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he told the New York delegation later.

On the convention floor that night, the atmosphere was no longer tense but still highly emotional. Reagan supporters staged one of the longest, loudest demonstrations in the history of GOP conventions when their candidate's name was placed in nomination, both to vent their frustration over the inevitable defeat and—so many Ford supporters thought—to delay the President's victory until after prime time. "For what's supposed to be a party of serious, responsible businessmen, we sure do act like damn fools," one Illinois delegate complained over the din of horns and hoarse-voiced cheers.

The vote differed only slightly from the one on 16C. As expected, Mississippi broke its unit rule to vote 16-14 for the President. Finally, at 12:30 a.m., Gov. Arch Moore of West Virginia announced the votes that put Ford over the top. At once, the Ford family was up in their seats and hugging one another as Ford supporters below cheered, Reagan followers wept and the last few states kicked in their votes to make it 1,187 for Ford—1,070 for his vanquished opponent.

ON THE SAME SIDE

"I hope nobody demands a recount," joked Ford in his hotel room where he had followed each state's vote with gusto. After West Virginia aides had applauded for 30 seconds or more. At the Alameda, by contrast, Reagan breathed what almost seemed a sigh of relief and wife Nancy gave him a consoling kiss. "Well, that's it," he said. Replied Nancy: "I don't care, honey. You did what no one else had ever done." Moments later Ford was on the phone and within the hour the man Reagan had pressed so closely for so long stood at his side. "Our fight is over," said Reagan. "We are on the same side and will go forth together."

They stood side by side once again the next night as Ford, after his unexpectedly rousing acceptance speech, beckoned to the Reagans to join him on the podium. Surprising even his own advisers, the President stepped aside—and Reagan hushed the convention with an eloquent excerpt from what would have been his own acceptance speech. The delegates erupted in a final, emotional communion between the Ford and Reagan forces, and then Ford walked on the floor into a crush of delegates and reporters. It was the first rough passage of a campaign that promised many more to come.

—DAVID M. ALPERIN with HAL BRUNO, JAMES DOYLE, JOHN J. LINDSAY and the NEWSWEEK staff in Kansas City

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food-stamp legislation, the Dole-McGovern bill—the Administration thinks it's terrible. But I don't believe that those who represent the Administration are totally realistic in that area. So maybe I'll have a chance to get the President's ear now and try to explain that we want reform but it's two-sided—we want to reform but not to deprive people who should benefit.

Q. Why did President Nixon sack you as GOP chairman?

A. I don't know. I didn't want to stay on as chairman much longer but it seemed after traveling thousands and thousands of miles and working hard it just wasn't total justice to be given a Camp David jacket and a rather strong suggestion that a good time for me to make a transition would be right after the 1973 Inaugural. In the Inaugural parade the chairman normally rides behind the President—I'm not certain I was in the parade—I was so far back, the parade had ended before I passed the reviewing stand. But I had to believe that a lot of that was the efforts of the underlings like Magruder. If they couldn't dominate you, they didn't want you. And I was, I guess, described as irrelevant.

Q. You supported Nixon on the war up through 1972, didn't you? How does that look in retrospect?

A. I don't know what I would do to change it. If you knew then what you know now, you could have changed, but everything was always a crisis whether it was Cambodia, bombing or whatever. It was always pretty well dressed up as the right thing to do.

Q. You also backed him on the Supreme Court nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell. Did you act out of loyalty or conviction?

A. I think I would stick by my guns on Haynsworth—I think we've really missed the service of an outstanding Southern judge. On Carswell, had he been properly evaluated by the Justice Department, he probably never would have been submitted.

Q. Does your divorce make you politically vulnerable?

A. No. I don't believe so. I mean it's four or five years ago now and my ex-wife remarried two or three years ago.

Q. Aren't the Republican moderates going to feel excluded by a conservative ticket and a conservative platform?

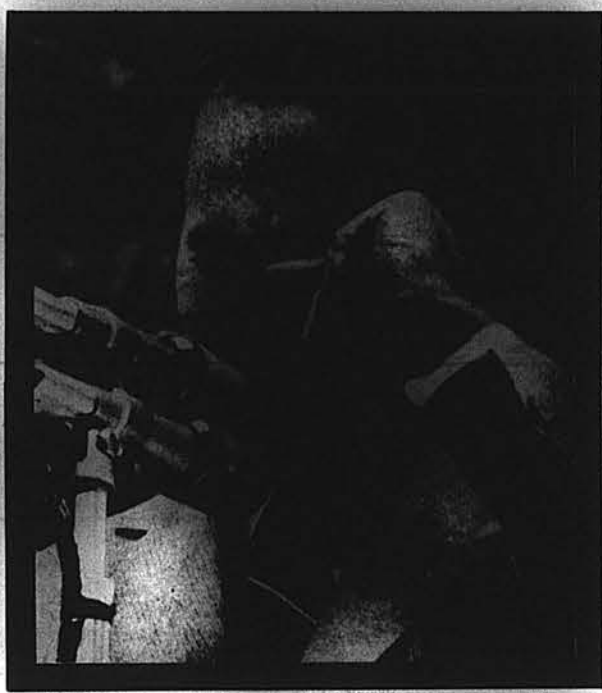
A. I hope not. We have to find room. I believe I have a lot of support with the moderate senators like [Charles] Mathias and Ed Brooke and others because I recognized that we could have different philosophies and still be compatible.

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PICKING A VEEP

In the smoke-filled Royal suite of Kansas City's Crown Center Hotel, Gerald Ford and nine advisers congregated around a \$5-a-day rented conference table fussling over the Vice Presidency. Sipping coffee beneath a wall dotted with photos of the Ford family (Vice President Rockefeller kept stirring the coffee with the carpiage of his eyeglasses) the shirt-sleeved group weighed options as first one candidate, then another ebbed and faded. At 10:15 on the morning after Ford's nomination, the discussion suddenly crystallized. "All

Ford's final round of deliberations began at 3:15 a.m., a few hours after his nomination and a much publicized meeting with Reagan. Throughout the week, the President had dangled the possibility of a Ford-Reagan ticket before uncommitted delegates. Reagan, for his part, had insisted he would not accept a Vice Presidential job: a condition of their unifying tête-à-tête was that Ford would not even make the offer. Thus the President, who had never really wanted to share a ticket—or the limelight—with his rival, did not ask Reagan to assume an official role either in the Ford campaign or a new Ford Administration.



Dole fighting back tears in Russell: 'You made me what I am'

He did, however, solicit Reagan's opinion about possible Vice Presidential candidates, among them Dole and Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee. Reagan was apparently most enthusiastic about the Kansas. But, said Reagan, chief of staff Mike Deaver, to say that Reagan endorsed Dole warmly "would be putting it strongly."

DERAILING CARTER

As a sop to Reagan supporters, Ford's Southern delegate hunter Harry Dent had suggested that he throw his Vice Presidential choice open to the convention, thus forcing Reagan into the position of having to publicly refuse a draft. But as one of their first orders of business at 3:15, the brain-trusters decisively rejected the suggestion. Rockefeller, particularly, argued that it would show Ford to be weak. Ford's Presidential, "Make the choice yourself," he urged. There was some talk about former Texas Gov. John Connally. Despite Ford's early preference for him and his formidable campaign skills, the group soon eliminated him. Connally's association with the milk-fund scandal was a clear liability; special White House polls also showed him hurting the ticket more than any other candidate.

It soon became evident that the President had narrowed his Veept list. Baker, Dole, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain Anne Armstrong and former Deputy Attorney General William French Smith were the only names left. Baker, though one participant recalled that he didn't have any one for his champion. Not even Ford mentioned him much, he said. Instead, the President's early favorite was Baker, whose Southern roots and high poll scores for integrity worked in his favor (the fact that his wife had been treated for

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'A BRIDGE TO REAGAN'

Enroute to Washington from his hometown of Russell, Kans., Sen. Robert Dole granted an interview—his first since becoming the Republican Vice Presidential nominee—to NEWSWEEK's Henry Hubbard.

HUBBARD: When did you first suspect that President Ford would pick Bob Dole as his running mate?

DOLE: We turned on TV that morning and [heard] that I was among four finalists. Well, I knew Anne Armstrong was in Scotland, and probably couldn't be back by noon, and I heard that [William] Ruckelshaus was in Tacoma, and he had it tight to get in there by noon. I said, well, this could be down to [Howard] Baker and Dole. If they don't go alphabetically, I might have a chance. We did take a little interest then.

Q. You had an emotional moment up on the podium in your hometown.

A. You know, you see a lot of faces in the crowd that you haven't seen for a long time. When I was wounded and needed some money for an operation they sort of had a solicitation and raised \$2,000 or \$3,000, and I could see different people there that had helped. And I lost my father in the past several months and he was very proud of my standing in politics and he wasn't there to see this. The combination of just being home among real friends that know you inside and out, and if you've done anything worthwhile it's because of people like that. You look out and find one in the crowd and it stirs you up inside.

Q. How does it feel to be on a ticket that's 30 points behind with only two months to catch up?

On selling the ticket: 'You've got to get attention'



A. I really haven't thought about it. I suggest we have a lot of work to do. Right now, I'm still in a daze.

Q. What do you bring to this ticket?

A. I think a bridge with the Reagan forces. Some [delegates] abstained in the vote for Vice President; [they were] very upset about the Reagan loss. But by and large, I have a good relationship with the leadership of the Reagan forces. Secondly, I already had a bridge with party leaders in each state. They change, of course, but having been the chairman of the party, I'll be going into each state not as a stranger, as compared to [Walter] Mondale. My role in agriculture is quite well known. And I think philosophically we have a bridge to the South. I have a conservative record, it's my understanding that I may have had more support among the Southern chairmen than, say, Howard Baker. Also I'm not totally ineffective on the stump.

Q. Is it fair to say you're noted for a sharp tongue?

A. I don't know about the sharp tongue. That may be not the right epithet, but I do react, and it seems to me if you're going to close the gap 30 points you've got to get people's attention. You don't do it by going out and slandering anyone or attacking Fritz Mondale or Governor Carter. You do it by pointing out contradictions. It seems to me there are enough there to keep us busy to Christmas, let alone November.

Q. Will it be a hardball campaign?

A. I have a feeling that though Carter publicly plays softball, he's capable of playing hardball, and we just want him to learn how to catch as well as pitch.

Q. Where is he vulnerable?

A. My instincts tell me that he may be vulnerable in farm states, and that may be another reason I'm on the ticket. To me, he is vulnerable in the South [even though he's a Southerner], the latest poll indicates he has firm support of 57 percent of the voters in the South. You've got a very uphill battle but you don't write it off. You go down and see what you can do and run selective surveys and see where your best opportunities are.

Q. Are there inconsistencies in Carter the man?

A. No. I think I voted to override the education bill just a couple of weeks ago. I voted to override one which would provide a Congressional review of military base closings. And we've worked on

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THE POINT MAN

On a sunny afternoon in Russell, Kans., last week, a platform draped in red, white and blue hunting—and deer—skins hung from the rafters of the Main Street. There were no clouds in the sky, the smell of barbecued hot dogs and pickles was in the air, and under the Chinese eaves a crowd began to swell on the grassy courthouse square. The high school band suddenly struck up "Hail to the Chief"—and President Gerald Ford grinned back. But the real guest of honor that day was the tall, lean man who stepped forward to greet his home folks. "You made me what I am. When I needed help this town came through," said Sen. Robert J. Dole, referring to his old World War II wounds. Then his voice broke—and he wept.

Saxbe of Ohio once called Dole a "hatchet man" so off-putting he "couldn't sell beer on a troop ship." But Dole has a number of other, more positive attributes. He is a survivor—a man with a reputation for beating bleak odds. In Washington, a city of pomp and protocol, he is a cool hand who regularly totes his own dirty shirts to the laundry. He has cultivated a sense of humor born of pain and a feeling for the handicapped born of his own paralyzed right arm. He is smart and daring; he once outmaneuvered former liberal Sen. J. William Fulbright on an antiwar amendment. "Dole's stolen my cow," grumped Fulbright. "No," Dole replied mildly. "We've just milked it a little."

'CAN'T' NEVER COULD

Country metaphors come naturally to Dole. His grandfather was a farmer who moved the Dole family to west Kansas from Ohio in the 1880s. His mother was a sturdy homemaker whose motto was: "Can't never could do anything." She passed that ethic on to her son, who was born in Russell (today's population: more than 5,000) on July 22, 1923. Dole's conservative Republican father ran the White Way Café on Main Street, then an eggs and creamery store, and the local grain elevator. Young Dole got his first lessons in farm belt politics there: farmers dropping their grain would also stop to sneak a drink of bootleg whisky and talk weather and politics. "Our father's life was work," says his sister Gloria Dole Nelson, 54. "He never wanted to give up and sit in a rocking chair—and Bob's just like him."

The Sinclair Lewis setting shaped an early and lasting regard for authority as well as Dole's faith in the work ethic. One day when the family alarm went off at 3 a.m. by mistake, Dole's father groggily

sent his son off to the grocery store to buy butter. The store was closed, but Dole dutifully stayed till his father realized the error and came for him. He never told his brother about that and that's what he was going to do," chuckled Mrs. Nelson. Dole jerked aside and had a paper route. One Christmas Eve, it was Bob who tried to keep his brother and sisters from sneaking peeks at the presents.

Dole's ticket out of Russell was college—and World War II. In 1941, he enrolled as a pre-med student at the University of Kansas. Two years later he enlisted in the Army and became a second lieutenant in the elite Tenth Mountain Division. On April 14, 1945, Dole was leading an infantry squad across the Po valley in northern Italy when a German machine gun cut him down. His right shoulder was shattered, his neck vertebrae were fractured and he lay paralyzed for hours, able neither to see nor to feel his arms—they were pinned above his head. He spent the next 39 months in Army hospitals; he wasted away from 194 to 122 pounds; he lost one kidney to an infection; he developed blood clots in his lungs. In desperation, doctors administered an experimental antibiotic: streptomycin. It worked. Dole emerged from the hospital broken in body—but alive.

AN OBSESSION WITH POLITICS

Dole slowly began to patch together a new life and career in law and politics. Transplanted bone and muscle from his leg gave him a right arm of sorts. Dole cannot hold anything much heavier than a pencil with it and works the crowds with his left arm. When he married a young occupational therapist named Phyllis Holden in 1948, his doctor wired: "Hope that arm I fixed will be used lovingly." For a while it was. Dole went on to win a B.A. in history and a law degree from Washburn Municipal University in Topeka. Phyllis helped pay the bills and wrote out his dictated answers to a special exam to qualify for the Kansas bar. They



Dole orates alongside interpreter for the deaf: A feeling for the handicapped

Armstrong's candidacy faded rapidly. Rockefeller reportedly supported Ruckelshaus, whose Watergate role (he was fired for refusing to fire Archibald Cox), unlike Baker's, clearly worked in his favor. The former head of the Environmental Protection Agency also had a positive image as a conservationist. Moreover, he was acceptable to the moderates and even to Reagan, who had offered Ruckelshaus a spot on his ticket before choosing Schweiker. Thus despite Ruckelshaus's lack of campaign experience and the ardent feminism of his wife Jill, most participants left their meeting at 5 a.m. convinced he had an inside track.

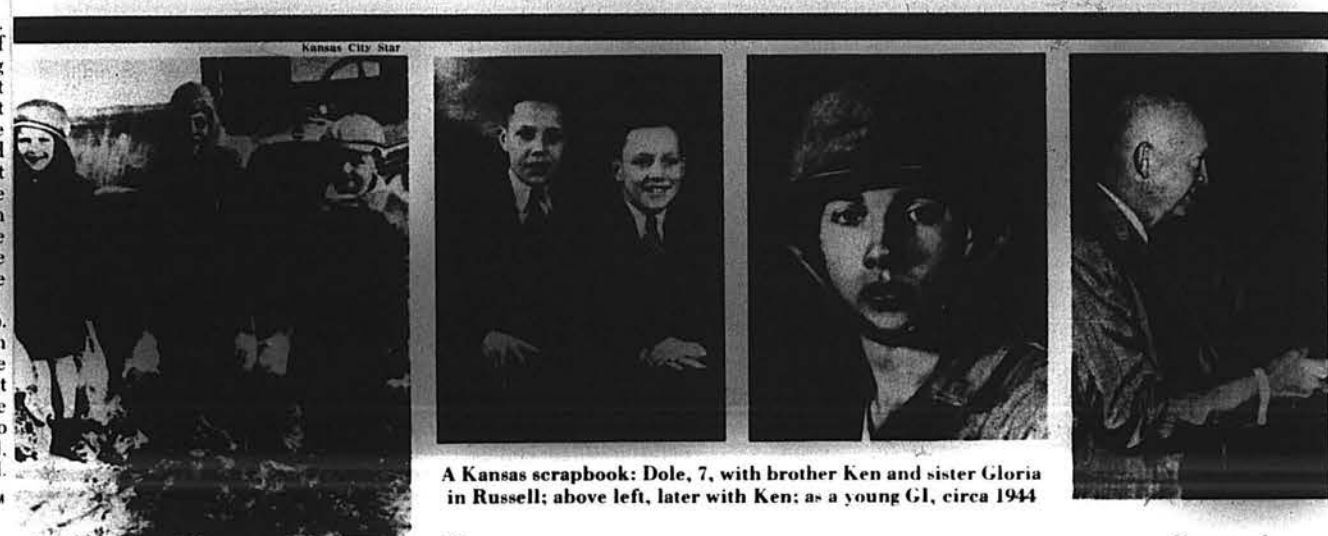
Ford told his advisers to sleep on the decision for a while. But at 9:30 a.m. it was clear that, after sleeping on it, the President had come to this meeting with Bob Dole on his mind. "Ford must have felt most comfortable with Dole," specu-

lated his stinging, shoot-from-the-hip humor. "He jokes too much," complained one of the conferees. "He's capable of putting his foot in his mouth." Others argued that Dole was an intelligent man—and that he would control his humor as a Vice Presidential candidate. Another Ford aide felt that Dole "can pull as much out of the South as Baker," and the divorce problem was played down by Nelson Rockefeller. "I've gone through that," he said. "It's not a political handicap to be divorced." Public perceptions have changed.

By 10:15, Ford had his mind made up. A few minutes later the phone rang in Dole's seventeenth-floor suite in the Muehlebach Hotel (he was right next door to Connally). "Bob, I want you to be on the ticket," declared Ford. Dole, who said later he hadn't expected the call, never hesitated. "Certainly," he replied.

—SUSAN FRANKER with SAMUEL SHAFER and THOMAS M. DEFRANK in Kansas City

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A Kansas scrapbook: Dole, 7, with brother Ken and sister Gloria in Russell; above left, later with Ken; as a young GI, circa 1944

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