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# DOLE KNOWN FOR HIS SLASHING ORATORY

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ  
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**KANSAS CITY**—When Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) was trying to get a friend appointed to President Ford's Cabinet last year and not making much progress, he growled: "It's almost impossible to have any input down there at the White House. We've concluded it's a waste of time to write a letter or endorsement or try to do anything."

The trouble is, he said, personnel decisions are being handled "by a little power group, and I don't know who is in it."

He may get a better chance to find out now that he has been tapped by Ford as his choice for Vice President.

The 53-year-old senator was a quiet, conservative back-bencher during his eight years in the House but has gained considerable fame in the upper house since 1968 as a man adept at making his voice heard in high places.

Mostly, Dole made his name as one of Richard M. Nixon's most ardent defenders on Capitol Hill, a slashing orator and sharp-tongued attacker of those who sought to blame the President for the nation's ills.

"There are so many Democrats who want to be President," he said, "and I get tired of seeing them brow-beating President Nixon."

Nixon showed his gratitude by tapping Dole to be Republican National chairman in 1971, a decision that provoked then-Sen. William O. Saxton (R-Ohio) to denounce Dole as a "hatchet man" whose style is so abrasive he "couldn't sell beer on a troopship."

But Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) said that Dole was "the first man we've had around here in a long time who will grab the other side by the hair and drag them down the hill."

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Dole succeeded Rogers C. B. Morton in the party post (Morton currently is Ford's national campaign chairman), and at the time a White House aide compared the two men this way:

"Rog (Morton) is a big old St. Bernard, while Dole is a hungry doberman pinscher."

Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), Senate minority leader and a former party chairman, was not enthusiastic about Dole's selection by Nixon as party chairman, and the Kansas once told an interviewer, "We really haven't been trying to carve any niche in the Senate by being Nixon's boy."

Nevertheless, the record is abundantly clear that Dole worked relentlessly against all of Nixon's attackers during the years of his dual post of senator and party leader.

When Nixon ordered U.S. forces into Cambodia, Democratic senators were horrified and many Republicans started hedging their bets. But not Dole.

"I don't get particularly keyed up, except about Southeast Asia," he explained. He often uses the word "we" instead of the first person, and he added, "We're not really a defender but, I say, an advocate of his (Nixon's) policies."

"If they fail, then I'll fail."

Dole completely rejected any suggestion that he was a hawk on the Vietnam issue.

"I'm against the war just as a lot of other people are. I just happen to think Nixon is right."

But as the Watergate scandals cast a growing pall over the Nixon Administration and as Dole faithfully worked at his role as the President's defender, someone or something changed the setting within the Nixon inner circle, and before Dole could do much about it, the White House was moving him out as national party chairman.

Typically, Dole denied that the President had soured on him. He blamed his ouster on "a faceless, nameless few in the White House . . . the gutless wonders who seem to take a personal satisfaction in trying to do somebody in."

As it turned out, the Nixon decision to remove him was a boon in political terms.

When Dole ran for reelection in 1974, the Watergate issue was the big stick in trade for his Democratic opponent, Rep. William Roy. Dole immediately started putting distance between himself and Nixon and accused Roy and others of trying to smear him with the Nixon-Watergate issue.

One of Dole's most effective television commercials showed a photo of himself with a big glob of mud being thrown on it. Then the film was reversed, with the mud flying back off, and the message followed that, even though his opponents threw mud at him, it wouldn't stick.

Dole was in desperate trouble in his campaign, mainly because of his ties with Nixon, and was trailing badly in the polls as late as 10 days before the election.

Who came to his rescue?

President Ford. Three days before the election, the President flew into Kansas to spark a big rally for Dole, and the incumbent squeaked to victory with 50.9% of the vote.

Dole and Ford have known each other since their days in the House, beginning in 1961. Like Ford, Dole built up a steady conservative record.

Like most farm state representatives, Dole concentrated on agricultural policy but developed a taste for partisan conflict. The GOP chose him to head an ad hoc committee to go after Bobby Baker, President Lyndon B. Johnson's protégé.

Since Dole went to the Senate in 1969, the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action consistently has rated him highly, an average of more than 75 on a scale of 100. But last year the rating dropped to 67.

The liberal Americans for Democratic Action consistently gave him low ratings during the same time.

But Dole is quick to point out that he has voted for very "significant" pieces of civil rights legislation since he has been in Congress.

"Some of my conservative friends don't agree with me," he said. "But I've never equated liberalism with civil rights. The true conservative wants to remove the shackles from the oppressed."

Earlier this year, Dole criticized Ford's budget-cutting moves, which had been termed anti-people programs by Democrats who opposed reductions in food stamps and limits on Social Security increases.

"As a Republican I don't want to be put in a position all the time of seeming to be anti-people—voting against people programs."

"We've been in that position for too long and our numbers have dwindled, and dwindled, and dwindled, and it seems to me unless we have some constructive alternative, we are going to be hard-pressed to support the President."

Dole voted in the Senate against killing a ban on use of government funds for abortions. He also voted against legislation to establish no-fault automobile insurance nationally.

Dole voted for restoration of the death penalty after existing state laws were struck down by the Supreme Court in 1972. He supported an amendment to eliminate the so-called no-knock provisions of the 1970 Drug Abuse Prevention Act which allowed police to enter a building without prior announcement to those inside. But he opposed legislation to require licensing of handgun owners and to ban the sale of cheap handguns.

On busing, Dole backed a move to ban transporting students for desegregation reasons to any but the closest or second-closest schools.

Dole grew up in modest circumstances in the small western Kansas town of Russell, struggling to make the high school football and basketball teams more on determination than raw ability. The son of a grain than raw ability, he jerked sodas at a neighborhood drugstore.

He wanted to be a doctor but went to war in 1942, winning a Bronze Star and two Purple Hearts while leading an infantry platoon in Italy. Seriously wounded, he spent 39 months in various Army hospitals, married the physical therapist who was helping him regain the use of his legs and one arm. She also helped him through the university of Kansas, where he got his undergraduate degree, and through Washburn University in Topeka, where he got his law degree.

His wife, Phyllis, also helped him through his nine years as a county attorney before he won his seat in Congress in 1960.

They were divorced suddenly in 1972 under Kansas law permitting "emergency" decrees. Some of his old friends and neighbors in Russell were stunned. There had been a move to leave after the senator, but the move collapsed when the Doles were divorced.

Last year, Dole married Federal Trade Commissioner Mary E. Hanford. She, too, is not without influence on her husband. A barber at a hotel here in Kansas City said the senator, accompanied by his wife, came in for a haircut a few days ago and she gave the orders on how to cut it.

"She's quite the boss," barber Joe Boczek said.

Dole's war injury has left his right arm useless and his left arm numb. He shakes hands left-handed and recalls that Nixon made quite a point of remembering to greet him with a left-handed shake.

The handicap is regarded by Dole as an extra incentive.

"When you're trying to button your shirt collar in the morning . . . and you're having trouble because you can't use your right hand and the other one is numb," he has said, "it reminds you that you've got to keep pushing, because you're not quite a whole person."

"At least I'm independent now. I can travel by myself and dress myself. I doubt that many people,

even in Kansas, know of these problems. We've never attempted to use that."

"When people question me about shaking hands with my left hand, I tell them my other hand's tired. And it is."

"I've never looked back at what might have been, were it not for the injury. Fate certainly has played a part in my life. It has an impact if you're in the right place at the right time."

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# Ford, Aides Met in Wee Hours to Decide on No. 2

BY RUDY ABRAMSON  
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**KANSAS CITY**—A few minutes after 10 a.m. Thursday, President Ford looked around a circle of hollow-eyed political advisers, who had talked through the wee hours of night, and told them that Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) was his choice for a running mate.

They had stopped near dawn for three hours of sleep and had come back with clearer heads to think over their tentative decision once more.

When they quit to rest, the consensus was that Dole should be the man. Now it was still Dole, and Ford decided that the group had talked enough.

He placed a call to another convention hotel a five-minute ride away and within the hour the Kansas senator was delivered in a rented economy car to step with Ford before a national television audience.

The decision had been one of the toughest for Gerald Ford since he became President two years ago.

When he sat down with his most trusted political advisers to decide finally on a companion to help him meet Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, he had narrowed the contenders to four:

—Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.), beloved by the press and most presidential aides to be the most likely winner.

—William D. Ruckelshaus, one-time FBI director, and the deputy attorney general fired by Richard M. Nixon for his refusal in 1973 to dis-

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miss Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox.

—Anne Armstrong of Texas, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, once a ranking White House aide, one of the best known women in American politics.

—Dole, a conservative, hard-hitting campaigner and former GOP national chairman from the west Kansas wheat country.

As delegates celebrating Ford's victory over Ronald Reagan drifted off to bed and quiet came to the muggy Kansas City night, the group in Ford's hotel suite analyzed the finalists like cattlemen judging prize beef.

But they were old friends of the people they were judging and they were old friends of Gerald Ford. Present were:

—Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.); Melvin R. Laird, former Republican congressman and defense secretary, and Bryce Harlow, a former White House aide. All are members of the so-called kitchen cabinet.

—Vice President Rockefeller, Sen. John G. Tower (R-Tex.), and White House counselor John Marsh.

The staff men, insiders: campaign strategist Stuart Spencer, Michigan pollster Robert Dexter, and White House chief of staff Richard B. Cheney.

The surviving nominees from thousands of private ballots, from hundreds of confidential suggestions, were weeded down to one.

A source privy to the conversations said Thursday afternoon that Dole emerged this way:

Baker, considered attractive partly because he came from a border state, encountered opposition from some influential Dixie Republicans who argued that the Tennessee senator would not drastically change Ford's prospects against Carter in the South.

Among those in the South opposed to Baker was Clark Reed, the arch-conservative chairman of the Mississippi delegation. His declaration for President Ford was crucial to the state's 30 delegates during the presidential nominating roll call the night before.

Reed bolted the Democratic Party in Mississippi several years ago to become one of the organizers of a revitalized Republican organization in the state.

Sources close to the wealthy Greenville businessman said that Reed harbored resentment against Baker because the Tennessee senator had turned down invitations from Reed to visit Mississippi and help boost the party.

Reed privately complained that Baker did not understand states like Mississippi where Republicans were in a small minority because the senator had grown up in rock-ribbed Republican east Tennessee where the party is predominant.

The sources said that Reed's opposition to Baker was sharpened because Baker did not try recently to push through the nomination of William Hooper of Mississippi to the board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

But most of all, Reed wanted somebody more conservative.

According to the sources, the disclosure that Baker's wife Joy, once had suffered a severe drinking problem did not damage Baker's chances.

But White House aides said that Ford was serious in his frequent mention of personal compatibility in his consideration. It is well-known that Ford and Baker have never been close friends and the senator never has been viewed as part of the Ford team in Washington, though he campaigned hard for him as his Tennessee primary campaign chairman.

Mrs. Armstrong, who often was mentioned early in public speculation on potential running mates, was believed to have been pretty much removed from consideration several days ago.

But some of the President's advisers, pointing to Jimmy Carter's huge lead in the polls, favored trying a bold stroke—for the first time picking a female running mate.

When time ran out and Ford had to decide, however, he and the band of men he trusted most decided against a bold stroke, apparently believing that Ford will rebound strongly against Carter now that the Republicans have settled their party in-fighting.

Ruckelshaus was appreciated for his "Mr. Clean" image in the Watergate scandal; for the political following of his wife, Jill, an articulate activist for women's rights; and for his Catholicism, which would appeal to one sizable group of voters believed to have misgivings about Jimmy Carter.

But he never had held public office outside of Indiana, and he had left public life for a lucrative job in private business.

Southern Republicans had told Ford aides that Dole would be attractive to southern conservatives. And he was married to a politically astute North Carolinian, now serving as a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

He was considered strongly appealing to farmers, still mad at the Ford Administration over its embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union last year. Dole's response to the embargo was to charge Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger with interfering in agricultural and domestic policy.

Further helping Dole was the fact that he supported a constitutional amendment banning abortion, giving him some of the same appeal to Catholics that had generated support for Ruckelshaus.

What was especially appealing is that Dole is a hard-hitting campaigner with a well-known sardonic sense of humor.