

1 to be a little bit literal.

2 Now, George Meany, he wants the Right to
3 Work Law repealed in Texas, in my state.. Senator
4 Mondale is for the repeal of the Right to Work Law,
5 and he wants to force you to join a labor union.

6 Seventy-five percent of America's working men
7 and women don't belong to labor union, but they will
8 if George Meany and Governor Carter and Senator Mondale
9 have their ways.

10 They have also got some big proposition 14
11 out in California, where organizers come on your property
12 three hours a day and organize farmers, unionize farmers.
13 Governor Carter is for that. I assume Senator Mondale
14 is for that, certainly Caesar Chavez is and other
15 labor leaders. I just say they ought to have influence;
16 they shouldn't have domination.

17 What about your national security voting
18 record where you get a zero every year, to talk about
19 our defense.

20 MR. HOGE: Thank you.

21 Ms. Berger your question to Senator Mondale.

22 MS. BERGER: Senator Mondale, you criticized
23 Mr. Ford for having defended Richard Nixon, that is while
24 Mr. Ford was Vice President, and you. And, you did see
25 in your own political career that Hubert Humphrey suffered

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1 a great deal politically by standing with Lyndon
2 Johnson almost to the end on Vietnam. And, now, you
3 have acknowledged that you have differences with
4 Governor Carter.

5 You have said that an important mark of
6 national leadership is the ability to put loyalty
7 to principal above loyalty to party or even to the
8 President of the United States. If push came to
9 shove, would you put principal above loyalty to your
10 running mate and possibly to the President of the
11 United States? And, what issues are important enough
12 to do that?

13 SENATOR MONDALE: The answer is yes, I would,
14 but I would not have accepted a place as the running
15 mate of Governor Carter if I thought that was a real
16 possibility. We had a long talk about the problem of
17 independence between the two, the President and the
18 Vice President, and I made it clear to him that I was
19 not interested in serving in a role that was ceremonial
20 or serving in a role where if I really felt deeply
21 about something, I was prevented from saying so.

22 I did not want to go through that, I did not
23 want to give up my position in the Senate where I have
24 that right. We agreed that that would be the relation-
25 ship, and during this campaign on three separate

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1 occasions where I have agreed -- disagreed with Mr.
2 Carter, I have said so in the course of this campaign.
3 And, I think the whole issue of public trust and public
4 faith is bound up very closely with that question.

5 We have had so much politics-as-usual, so much
6 political trimming that Americans have lost faith in
7 public leadership.

8 For example, in Watergate, when this nation's
9 whole system of liberty was at stake, and the Ervin
10 Committee was established to investigate wrong-doing by
11 the President of the United States, my opponent
12 introduced a resolution to slam the door shut on the
13 Ervin Committee so that people could not see and hear
14 what was going on.

15 In the night of the Saturday Night Massacre,
16 perhaps the most tareacherous moment in the history
17 of American liberty, when the high officers, Richards
18 and Ruckelshaus were fired for enforcing the law, fired
19 by the President of the United States, both Mr. Ford
20 and Mr. Dole stood up and defended Mr. Nixon. And, if
21 Mr. Nixon had gotten away with that massacre that night,
22 he would probably still be President of the United
23 States, and we would not have taught that crucial
24 lesson that not even the highest officials in government
25 can violate the law.

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1 Never again can we permit that kind of
2 politics-above-all to dominate this country. Even
3 today this administration is fighting all the
4 Watergate reforms, opposed the appointment of a
5 Special Prosecutor, opposed the reforms that were cried
6 out for adoption following the revelations of the abuse
7 of the CIA and the FBI.

8 And, with a record like that, and with all
9 of the abuse of public faith and trust that we have
10 been through, surely that too is another reason for a
11 new generation of leadership.

12 MR. HOGE: Senator Dole.

13 SENATOR DOLE: Well, Watergate is a Republican
14 problem, and I voted for the Watergate Investigation.
15 My opponent was absent, which is -- we are all absent
16 sometimes, but he is absent more than others.

17 I think also it is well to point up that I
18 did introduce a resolution to shut off the public
19 hearings and to get down to business and get Watergate
20 behind us. The Democrats didn't want to do that. They
21 were having great fun on TV every day. It looked for
22 a while, they didn't want to find a solution.

23 I remember Senator Ervin's report, the Chairman
24 of the Watergate Committee, and he said in that report,
25 and I was Chairman of the Republican Party during the

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1 Watergate years, and I am very proud to have been
2 Chairman. I have always said that the night Watergate
3 happened was my night off, so you can't hook me for
4 that. But, Senator Ervin said, had Senator Dole been
5 in charge, there wouldn't have been a Watergate. So,
6 I don't want any rub-off from Senator Monda's state-
7 ments to wanting you people to believe that he might
8 be suggesting that somehow President Ford or Senator
9 Dole was any way involved in Watergate. We were not.

10 He brings it up all of the time. He brings
11 up the pardon all of the time. He doesn't bring up the
12 fact that we tried to extend the investigation of
13 Watergate back into other areas that were voted down
14 along straight party lines. That is their right. They
15 control the Senate.

16 He doesn't bring up the fact that some of
17 the problems in the House Democrats this year, the
18 Speaker appointed three Democrats to investigate the
19 Democrats. Can you imagine the hue and cry in America,
20 had the Republicans done that. Why, Mondale would
21 have dropped dead. And, that is the way it has been.
22 That is the way it has been.

23 Watergate is our burden. We are going forward;
24 it is behind us. And, Governor Carter can talk about
25 it, and Senator Mondale can talk about it, but beyond

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1 that, I think we must say, as Senator Mondale has --
2 and I don't quarrel with him -- that if there comes a
3 time when I am the Vice President, I can't agree with
4 the President, I must say so. I think that is
5 fundamental. I think we are both honorable men. I
6 think we both make that judgment.

7 The only mystery to me is how do you know
8 what Governor Carter stands for. I have been trying to
9 find out for six weeks. He has three positions on
10 everything. That is why they are having three TV
11 debates.

12 So, I just suggest that maybe in the time
13 remaining Senator Mondale can tell us what his running
14 mate stands for. The American people would like to know.

15 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale.

16 SENATOR MONDALE: My candidate stands for
17 jobs for all Americans. He stands for a government that
18 fights inflation. He stands for tax reforms and to
19 take those revenues and reduce taxes of the average
20 American. He stands for a program that long last
21 to solve the health crisis in America. He stands for
22 at long last to get the housing industry back on its
23 feet. He will support programs to give senior citizens
24 a decent break. He will not try, as Mr. Ford did, to
25 put a cap on Social Security so senior citizens were

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1 robbed of their inflationary adjustment. He will not
2 destroy the housing program for senior citizens as this
3 Republican Administration has done.

4 Governor Carter stands for leadership. He
5 is going to take charge. We need someone to lead this
6 country. We haven't had it. Governor Carter will
7 provide that leadership. And, Governor Carter will
8 restore to this nation a foreign policy that operates
9 in the public and on the basis of the beliefs of the
10 American people.

11 MR. HOGE: Gentlemen, we have about five
12 minutes left for short questions and short answer.
13 Each sequence from now on will consist only of the
14 question and the answer and the other candidate's
15 response without the further response.

16 The first question is from Mr. Mears to
17 Senator Dole.

18 MR. MEARS: Senator Dole, ten days ago when
19 Senator Mondale raised the issues of Watergate and the
20 Nixon pardon, you called it the start of the campaign
21 mud-slinging. Two years ago when you were running for
22 the Senate, you said that the pardon was prematurely
23 granted and that it was a mistake.

24 You were quoted by the Kansas City Times as
25 saying, "You can't ignore our tradition of equal

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1 application of the law."

2 Did you approve of the Nixon pardon when
3 President Ford granted it? Do you approve of it now?
4 And, if the issue was fair game in your 1974 campaign
5 in Kansas, why is not not appropriate topic now?

6 SENATOR DOLE: Well, it is an appropriate
7 topic, I guess, but it is not a very good issue any
8 more than the war in Vietnam would be, or World War II
9 or World War I, or the war in Korea, all Democrat
10 wars, all in this century.

11 I figured up the other day, if we added up
12 the killed and wounded in Democrat wars in this country,
13 it would be about one point six million Americans, enough
14 to fill the City of Detroit.

15 If we want to go back and rake that over and
16 over and over, we can do that. I assumed Senator
17 Mondale doesn't want to do that. But, it seems to me
18 that the pardon of Richard Nixon is behind us. Watergate
19 is behind us. If we have this vision for America, and
20 if we are really concerned about those people out there
21 and their problems, yes, and their education and their
22 jobs, we ought to be talking about that.

23 I know it strikes a responsive cord for some
24 to kick Richard Nixon around. I don't know how long you
25 can keep that up. How much mileage is there in someone

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1 who has been kicked, whose wife suffered a serious
2 stroke, who has been disgraced in office and stepped
3 down from that office. And, I think after two years
4 and some months that it is probably a dead issue.
5 But, let them play that game. That is the only game
6 they know.

7 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale.

8 SENATOR MONDALE: I think Senator Dole has
9 richly earned his reputation as a hatchet man tonight
10 by implying and stating that World War II and the
11 Korean War were Democratic wars. Does he really mean
12 to suggest to the American people that there was a
13 partisan difference over involvement in the war to
14 fight Nazi Germany? I don't think any reasonable
15 American would accept that.

16 Does he really mean to suggest that it was
17 only partianship that got us into the war in Korea?
18 Does he really mean to forget that part of the record
19 where Mr. Nixon, of the Republican Party, wanted us
20 to get involved earlier in the war in Vietnam. And,
21 long after Mr. Nixon and the Republican Party promised
22 to finish the war in Vietnam, they kept urging us
23 forward, and in fact, it was the Democratic Congress
24 that passed the law ending the war in Vietnam, and
25 preventing a new war in Angola.

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Now, on Watergate. We are not charging, and he knows it, his involvement in Watergate, but the thing is that they defended Mr. Nixon up to the last.

MR. HOGE: Mr. Bruno, your question for Senator Mondale.

MR. BRUNO: Senator Mondale, you cited the priorities of the Carter Administration. At the same time Governor Carter has promised to balance the federal budget within four years.

Now, if we take just one of those items that you gave high priority to that would be very costly, national health insurance. Realistically, what are the chances of getting this program in a Carter - Mondale Administration? Or would it have to be postponed until the budget is balanced? Which comes first?

SENATOR MONDALE: Well, I think both the Presidential budget and our estimates agree. But, if we move back to full employment as we intend to do, and achieve a five and a half percent real growth rate, as we did under Truman, and as we did under Kennedy and Johnson, that within four years, the revenues generated by that growth without increasing taxes will pay for the cost of the programs now in play, such as Social Security, pensions and the rest, the ongoing programs that are essential to America, the defense program and

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1 I know Senator Long, who is Chairman of our
2 Finance Committee, will be very pleased to learn what
3 Senator Mondale is going to do now with Governor Carter.

4 Now, if they are talking about full employment,
5 they are talking about the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which
6 they support. I don't know what it cost. Twenty billion
7 dollars? Forty billion dollars or more? Another
8 government employment program.

9 I would like to add up the number of jobs
10 Senator Mondale has cost this country in defense plants,
11 defense jobs, and all of his anti-defense votes.
12 There would be hundreds and hundreds of thousands. And,
13 he knows it. He wants bigger welfare programs, bigger
14 give away programs. We want to take care of those out
15 of work. We want to take care of those in need. Lets
16 not wreck our business system. Lets not wreck our
17 free enterprise system just to prove a point.

18 MR. HOGE: Thank you, Senators.

19 That concludes the questioning for this
20 evening.

21 Each candidate now has up to three minutes
22 for a closing statement. By the coin toss it was
23 determined that Senator Dole would make the first
24 opening statement and take the first question. He now
25 also goes first with his closing statement.

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1 Senator Dole.

2 SENATOR DOLE: Well, first I wish to thank
3 the panel for their indulgence, and of course all of
4 those in the viewing audience who may still be with us.

5 I really hope, and I haven't prepared any
6 final statement in advance -- I really hope you are
7 listening and we were able to tell you who is concerned
8 about the American people, and which party has faith
9 in the American people, and which party and which
10 candidate wants bigger and bigger and bigger governments,
11 which candidate wants more and more spending, more and
12 more interference.

13 When we added up five of the programs that
14 Governor Carter and Mondale talk about, only five --
15 and they really want sixty some new programs in their
16 platform or expanded programs. They want to create
17 twenty-two new agencies or expanded that many existing
18 agencies.

19 We only added up five programs, and the cost
20 was a hundred and three billion dollars. A hundred
21 and three billion. That would cost every taxpayer in
22 America several hundred dollars.

23 They don't care about inflation. The cruelist
24 fact of all. And, if you are in your living room
25 watching tonight, and you are making six thousand dollars

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1 a year on fixed income, and there is a six percent
2 inflation, that is three hundred and sixty dollars a
3 year, that is thirty dollars a month. That affects
4 everybody in America. And add up your inflation if
5 you let Carter and Mondale have their way. One spending
6 program another another.

7 We are concerned about the poor. We are
8 concerned about the sick. We are concerned about the
9 disabled. We are concerned about those on Social
10 Security. And, we have programs for that. We are
11 concerned about housing. Carla Hills announced one
12 today, to reduce the interest payments from eight and
13 a half to eight percent, for FHA and VA homes.

14 Governor Carter wants to preclude you from
15 taking off your interest, your mortgage interest as a
16 tax deduction. He says nobody wants their taxes
17 lowered. Well, maybe not if they are getting a forty
18 one thousand dollar tax credit as he is.

19 I will just say in my final minute that it
20 is a great honor and privilege to even be standing
21 here, whatever happens November 2, it is an honor and
22 a privilege. It is an honor and a privilege to have
23 known President Ford for sixteen years, sixteen years
24 as I said at the outset. He is a man of unparalleled
25 decency and honesty and courage. He is a man we can

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1 be proud of. He is going to give us that leadership
2 that America needs, all Americans, white, black,
3 Spanish speaking, rich, poor.

4 Don't be fooled by the words. Don't be
5 fooled by the rhetoric. Don't be fooled by the
6 promises because somebody has to pay for those promises.

7 Just take a look at the leadership. Take a
8 look at President Ford, and thank President Ford for
9 the fact that we live in peace and in freedom and your
10 sons and your husbands and your relatives are home and
11 they are safe. It can only happen in America.

12 Thank you.

13 MR. HOGE: Senator Mondale?

14 SENATOR MONDALE: Americans are not interested
15 in partisan debating points. They are not interested
16 in how many debate points are scored. That means
17 little to the lives of Americans.

18 What really counts is whether this country
19 can begin to solve those problems that are overwhelming
20 so many Americans. Record unemployment, the highest
21 since the Great Depression, and getting worse. Runaway
22 inflation. Three times worse than that under the
23 Democratic Party. Deficits that are unbelievable. Just
24 last year, under this administration, we had a deficit
25 larger than all of the deficits created in the eight

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1 years of the Democratic Administration. And, under
2 this Republican Party, higher deficits than in the
3 previous one hundred and ninety-two years of this
4 government's history.

5 Now, we recognize that you have to be prudent,
6 that you have to live within a budget, that you have to
7 deal with the resources that are at hand. There is no
8 dispute on that.

9 The question is, how will those resources
10 be used? And, we believe that we need a government
11 that works, that is efficient. But, we also think that
12 we need a government that cares. We have cared too
13 little for people in this country that have gotten
14 sick and can't afford decent health care. We have
15 cared too little for the thousands and thousands of
16 American families that can not get or afford decent
17 housing.

18 This administration has fought time and
19 time again to cut back support for our senior citizens.
20 They have no energy policy, they have no environmental
21 policy. Those things must change. We believe in a
22 strong defense. We are not going to let this nation's
23 defenses drop. But, there is a big difference between
24 waste and strength. And, what we have been attacking
25 is waste, because waste does not contribute to strength,

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1 it contributes to weakness. There are many problems
2 in the Defense Department that requires better manage-
3 ment in order to get that increased strength.

4 We need leadership in this country to do all
5 of those things. For eight years now the Republicans
6 have controlled government. For eight years they
7 have controlled the White House. And, every one of
8 those problems has gotten worse. They are not now
9 proposing new policies and new directions.

10 Tonight, you heard what they are doing. They
11 are defending the past. Everything is all right.
12 The problems are not as bad as the statistics or the
13 people believe, and therefore they might go away.

14 That is not enough. This country cries out
15 for new leadership. We need a fresh start. And, the
16 Carter - Mondale ticket promises that start. Not
17 because we know all the answers, we know better; not
18 because we can do everything at once, because we know
19 better than that; but because a good nation requires
20 that we begin the effort.

21 MR. HOGE: Thank you, Senator Mondale, and
22 thank you, Senator Dole.

23 I want to thank as well the audience here
24 tonight and my colleagues who were our questioners.

25 The final debate in this series will be

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1 between the Presidential candidates, Gerald Ford and his
2 challenger, Jimmy Carter.

3 It will be held on October 22nd at 9:30
4 p.m., Eastern Daylight Time, on the campus of William
5 & Mary College, in Williamsburg, Virginia.

6 The subject matter will cover all issues.

7 The sponsors of these debates is the League
8 of Women Voters Education Fund, whose purpose is to
9 promote greater participation by a better informed
10 electorate in the election on November 2.

11 Now, from the Alley Theater in Houston, Texas,
12 good night.

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