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WHY FORD CHOSE DOLE

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he had narrowed the contenders to four:

- Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, believed by the press and most presidential aides to be the most likely choice.

- William D. Ruckelshaus, one-time acting FBI director and later the deputy attorney general fired by Richard M. Nixon for refusal to dismiss 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 Mr. Ford's victory over Ronald Reagan drifted off to bed and quiet came to the muggy Kansas City night, the group in Mr. Ford's hotel suite analyzed the finalists like cattlemen judging prize beef.

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

Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan; Melvin R. Laird, former Republican congressman and defense secretary; Bryce Harlow, a former White House aide — all members of the so-called kitchen cabinet.

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, Senator John Tower of Texas and White House counselor John Marsh.

Then there were the staff men, insiders, campaign strategists Stuart Spencer, Michigan pollster Robert Teeter and White House chief of staff Richard B. Cheney.

A source privy to the conversations said 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 Mr. Ford's prospects against Carter in the South.

Among those opposed to Baker in the South was Clarke Reed, the archconservative chairman of the Mississippi delegation. His declaration for President Ford was crucial to the President's capture of 16 of 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 founders of the fledgling Republican organization in the state.

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

But most of all, Reed wanted somebody more conservative.

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

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

Armstrong, who was often 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 it came to the crunch and time ran out for Mr. Ford to decide, he and the band of men he trusted most decided against a bold stroke, apparently believing that Mr. Ford will rebound strongly against Carter now that the Republicans have settled their party infighting.

Ruckelshaus was appreciated for his "Mr. Clean" image in the Watergate scandal; for the political following of his wife, Jill, an articulate spokesman 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 had never held public office outside of Indiana, and he had left public life for a lucrative job in private business.

By the time the group decided to break and take a nap, the focus had settled on Dole.

Southern Republicans had told Ford aides Dole would be attractive to Southern conservatives; he was married to a politically astute

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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 that was to charge Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger with interfering in agricultural and domestic policy.

A further appeal of Dole was that he has 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.

With Ford campaign aides hoping to anger Jimmy Carter, and push him into mistakes during the fall campaign, Dole filled that bill, too. Moreover, the group saw him as an instant candidate, well-prepared for a national campaign by

his service in the Senate and his leadership of the GOP National Committee.

Until the day of his own nomination, Mr. Ford got advice to throw the nomination into the lap of the convention. But Cheney said Mr. Ford strongly considered it his responsibility to make a recommendation.

Immediately after he telephoned Dole and got a quick acceptance of the vice presidential offer, Mr. Ford called Ronald Reagan.

The former California governor immediately gave his endorsement, meaning Dole was home-free despite some pockets of conservative resistance.

As the tired members of Mr. Ford's inner circle started toward the closely guarded elevators to take them down from the presidential suite, Mr. Ford placed personal calls to former Texas Governor John B. Connally — who hadn't made the finals — and Howard Baker to give them the bad news.

Cheney said he did not know why the President personally called those two. The others who had run and lost got calls from intermediaries.

4 San Francisco Chronicle ★ Fri., Aug. 20, 1976

Robert Dole Likes a Fight Against the Odds

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
New York Times

Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, the Republican vice presidential nominee, savors the pleasures and risks of defending Presidents against Democratic majorities and declining odds.

From his first days in the Senate in 1969, he was a one-man Dole Patrol, a fiery jack-in-the-box on the Senate floor, and strong partisan supporter of Richard Nixon's Supreme Court appointments, Vietnam initiatives and, eventually, Mr. Watergate defense.

To some members of his own party, Dole came on too early and too aggressively. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Republican leader, resented Dole's rivalry for spokesmanship and Senator William French Smith called him a "hard nut."

But years ago, Senator Barry Goldwater sounded a theme that President Ford might have had in mind in picking Dole.

"He's the first man we've had around here in a long time," said the Arizona conservative, "who will grab the other side by the hair and drag them down the hill."

When President Nixon made Dole chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1971, a White House spokesman marked the difference between him and the outgoing chairman, Rogers Morton, who has been running the President Ford Committee this year.

"Rog is a big old St. Bernard, while Dole is a hungry Doberman Pinscher."

Best known for his sometimes slashing partisanship, Dole has spent some of his keener wit on

himself and his allies.

He loved one newspaperman's line that "if you liked Richard Nixon, you'll love Bob Dole." And when he finally disengaged himself from Mr. Nixon's impeachment defense during his own neck-and-neck re-election campaign in 1974, he announced it by saying he hadn't invited the President to stump for him but "wouldn't mind if Nixon flew over the state."

Anything but a nasty man in private, his essential bark, even in his public gibes, is a remarkably unguarded candor and the sardonic twist he gives it.

It was typical that yesterday in his brief, evidently unprepared and relaxed comment on President Ford's summons, he first expressed his thanks and then quipped: "I didn't expect to receive a phone call this morning, but I'm very glad we were in."

Dole's Wife May Be a Perfect Running Mate

By Myra MacPherson
Washington Post
Kansas City

Elizabeth Hanford Dole is not only the wife of President Ford's vice presidential running mate, Senator Robert Dole, she is also a Federal Trade Commissioner.

As one of the highest-ranking women political appointees, the first question that occurred was whether she would have to resign her position to campaign this fall.

Mrs. Dole didn't know. She had not even had time to call her parents or Senator Dole's daughter by his first marriage, Robin, 21, before the Ford-Dole announcement. The White House didn't know. Everyone was calling Washington.

Finally, it was official. Mrs. Dole can keep her FTC job because she is a presidential appointee, which frees her from civil service restrictions concerning participation in political activities.

For the first time that anyone can recall the wife of a major political candidate is such a prominent office holder in her own right that "conflict of interest" has become a question.

When people speak of commissioner Dole they universally use the adjectives "brainy" and "beautiful." A tall and striking brunette, she grew up in North Carolina, was graduated from Harvard Law School, is a Phi Beta Kappa, and was named two years ago by Time Magazine as one of America's 200 "Faces for the Future."

Yesterday she laughed, as

she has ever since her marriage last December to Dole, at the rather constant questions of conflict of interest in their two careers. "There's a lot of interest — but no conflict."

Dole's first marriage of 23 years ended bitterly in 1972. His former wife, the present Mrs. Leon Busick of Lincoln, Kan., blamed his national political role for their breakup and described her husband as a man who "began to believe his press clippings."

The story of Dole's first marriage was a romantic legend

Brainy and Beautiful

in Kansas. His wife, Phyllis, was a physical therapist who nursed Dole when he was so severely wounded in World War II that doctors did not expect him to live.

Dole was so worried about the impact of his divorce on his conservative Kansas constituents that he took a survey on the subject during his 1974 campaign. Hardly a plus, it was not, however, a major problem.

Since their marriage, commissioner Dole has made a hit throughout the state when she visits with Dole.

"She introduced the senator at our Kansas Day. It was

sort of like Sonny and Cher," joked a Kansas staff member. "He's always been the witty one but she had everyone laughing."

Mrs. Dole, a strong proponent of women's rights, explained to one crowd that she was a working wife "because I don't want to be on the public Dole."

From 1971 to 1973, commissioner Dole served as second in command to Virginia Knauer, assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

"I love her like a daughter," says Knauer. "She's such an example for all women in her career and now in combining it with a very happy marriage. She's going to be a tremendous asset to the campaign. She's been through so many press conferences and is very comfortable with the press. She understands the demands of politics; after all, she's not the usual housewife who wonders when her husband's coming home for dinner."

Knauer, the "matchmaker" who introduced the senator and the commissioner "three or four years ago," said, "She was always very busy with her career. I don't think she found the right person until Bob Dole came along."

Commissioner Dole combines a soft, feminine manner with a good legal mind. She has shoulder-length hair and a soft smile. "She is very ladylike but certainly not wishy washy," says Knauer. "She has strong opinions and she'll argue back."

Her interests center on consumer affairs. She was sworn in as an FTC commissioner on Dec. 4, 1973 for a seven-year term.

Her first job out of law school was in private law practice, defending indigents, then she joined the president's committee on Consumer Interests as associate director for legislative affairs in 1968. She then became executive director, before becoming deputy director for the Office of Consumer Affairs.

In 1972, commissioner Dole was the recipient of the Arthur S. Flemming Award for outstanding government service.

She also is a council member of the Harvard Law School Association.

But yesterday, she was just the wife of a vice presidential candidate. She stayed in the background as the press mobbed them in hotel lobbies. She worried about finding the right dress to wear and had the hotel beauty parlor send someone to her suite to comb out her hair.

She said all the candidate-wives' things about how happy she was and how she couldn't wait to campaign.

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Dole Praised by the Also-Rans

Kansas City

You can't win them all. And Tennessee Senator Howard Baker ought to know. He's been on a lot of vice presidential lists.

Baker — who admitted earlier in the week he was nervous despite his experience as an almost No. 2 — didn't win again.

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas did, and Baker said he thought it was an "excellent

choice."

Baker said he was proud he was on the list when it was narrowed to a few names.

Baker said Dole should have no difficulty appealing to dedicated Reagan supporters and predicted he would run well in all parts of the country.

Controversial John Connally of Texas didn't win, either, and he was "relieved." He, too,

thought Dole was a good choice.

"He's a very attractive man, he has a tremendous amount of energy. He has an excellent speaking voice," Connally said. "He has wit, he has a great sense of humor. I think he'll carry the fight to Carter and Mondale. He knows the issues. I think he'll be a very effective candidate."

Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson didn't win either.

He was standing in a parking lot outside Kemper Arena with a message in his hand to call the White House when he found out from a passerby that Dole had been selected.

"Interesting. A surprise," Richardson said. "He's an able and astute guy. One thing for sure, he'll do a very funny job at cutting up Carter. He's funnier than Connally and obviously less controversial. He's as neutral as Baker."

Treasury Secretary William Simon lost out, too.

He got the telephone call from the White House staff while relaxing beside the swimming pool at the Crown Center hotel.

"I am certainly very pleased and relieved," Simon said. "Dole will be an extraordinarily good campaigner. He has experience and is well versed in economic and energy issues and is an extremely able man."

U.N. Ambassador William Scranton didn't make it, either.

"I think the Dole selection is going to add to the ticket in several ways," Scranton said. "First, he comes from the Middle West, and that's going to be acceptable to a lot of people. And he does know our party and that's going to help enormously to unify us. He's also a very good campaigner and has one talent that Gerald Ford does not have — the ability to attack."



GOP vice presidential nominee Robert Dole's daughter Robin and his wife Elizabeth at convention last night

If he wants to exploit it, he also has a record of distinctly liberal views on race and on the food stamp program that Mr. Ford has been trying to curtail. Dole supported all the major civil rights bills of the 1960s and is co-sponsoring an overhaul of the food stamp program with Senator George McGovern, among the most liberal of Democrats.

Robert Joseph Dole was born on July 22, 1923, in a two-room house in Russell, Kan., a close-knit farming town of about 3000 people that didn't get rich on oil until long after Dole had moved away. His father, Doran Dole, worked in a grain elevator, and later operated a cream and egg station. There was never much money in the family, and from his early teens Bob Dole worked odd-jobs after school.

At the University of Kansas he started out on a pre-medical course. World War II diverted that career and nearly cost his life and left permanent scars.

A platoon commander with the U.S. Army in Italy, he was struck by a bursting shell in April, 1945, that shattered his right shoulder, fractured vertebrae of his neck and spine and rattled his body with metal shrapnel. An experimental dose of streptomycin, then the newest of the wonder drugs, saved his life, but his full recovery took years and left him with a withered and useless right arm.

His first wife, Phyllis Holden, whom he married in 1946 and divorced in 1972, was the physiotherapist who helped him learn to write, shave and type with one hand. They have one daughter.

He married his second wife, Elizabeth Hanford, a member of the Federal Trade Commission, last December.

Dole took a B.A. degree at the University of Arizona in 1949 and his law degree from Washburn University in Topeka, Kan., in 1952. It was the law school librarian who persuaded him that young men had a responsibility to political life.

At age 28, while still a law student, he was elected to the Kansas Legislature. Upon graduation, he was elected to the first of four two-year terms as the prosecuting attorney for Russell county.

From 1961 to 1968 he served in obscurity in the U.S. House of Representatives. But when Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas retired in 1968, Dole won his Senate seat in a landslide.

His voting record provides an extensive catalogue of his generally conservative views. He opposed Medicare in 1965 and declared the Johnson administration's urban rehabilitation programs "of doubtful necessity." In 1964, when the Supreme Court's "one-man one-vote" decision shifted legislative power away from the sort of rural interests he represented in Kansas, he introduced a resolution that would have allowed states to ignore the ruling.