

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1 We have had more respect than we have ever had.

2 Prime Minister Rabin said our relations  
3 with Israel are at a peak, the highest they have been.  
4 The same is true of France and West Germany.

5 We have a balanced peace in the Mid-East  
6 because of our leadership.

7 MR. HOGE: Mr. Mears, a question to Senator  
8 Mondale.

9 MR. MEARS: Senator Mondale, you and Governor  
10 Carter have made an issue of President Ford's statement  
11 that there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe,  
12 a statement the President now says was in error.

13 I would like to know whether there is any  
14 real difference between the two tickets on Eastern  
15 Europe or whether this is simply an effort by the  
16 Democrats to attract voters of Eastern European back-  
17 grounds.

18 What would a Democratic Administration do  
19 that the Republicans are not doing to foster freedom  
20 in Eastern Europe, and what would a new administration  
21 do on the question that the President declined to answer  
22 yesterday, if an Eastern European nation attempted to  
23 overthrow Soviet domination, should the United States  
24 help.

25 SENATOR MONDALE: Well, there are several

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1 things that we would do.

2 The first thing we would do was to make  
3 clear consistently what the facts are in Eastern  
4 Europe. The comments that the President made that  
5 Eastern Europe was independent and autonomous from  
6 Soviet control is probably one of the most outrageous  
7 statements made by a President in recent political  
8 history. It has caused great confusion in Europe.  
9 Communist newspapers in Poland are praising the  
10 President because the statement helped to give  
11 credibility to Soviet control. I am glad the  
12 President finally apologized for that remark. But, it is  
13 surprising that it took six days, and several attempts  
14 before we finally received that apology.

15 What we think is needed in our policy for  
16 Eastern Europe is not to deal with Eastern Europe as  
17 a block, as does this administration, but to deal with  
18 each country individually on its own status directly,  
19 and not through the Soviet Union, to continue to  
20 identify with their aspirations for national indepen-  
21 dence, not because we are under any illusion about how  
22 easy it would be for them to become independent, but  
23 because it is important for us to identify as the nation  
24 which above all stands for freedom and independence,  
25 with the aspirations of all people around the world for

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1 those same objectives.

2 Secondly, we would push the -- that part of  
3 the Helsinki Accord known as Basket III, which requires  
4 much opening up, much more opening up in people to  
5 people contacts and informational contacts. This  
6 administration signed the Helsinki Accord, but has  
7 done practically nothing to push those agreements  
8 which would open up communications between our nation  
9 and our people and the peoples of Eastern Europe and  
10 the Soviet Union. As a matter, it was just the other  
11 day, after several weeks delay, before they even  
12 finally appointed representatives of the administration  
13 to the Commission looking into the enforcement of that  
14 provision.

15 And, finally, I think that it is important  
16 that we honor people from Eastern Europe who stand as  
17 symbols of the human spirit's ability to stand up to  
18 police oppression. And, I will never understand why  
19 this President of the United States refused to even  
20 receive and honor Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who perhaps above  
21 all the people in the human race, stands as a symbol  
22 for the ability and the strength, the spirit against  
23 police oppression.

24 MR. HOGE: Senator Dole, your response.

25 SENATOR DOLE: Well, I am glad you mentioned

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1 Solzhenitsyn. I checked today with his interpreter.  
2 And, I understand you have never met Mr. Solzhenitsyn,  
3 and neither has Mr. Carter. And, I have had the  
4 privilege of meeting Mr. Solzhenitsyn. Maybe you  
5 shook his hand somewhere.

6 But, I want to move into the Eastern Europe  
7 sector. I am reminded of how the Berlin Wall went up,  
8 and who was in power when it went up.

9 I think if we take a hard look at President  
10 Ford's record, rather than all of the rhetoric that  
11 followed a mistake in the last debate about Poland,  
12 we would know very clearly where President Ford, not  
13 only stands, but has stood for twenty-seven years.

14 I think one way to let these people in Eastern  
15 Europe know of our concern is by trade. As President  
16 Ford said, they have never really given up hope. Their  
17 government may be dominated. Their leaders of that  
18 government may be dominated by Soviet Russia. But the  
19 hearts and the minds of the Polish people, of the  
20 Yugoslavs, and the Rumanians, or the Czechs, or who-  
21 ever, have never been dominated. And, they are good  
22 customers.

23 You know, we have a favorable balance of  
24 trade with Eastern Europe. I think last year they  
25 exported almost a half billion dollars worth of goods

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1 and materials, and we sent in about a billion dollars  
2 worth.

3 I just wish Governor Carter had a foreign  
4 policy. He doesn't have any. He doesn't have any  
5 experience.

6 He made some statement about Italy that bothers  
7 me, because I -- in some World War II in Italy -- my  
8 whole life changed because of my experience in Italy.  
9 I know the Italian people. I know they are God-fearing,  
10 freedom loving people. I couldn't quite understand  
11 what Governor Carter meant in Playboy Magazine, I  
12 couldn't understand frankly why he was in Playboy  
13 Magazine, but he was. And, we will give him the Bunny  
14 vote.

15 But, I couldn't understand what he meant when  
16 he said, I will not extend the hand of friendship to the  
17 Communists in Portugal, and the government of France  
18 and Italy. Because by doing that, he simply invites  
19 difficulties and Communist leaders in those countries.  
20 So, I'll say, oh, we're strong; we're firm, President  
21 Ford understands. We are still at peace. We still  
22 have those same hopes and aspirations of the Eastern  
23 Europeans. And, that is what it is all about, freedom,  
24 peace, no blood shed.

25 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale.

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1           SENATOR MONDALE: Well, I regret that Mr.  
2 Dole made that statement about Mr. Solzhenitsyn, because  
3 it is false. I have repeatedly spoken out in  
4 admiration of him. I served in the Host Committee  
5 receiving Mr. Solzhenitsyn in the United States Senate.  
6 He is a man that deserves to be honored, and it was a  
7 shame to me that the President of the United States,  
8 because we were fearful of offending the Soviet Union,  
9 failed to accord that high honor to Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

10           I am also sorry that he has tried to mis-  
11 represent Governor Carter's position on the governments  
12 that control Portugal and Italy. The Governor made it  
13 very clear that he hoped the non-Communists would continue  
14 to control those countries.

15           The biggest thing that we are doing today  
16 that is underminng those forces of democracy is the  
17 disarray of our economy here at home, with our  
18 tremendous unemployment, with our tremendous inflation,  
19 and the dominance of our economy and the economies of  
20 Western Europe, Japan and Canada, we have contributed  
21 to such conditions that it has strengthened the radical  
22 forces in those countries, and that is what we need to  
23 do to best help the democratic forces of those nations.

24           MR. HOGE: Thank you, Senators.

25           We have reserved time this evening for

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1 questions on general subjects.

2 The first question in this area is from  
3 Mr. Bruno, and it is for Senator Dole.

4 MR. BRUNO: Senator Dole, out there on the  
5 campaign trail, you have been saying that a Carter -  
6 Mondale Administration would take its orders from  
7 George Meany of the AFL-CIO, yet Mr. Meany was among  
8 those who influenced President Ford on the grain embargo  
9 that you personally opposed.

10 Now, how do you know that Mr. Meany will  
11 influence Governor Carter any more than he already  
12 has influenced President Ford, and what if anything  
13 is wrong with labor or business or farmers making  
14 their views known in the White House, as long as it  
15 is done openly and honestly.

16 SENATOR DOLE: Well, I don't have any quarrel  
17 say first of all with anybody making their views known.  
18 I wish more businessmen would participate in active  
19 politics. In fact, I have held up labor as an example  
20 for others to follow, because they are very active.

21 I just don't believe that labor leaders,  
22 that Leonard Woodcock, or George Meany or Jerry Worth  
23 or whoever, ought to make a decision for thousands or  
24 millions of working men and women who are concerned  
25 about spending, they are concerned about taxes, they

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1 are concerned about Gun Control that Mondale and  
2 Carter favors, they are concerned about abortions,  
3 they are concerned about a lot of things. When their  
4 labor leader makes the decision, we are going to  
5 support the Carter - Mondale ticket.

6 George Meany did exercise some influence on  
7 the first embargo. I don't know how much because I  
8 wasn't privy to those meetings. He said he did it  
9 in the name of the consumer. But, he really did it in  
10 the name of organized labor, to increase the shipping  
11 subsidies at the taxpayer's expense, working with Mr.  
12 Gleason and the Longshoremen's Union, they refused to  
13 load the ships, and it really put the President in a  
14 very difficult spot.

15 As I think back of all the Democrat Senators  
16 now talking about embargoes, I can only recall one who  
17 spoke out at the time. That was Senator George McGovern.  
18 He had no allegiance and owes nothing to Mr. Meany,  
19 because, as you know, Meany didn't support him in 1972.  
20 But, all of a sudden the embargoes have cropped up as a  
21 great big issue.

22 I know how much strength labor leaders have. I  
23 know how much they are out there pushing voter registration.  
24 I know how much they -- control they have in the  
25 Democratic Party, and that is their right to have

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1 influence, but not to take over the party. They have  
2 great influence on Senator Mondale, always have had. He  
3 has got a ninety-five percent labor rating or higher,  
4 the most liberal Senator in the United States Senate,  
5 and that is his right, if he wants to be liberal and  
6 spend your money, and tax and tax, and spend and  
7 spend, that is his right. He gets -- Well, first, he  
8 was appointed as Attorney General, then appointed to  
9 the Senate. Some of us had to run for what we have.  
10 When you have things given to you, you like to give  
11 something else to someone else, you give away your  
12 tax money, back to the taxpayers. And, I just think  
13 George Meany has every right to have influence, but  
14 not domination of a great party like the Democratic  
15 Party.

16 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale.

17 SENATOR MONDALE: Well, there are many things  
18 that could be said about that. But, I might begin  
19 first with voting records.

20 There are many organizations that prepare  
21 voting records. I am pleased to have a very high  
22 rating in small business groups, among farmer groups,  
23 a much higher rating than my opponent from -- the  
24 Senator from Kansas. Good ratings, high ratings in  
25 housing and health and education. Good ratings from

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1 organizations dealing with economic management. And,  
2 I am pleased by that. But perhaps one that is most  
3 appropriate tonight is an independent, dispassionate  
4 organization that represents the views of all  
5 Americans, conservative, liberal, moderate and so on  
6 called the League of Women Voters.

7 For five years the League has prepared the  
8 list of the most crucial issues that they believe  
9 affects governmental effectiveness, that affects  
10 governmental honests, that affects dealing with  
11 America's real problem. And, I am proud of the fact  
12 that in each of those five years the League of Women  
13 Voters has rated me one hundred percent in favor of  
14 every one of those issues that they on an independent  
15 and a bipartisan basis have believed to be the most  
16 important to this country.

17 And, I note in that same record that my  
18 opponent was wrong half of the time. He only was there  
19 fifty percent of the time. And, I noted that the  
20 President of the United States, Mr. Ford, when he was  
21 in the Congress, was right only thirty-five percent of  
22 the time. And, I think that says something about  
23 balance. We are in the mainstream of public life. We  
24 want to get along with business, we want to get along  
25 with farmers, we want to get along with labor. We think

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1 a President has to lead everyone. And, that is the only  
2 way that a President can lead.

3 This President and his running mate think  
4 they can get elected by whipping labor on the back.  
5 Well, labor has got a right to participate in the public  
6 life of this country as well as anyone else. Just take  
7 the embargo for example. I was opposed and said so at  
8 the time of all the embargoes. The four imposed by  
9 the Republicans and the short one imposed by members  
10 of the labor movement. I thought it was wrong in both  
11 instances. This particular ticket here is -- selects  
12 out Mr. Meany as the scapegoat. Well, you can't run  
13 this country trying to scapegoat Americans. You have  
14 to bring everybody together and have a united country,  
15 working together to solve our real problems. And,  
16 that is another reason why we need Governor Carter.

17 MR. HOGE: Senator Dole, do you care to  
18 respond?

19 SENATOR DOLE: All I would say as far as the  
20 League of Women Voters is concerned, you can look at  
21 that two ways, either I was wrong half of the time or  
22 they were wrong half of the time.

23 And, I think, knowing the League of Women  
24 Voters, I think I will take my interpretation. But  
25 with reference to -- they are very fine but they tend

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