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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1976

### Delegates Voice Doubts On Ford-Dole Prospects

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 19—Their contest ended, President Ford and Ronald Reagan joined today in a traditional attempt to set the tone for a strong and united Republican campaign this fall.

But many of the delegates asked to approve a ticket of Mr. Ford and Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas spoke gravely of its prospects in November, while staunch partisans of the defeated California challenger threatened to sit back and watch the ticket lose in the South and the West.

"I'm afraid Ford is going to have to write off a large part of the South," said Guy Hunt, chairman of the pro-Reagan delegation from Alabama.

"The President is not extremely popular in Arizona," said Donna Carlson, a state representative, expressing concern that the national ticket would act as a drag on the candidacies of Arizona Republicans. "I've had calls from home this morning," she said, "and people are very disappointed and may not vote."

The designation of Senator Dole, a conservative but not regarded as a dogmatist, appeased some of Mr. Reagan's dejected lieutenants and produced relief among Ford allies in the industrial Northeast and the agricultural Middle West.

But the problems posed to the party by the narrow defeat of the Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination were reflected in the blunt outburst of Tom Ellis at the choice of the Kansas Senator to run for Vice President.

"What's a dolt?" asked Mr. Ellis, the chairman of the North Carolina delegation, "A pineapple? Even among the senior aides

to Mr. Reagan, there was a superficiality to their requisite expressions of support for the winner.

Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the Reagan campaign chairman, appeared with Mr. Ford and Vice President Rockefeller when the selection of Mr. Dole was formally announced this noon.

"We've worked for months to have a harmonious convention," Mr. Laxalt said, smiling graciously. "I think we've achieved that."

Yet, minutes later, he told a reporter that Reagan aides had little choice but to unite behind the Ford ticket, adding that "it's a matter of survival for the party."

**Display of Solidarity**  
No one doubted but that Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, meant to set a pattern for the party when they appeared together to proclaim mutual admiration at the loser's headquarters hotel early this morning and when they arranged a display of solidarity in Kemper Arena tonight.

"To some extent, their message was repeated elsewhere among the delegates and Republican leaders who decided the outcome of the Presidential contest.

"A Ford-Dole ticket 'can win' in Pennsylvania, said Richard C. Frame, the party chairman in that state.

"Unity shouldn't be any problem in New York," said Louis J. Lefkowitz, the state Attorney General.

And Mike Curb, the young vice chairman of Mr. Reagan's home state delegation, said he had decided at a caucus to ignore the former Governor's promise to support the ticket.

But the most dramatic symbols of the closing hours of the Republican National Convention did not all reflect the proclaimed mood of the party's leaders. The following incidents occurred.

Mr. Reagan and his wife Nancy burst into tears at a farewell meeting with their campaign staff, where the Californian spoke of continuing his conservative cause but made no mention of the President or of the unity theme meant to prevail through November.

Vice President Rockefeller, who agreed to remove himself from the 1976 ticket last year in a fruitless effort to head off a Reagan challenge to Mr. Ford, said eloquent court at the announcement ceremony for the Ford-Dole ticket. Yet, he did not mention the names of either President Ford or his running mate.

Mr. Dole, the ultimate choice of a President who would be forced by the convention to disclose the name of his running mate before winning the nomination, seemed to recognize the inherent significance of the Reagan camp's concern over the second spot on a Ford ticket by stressing that his wife Elizabeth was not born in the South.

**The Real Point**  
For all that, there was a sense that many of the unity lines being expressed here today had come from the script of a drama not certain to survive a tryout in Philadelphia.

"Yes, we'll support Ford," said Twyla Humpleby, a Reagan delegate from Iowa, "but there was talk of disaffection."

David Manion of Indiana said conservatives there "need somebody who can articulate our philosophy. Reagan could, Ford doesn't have that ability."

**Problem in Missouri**  
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### Doleful Nomination

President Ford's choice of Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas reflects a politics of despair, if not of desperation.

It is impossible to believe that in selecting Mr. Dole yesterday for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination, Mr. Ford could have thought first of the supreme and only truly valid qualification for that office: Is this man (or woman) the best suited of all the party's available candidates to assume the Presidency of the United States should the office for any reason become vacant?

Judging from the nature of his choice, it seems unlikely that Mr. Ford thought of this aspect of the task at all. To his credit, Senator Dole himself modestly proclaimed a few moments after the President's announcement: "I am not certain what I can add to the ticket. . . ." It is indeed difficult on the basis of his public record to ascertain just what he can add—except only that tough, aggressive, sometimes witty, always partisan biting style (in contrast to Mr. Ford's) on which Mr. Dole built his reputation as one of former President Nixon's loyal supporters and strongest defenders.

Member of the House for four terms, Mr. Nixon's appointee as chairman of the Republican National Committee and Senator since 1969, Mr. Dole—whose legislative record is based principally on defense of agricultural interests—is distinctly on the conservative side of the Republican spectrum in Congress. In view of that fact, it was revealingly frank for President Ford to announce that "Bob Dole's philosophy and mine coincide identically." No bridging of the party's ideological gap here. In fact, the liberal Republican Ripon Society immediately termed the selection "disappointing," noting that "while it unifies the [already united] conservative elements of the G.O.P., it ignores the moderates in the party who

were responsible for Ford's nomination." In a very real sense, this is Mr. Reagan's ultimate triumph.

Even on a strictly political basis, it is hard to see what President Ford accomplished by his choice except appeasement of the Reaganite wing of his party. But at what cost?

Instead of reaching out to the great mass of independent, moderate and even liberal voters who may be looking for a viable alternative to the still relatively unknown and untried Democratic nominee, President Ford, exactly as Mr. Reagan had done during his unsuccessful fight for the nomination, turned inward to that minority faction within the minority party—seemingly almost deliberately to signal to the vast voting world outside that narrow framework that he does not seek its support. Neither ideologically nor geographically does the Dole nomination add strength to the ticket—except possibly in Kansas and Nebraska where Mr. Ford needs it least, and among extreme Reaganite diehards who might otherwise have stayed home.

If the expectation is that Senator Dole with his characteristic style of campaigning will prove effective on the low road while President Ford remains on the high road, that is pretty thin strategy on which to base a national campaign.

The only chance the Republicans have to break out of their minority status in this election will be to offer ideas, inspiration and the promise of forthright leadership to a country and a people still bemused by the past decade's cataclysmic changes in American society and in the world at large. Can the Ford-Dole ticket inspire the American people with the confidence that it offers this kind of leadership in the next four years?

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### Ford's Doleful News

By James Reston

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 19—The political process has worked its way and produced two Presidential candidates worthy of the respect of the nation.

Neither party is very satisfied with the result of the nominations, but on the question that has troubled the Republic for almost a generation—the character of the men of power—Ford and Carter measure up better than most.

Maybe this is the consolation of this election so far. Compared to Nixon-McGovern in 1972, the choice this time of Ford-Carter is almost reassuring, but the Republican convention here has raised some troubling questions at the end.

For his Vice-Presidential nominee, President Ford has picked Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, a leading apologist for Richard Nixon, and this convention's most vicious critic of Jimmy Carter. If you'll forgive the pun, it's doleful news.

In these last few days in Kansas City, the President has been under severe pressure to select a running mate with (1) experience and conservative credentials (for example Reagan or Connally); (2) appeal to the liberal urban areas of the Northeast and the Middle West (Richardson, Ruckelshaus, Mathias, Percy, etc.); (3) ties to the South and the border states (Baker of Tennessee); and (4) some of all of these qualities but particularly the capacity to attack and provoke Carter into political blunders.

Mr. Ford, in the end, went with No. 4, and with Robert Dole. It made no sense in sectional politics—both of them coming from the Middle West. It had no appeal to the liberal Republicans, but it was a power play to put Dole against Carter.

Dole could attack Carter as an inexperienced hypocrite, but Ford, who had promised to run a "positive and responsible" campaign, could not.

Dole could attack the anti-Kissinger Republican foreign policy platform, but Ford had to look the other way.

Dole could imply that Carter was a "liar" on busing, taxes and abortion, whereas Ford could not.

Maybe the President was right in making this short-run gamble with Mr. Dole, but one wonders. His main political strength in this campaign is that he is the President of the United States.

This is what got him through this convention against Reagan. This is

also what has enabled him to hold his party and even the opposition together in the last two difficult years. But his choice of Dole is almost a declaration of political war against the Democrats.

It was Mr. Dole who attacked Carter here as a "quick-change artist," and a "mass of contradictions," who misled the voters in the primaries about busing, abortion, taxes and government reorganization.

Mr. Dole made this speech primarily when Governor Rockefeller and others were urging the President to adopt a strategy of provocation against Carter and to pick a Vice-Presidential nominee who could cut up Carter as a vague and inexperienced accident of national politics. Apparently it worked.

Maybe President Ford had this in mind all along, but it seems doubtful. He has always said he would run a

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"positive and responsible" campaign, and pick a Vice-Presidential nominee who was the best possible "potential President."

But what he picked under pressure was the most aggressive and combative anti-Carter speaker he could find, and this is bound to have its political consequences.

First, it minimizes Mr. Ford's reputation as an objective, decent, "Presidential figure," and second, it dramatizes the desperation of the Republicans as they go into the campaign, with Ford running one to two against Carter.

Ford has had his worries here, but he won. He has many advantages facing Carter—the Presidency, his long experience in Washington, his amiable personality and the fact that not many people are really mad at him.

But his choice of Dole has bothered even many of his most fervent supporters, particularly those on the abandoned liberal left. For his choice of Dole seems put of character, a desperation move to win by attacking and destroying the opposition rather than concentrating on his own strengths.

The President has not acted here as a confident man with a vision of the future, but as a man of the opposition. He has opposed Reagan and had just barely squeaked through, and is now opposing and trying to destroy Carter indirectly through Dole. It is a surprising strategy, especially since it hurts Ford's own major strengths as a Presidential character who has in the last two years won the respect of his political opponents.

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### The Dole-Miller Parallel and Gerald Ford

IN THE NATION  
By Tom Wicker

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 19—President Ford has chosen the most distinguished Republican Vice-Presidential nominee since William E. Miller (Spiro T. Agnew being one of two official Republican non-persons). In fact, the Dole-Miller parallel is striking, and this nomination may well produce about the same result as the other.

Bob Dole? The mind boggles at the lack of inspiration required of Gerald Ford in making such a choice. Such embryonic respect for Mr. Ford's capacities as had been engendered by his plodding victory here over Ronald Reagan's razzle-dazzle attack disappeared like a plate of Arthur Bryant's barbecued ribs in the moment of his Vice-Presidential announcement.

Perhaps no amount of persuasion or proselytizing could have bagged Mr. Reagan as Mr. Ford's running mate, despite the fact that the two candidates divided the Republican convention virtually 50-50. Not everyone would agree that a Ford-Reagan ticket would have been a good one, anyway—although to the extent Mr. Ford needs to carry California, Texas and Florida, Mr. Reagan would have been most useful.

But Mr. Ford had at least two alternatives, either of which could at one stroke have demolished his reputation as an unimaginative and bumbling campaigner without a helmet. He could have named Anne Armstrong, his own ambassador to Great Britain and a Texan with political clout, ample

ability and international experience. That would have put Jimmy Carter at once and finally in the shade as an innovator, and opened the Republican Party to new faces and new generations in a way that no one has done since Dwight Eisenhower.

Failing that, Mr. Ford could have left the choice to the convention, again putting Mr