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### Dole will clarify issues

Kansas' two Republican senators don't always see eye-to-eye.

In fact, Senate votes often put Sen. James Pearson in the "yes" column and Sen. Bob Dole in the "no" column, or vice-versa.

But Pearson, Kansas' senior senator, recognized Dole's integrity and his willingness to cast the "unpopular but necessary vote."

In a Senate speech the other day, Pearson echoed what many Kansans have been thinking about the choice of Bob Dole as the Republican vice-presidential nominee.

Dole was selected, Pearson said, to force Democrats to "shed the ambiguity and contradictions" of their party platform.

Democrats are charging Dole was picked as a slashing, "gut-fighter." But that's not correct and most of them know it.

As Pearson said, Dole is expected to tell the truth about the Democratic platform. He said Dole will assure that the voters will know in November what to expect in January if Democrats take over the White House as well as continuing their control of Congress.

When a campaigner tells the truth about the opposition, he often is charged with "dirty politics" — by those who would rather not hear the truth.

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# THE UNDERDOGS

He came to Kansas City under sharper intraparty challenge than any sitting President since Chester Arthur was cast aside by the Republicans of 1884. His fate belonged to a convention that gave him a stinging majority of its votes and Ronald Reagan a landslide share of its emotion. But in the end it was Gerald Ford, President by circumstance and nominee by sheer plodding determination, who stood in the floodlit glare of Kemper Arena taking his first earned hurrahs in national politics and daring to dream of more next Nov. 2. "We are going to win," he cried in the face of the heavy expectation that he cannot. "The American people are going to say that night, 'Jerry, you've done a good job. Keep right on doing it.'"

His speech was by most measures the masterpiece of his 28 years in politics—a confident pep talk that sent his divided brethren forth in something like unity to do battle for him and his impulsive last-minute choice for running mate, Robert Dole, the cut-and-shoot junior senator from Kansas. It might have been otherwise: the 31st Republican convention began so narrowly split that White House chief of staff Richard Cheney privately professed Ford and his men "lucky to get out with our skins." In the event, they got out with considerably more. Ford's long run against Reagan bloodied him as a national campaigner and legitimated him as the choice of his party—not merely the appointee of Richard Nixon. His speech displayed him at his Presidential best, dwelling on his record—and daring Jimmy Carter to debate it on live TV.

For heady moments, Ford even made his decimated party forget that he is the underdog, starting farther behind than any President in scientific polling history and desperately short of time to catch up. He has made up 10 points in the polls since Carter's post-convention high last month, but still trails 56-33 in George

Gallup's latest survey and 61-32 in Louis Harris's. He remained an unelected President with no measurable national base and slight gifts at campaigning. His fall strategy was still in the option-paper stage, with just ten weeks left till Election Day. His staff remains suspect among party pros, for all their coup in Kansas City. His party was beset by

Ford the challenger. Dole's eight Senate years have been distinguished largely by his acid partisanship in such causes as the worthiness of G. Harold Carswell and the innocence of Richard Nixon. He offered Ford none of the usual geographic or ideological balance; he was in fact the object of "some bitching and moaning" among Ford's men, one of them reported, until, at 10:15 a.m. on decision day, Ford announced: "I think it's Dole. I like him." The more common view was that Ford needed him as, in Dole's own phrase, a "peanut shell" — a gut campaigner capable of carrying the attack to Carter and perhaps baiting him into some fatal mistake.



The running mates in Russell: The game was catch-up now

**ON THE HIGH ROAD**

Ford planned to come off his own convention high onto a high-road campaign—an ostentatiously Presidential posture that will anchor him to his desk most of the autumn and stress his peace-and-prosperity pitch in his few rationed appearances. But his prosperity remains shaky. His pursuit of peace through détente and the wiles of Henry Kissinger was called into question by a platform plank forced on him by the Reagan wing of his own party. His decision to low-profile at least into October was the product partly of his deficiencies as a campaigner—his polls go down when he goes out—and the lingering doubts that he is Presidential. Even his invitation to the first Presidential campaign debates since Nixon met John Kennedy in 1960 was an improvisation born as much out of necessity as nerve. "You don't make up a lead like Carter's," said one senior aide, "without generating some explosions. We had to take the risk."

Still, Ford's people repaired to a working retreat in Vail, Colo., at the weekend in something bordering on euphoria over what did and didn't happen in Kansas City. So narrow was the President's lead that he felt obliged to fly in early to plead

his own cause—"running around," as one Reagan Southerner described it, "spending 45 minutes trying to get one vote out of a little of delegate from Chittin' Switch." What he and his handlers feared most was the kind of emotional tide that might tip the convention to Reagan or tear the party in two. The passions were there, boiling over into long, raucous, horn-toting demonstrations at the merest mention of Ronald Reagan's name; the noisemaking shunted both Ford's nomination and his acceptance speech off prime television time in at least half the nation—the sort of indignity associated more commonly with the Democrats.

But the President's men had the votes, and the discipline to hold them in line when it counted. The real test of power came when the Reagan command wined its last desperation card, proposing that Ford be required to name his Vice Presidential choice before nomination night; his handlers, operating out of a trailer code-named Third Base, marshaled a decisive vote against the rule, and the balloting between Ford and Reagan thereafter was a formality. In the emotional aftermath, Reagan did a choked vaudeville to his volunteers, conspicuously neglecting the usual niceties about closing ranks behind Ford and exhorting them instead to go on trying to make America once again "a shining city on a hill." But the appearance of harmony was restored on acceptance night, when Ford summoned the Reagans down from their spectator seats for a rather more ecumenical exit speech and a last teary ovation.

#### POLISH AND PASSION

Ford by then was safely beyond upstaging; his own half-hour speech had stirred 69 bursts of applause and cheers—a show of warmth joined by practically everybody in the hall except the Reagans and a last few bitter-end supporters. The President knew from the first that the speech would be the most important since his bleak Inaugural two Augusts ago, and he put counselor and ghost writer Robert Hartmann to work on last July 6. Hartmann sent Ford a complete set of acceptance speeches dating to 1948; Ford in turn showered Hartmann with newspaper clips and other scraps marked "Good idea here." Seven drafts were called up from seven writers and shipped to the President in a 3-inch ring-binder. He marked what he liked in felt pen and shipped them back. The final version materialized four drafts later; Ford spent parts of ten days declaiming it aloud and watching himself in instant videotape replay.

The result was a performance of rare polish and passion for a President noted for neither. The times, places and format said straightaway, laying out his claim to a term of his own. "This nation is sound. This nation is secure. This nation is on the march to full economic recovery and a better quality of life for all Ameri-

cans." He attacked Carter by sly indirection—"My record is one of specifics, not smiles"—and by guilty association with "the vote-hungry, free-spending Congressional majority." But mostly he brought his no longer numerically grand old party up cheering with a promise they wanted badly to hear and desperately to believe: "We will wage a winning campaign in every region of this country, from the snowy banks of Minnesota to the sandy plains of Georgia."

Ford penned in the challenge to debate Carter a bare two hours before speech time—an addition that, by luck or sound intelligence, beat the Georgian himself to the punch by less than a day. Ford had been kicking the idea around with his inner circle for two or three weeks, and had been collecting mixed advice. A few dissenters—among them

#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

to other undesignated venues in October. The league envisions three debates between the Presidential candidates—covering foreign affairs, economics and domestic policy—and a fourth between their running mates. Under one proposed formula, the encounters would last 60 minutes each, most of it devoted to questioning by a panel of journalists, the tag end to five-minute summations.

#### HE'S ONE OF US

The proposal alone got Ford a lusty ovation in Kemper Arena, and helped send him and his entourage off to their strategy deliberations in Vail with a buoyancy at odds with their summer-book standing against Carter. "We had to get a good bounce out of this convention," one senior staffer said, "and we're getting a great one." At Dole's instance,



JFK vs. Nixon, 1960: Would Ford and Carter co-star in 'Son of Great Debates'?

his onetime House chum Melvin Laird—urged against it one likened it to "Daniel walking into the lion's den." These people don't realize how skillful Carter really is." But the prevailing view was that Ford had to do something and that— with his aura of office and his ironpans mastery of detail—he might actually outpoint the challenger. "He knows the issues," said one top Ford hand. "He can absolutely beat Carter's ass."

Carter accepted the dare within the hour—"I look forward to an open and deputed press secretary Jody Powell to work out the terms with Ford's secretary. The times, places and format awaited their negotiations. But Carter for one leaned toward a series of confrontations already being programmed on spec by the League of Women Voters, beginning Sept. 28 in St. Louis and moving on

the new running mates detoured en route for a franks-and-pickles barbecue in Russell, Kans., the senator's hometown. There, introducing the President to a crowd of Levied and sun-scored homefolk, Dole was suddenly overcome with sentiment and burst into tears. But he recovered and carried on as Ford's envoy to a chary Farm Belt, proclaiming the President "a friend of rural America, a friend of small-town America—really one of us."

Ford moved on thereafter to his rental chalet in the Rockies with his senior staff, his managers, a fat looseleaf play-book known in the White House as the Planning Document—and 73 days left to design and execute his political resurrection. One first order of business was to shake down the raggie command that ran his error-prone spring campaign and only partially retrieved its honor with its

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smooth work in Kansas City. Ford's friends in Congress and elsewhere have been badgering him for weeks to strengthen his discipline. John Sears and some of his help would be invited aboard; that the President's own skilled delegate hunter, James Baker, and his convention manager, William Timmons, would be promoted to top-side jobs. But any shuffling was deferred into this week, and one of the prospective shufflers—a man persistently mentioned for a major role—was at the verge of packing up and going home in despair of getting the official word.

#### SHUFFLING THE DECK

The most fundamental issues of strategy—decisions, according to one source at the President Ford Committee, were made yesterday—were likewise left to be settled at Vail. But some of the basics in the grand design were said to have been plucked from the Planning Document already and accepted in principle.

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Carter: A question of leadership

## BATTLEGROUND

With its clear commitment to less government, less spending and less inflation, the 1976 Republican platform is a model of present-day conservatism. As such it is almost a reverse image of the Democrats' emphasis on more government activism and a redistribution of wealth and power. A comparison of the two parties' major planks:

#### THE ECONOMY

**Republicans:** "If we are permanently to eliminate high unemployment, it is essential to protect the integrity of our money. That means putting an end to deficit spending." Other planks oppose reimposition of wage and price controls, support the independence of the Federal Reserve System and reject the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

**Democrats:** "The Democratic Party is committed to the right of all adult Americans to have opportunities for useful jobs at living wages." The platform supports legislation designed to reduce unemployment to 3 per cent within four years (thus, in effect, endorsing the Humphrey-Hawkins bill). The platform also says that "direct government involvement in wage and price decisions may be required to ensure price stability" and advocates making the Federal Reserve a "full partner" in national economic decisions.

#### LABOR

Favors retention of Section 14(B) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to require open shops in which workers do not have to join a union. The platform opposes legalization of common-site picketing on construction sites.

Seeks repeal of Section 14(B). Supports common-site picketing.

#### TAXES

"The best tax reform is tax reduction." The platform supports policies to ensure job-producing expansion of our economy. These include hastening capital recovery through new systems of accelerated depreciation, removing the tax burden on equity financing to encourage more capital investment, ending double taxation of dividends.

"We plan to propose a party to a new system of tax reform that will be based on a fair and equitable distribution of the tax burden. We will propose that high-income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income, and reducing the rate of 'unjustified' tax increases in such areas as oil and gas, tax-loss farming and real estate."

#### ENERGY

"We vigorously oppose divestiture of oil companies and their breakup into separate producing and marketing units. The platform calls for immediate elimination of price controls on oil and newly discovered natural gas in order to increase supplies. It also favors accelerated use of nuclear energy through processes that have been proven safe."

"The platform urges breakup of the oil companies and supports legislation that would bar them from owning competing kinds of energy, such as coal. It advocates a minimal dependence on nuclear energy."

#### WELFARE

Opposes a guaranteed annual income. Opposes federalizing the welfare system.

Advocates moving toward a guaranteed annual income.

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