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by Ford. One of these was the "Presidential option"-the decision to ground Ford at least through September, his political wanderlust permitting, and display him mostly in such dignity settings as, say, the opening of the United Nations General Assembly. The plan presumes that he will want out for one- and two-day campaign trips, but can be largely confined to quarters until a closing blitz the last two weeks or so before Election Day. The impulse to keep Ford off the road

Supports the efforts of

Calls for a "superior national

defense [and a] period of sus-

tained growth in our defense effort." Endorses construction

"those who seek enactment of

a constitutional amendment

to prohibit abortion

of the B-1 bomber

is only one measure of the weakness of his position, another-perhaps more telling-is his heavy dependence on Jimmy Carter to defeat himself. "We're going to try and help him some," says one Ford man, with Dole presumably doing most of the helping—a task the senator warmed to in an opening-night convention speech denouncing Carter as a "quick-change artist" and a "Southern-

ABORTION

DEFENSE

fned McGovern." The principle objec-tives of the attack will be to picture Carter as untried and untruthful; to yoke him to the tax-and-spend liberalism of his running mate, Walter F. Mondale, and the Democratic Congress-and if possible to drive him into losing his relentlessly smiling sangfroid. He struck Reagan's man Sears, for one, as a thinskinned sort who might be "manipulated into blowing his top" and doing something ugly; the serene response from Plains in effect was don't depend on it. The demographics proposed in Ford's

emerging game plan are similarly laced with long-odds calculations. His people would concede much of the liberal Northeast and all of what Morton called "the cotton South" to Carter. They would concentrate instead on what they call a "heartland strategy," building out from Ford's perceived base in the industrial Midwest and Dole's in the Farm

Belt. They would target-shoot for swing states elsewhere, with particularly heavy efforts in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California; compete with Carter for the Southern rim, especially Texas and Florida, and count on the small electoral-vote states of the Southwest and West by ancient Republican tradition.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BASE ZERO'

The problem is that Ford is starting behind-sometimes far behind-in most of his designated battleground states. One worst-case Democratic scenario circulating in Washington last week awarded Carter a safe 200 of the required 270 electoral votes, to the President's "base zero," and soundings by NEWSWEEK correspondents around the U.S. were hardly more comforting. The returns: In the East, the overworked word on Ford's prospects was "doleful," once he picked a conservative Kansas WASP as

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

his running mate. The ticket "could make a stab at New Jersey," one Demo-cratic strategist conceded. But New York looks strong for Carter, and in Pennsylva-nia, T. Newall Wood, the state senate's GOP whip, said dismally: "We're going to get clobbered." New England like-wise looked infertile for Ford, except perhaps, Vermont—and, said Walter (Peanut) Kennedy, the party chairman there, "who's to say he might not need those three electoral votes?"

years of head counting.

solid for him now.

In the Midwest, Ford's prime target territory, the view ahead was not nearly so rosy as his heartland strategists contemplated. Michigan might ultimately be his by favorite-son sentiment, though Carter is considered the leader now, and Dole could help in the grain belt. But the ticket will have far choppier flying in such

strong in the Southwest, except possibly in Arizona. The decisive testing ground will be California, a 45-electoral-vote bonanza for the winners, and Carter is starting far ahead there despite a weak showing against Gov. Jerry Brown in the Democratic primary in June. A new Mervin Field state poll showed Ford trailing 53-33—the worst showing for any nomin



Pachydermitis: Could the Republicans make peace and shell Jimmy Carter?



YOU GET OVER IT'

The Republicans by contrast dispersed in considerable alarm at their future. Ford managed to cap-ture his party without wrecking it. there was some perfunctory talk on the outer right about bolting to a new conservative third party scheduled to convene this week in Chicago, but most of the losers in Kansas City agreed to turn to for the winner. "The ride home from a losing game is always a long one," said Jim Glasgow, a Texas delegate, "but you get over it." Still, the wings were filled with hopefuls hunching defeat in 1976 and waiting for 1980. One was Baker, wounded at being bypassed for the ticket this time and openly ready for next; another was John Connally, sweeping through Kansas City with an air of availability, a candidate-size retinue of aides—and a wake of doubts occasioned by his indictment and acquittal on a brib-

ry charge last year. Jockeying for the future is usually estrained when a party believes that it has a present. A good many of the Republicans gathered in Kemper Arena suspected privately that they did not. Their residual hope for an upset rested on a series of contingencies—on Ford's sustaining the Presidential timbre he chieved in his speech; on his turning his shaky primary team overnight into a big-league campaign command and finally on Carter's auto-destructing in some show of gracelessness or rage. But the odds were long, and Ford's GOP support troops an aging and decimated lot. Their most recent winner, Richard Nixon, was a nonperson in their deliberations. The old heroes they had left to parade before the convention were mostly epic losers—Alf Landon, Barry Goldwater, Nelson Rockefeller and the suspicion was strong among them that Ford may belong to that pantheon of ghosts next time

-PETER GOLDMAN with THOMAS M. DeFRANK and HAL BRUNO in Kansas City and bureau reports

the President's pre-convention efforts

had been amateurish and at times abysmal. Much of the credit went to Ford's

o Newsweek

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Cautions that "in pursuing détente we must not grant unilateral favors with only the hope" of future reward; commends "that great beacon of human courage and morali-ty, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn." Reaffirms U.S. commitment, with troops, to the territorial integrity of South Korea "so long as there exists the possibility of renewed aggression from North Korea." Supports contacts, trade and normal ized relations with China, but also wants to keep "commitments, such as the mutua defense treaty," with Taiwan. The Panama Canal should be "preserved as an internationa waterway" and in talks with Panama, the U.S. "should in no way cede, dilute, forfeit, negotiate or transfer any rights, power, authority, jurisdiction, territory or property [vital to] the U.S. and the Western hemisphere.

GUN CONTROL Supports the right of citizens "to keep and bear arms" and opposes Federal registration

SCHOOL BUSING

AMNESTY

"Segregated schools are

morally wrong and unconstitu-tional," but "we oppose forced

busing to achieve racial bal-ances" and "favor consider-

ation of an amendment to the

Constitution forbidding the as-

signment of children to school

No plank in the platform

on the basis of race.

HEALTH

"The Republican Party opposes compulsory national health insurance." The platform maintains that such a program would "increase Federa government spending by more than \$70 billion in its first full year [and] require a personal income tax increase of approximately 20 per cent."

pivotal states as Minnesota, Mon-dale's home soil; Wisconsin, where the state GOP is in advanced disarray; Ohio, where Carter held nearly a 2-to-1 lead in a July Democratic poll, and Illinois, where Ford and Dole may have to beg a ride on the coattails of an attractive-and thus far aloof-Republican state ticket. **In the West,** Ford is presumed the leader in the low-yield prairie and mountain states, if he quiets their anxieties about his farm policies; Carter was counted similarly

BY GEORGE F. WILL

IT AIN'T NECESSARILY SO

who claims to enjoy celestial intimacies. has created the impression that all the universe is striving toward a Carter Ad-ministration. But Carter should remember the song of that Southern skeptic.

Sportin' Life: "It ain't necessarily so." Conventions, like groves of aspen. tremble in the slightest breeze, and Republicans arrived here braced for heavy weather indoors. But in the sauna called Kemper Arena, and in various watering spots, rivals mingled, managing polite forbearance from signs of disgust, and calling to mind de Gaulle's description of his meeting with FDR at Casablanca: "We assaulted each other with good Ford-Dole ticket: conservative. manners

The Ford-Reagan battle produced the jest that the GOP is a minority trying to divide itself into a majority. Actually, the fight was a splendid tonic. Far from leaving the party prostrate, it quickened its pulse, stimulated participation and kept the party on page one. And if Ford and his organization have been tempered, like steel, that is because Reagan stoked the furnace. Furthermore, Ford's principal handicap has been a faint aura of illegitimacy. He came to power too easily. But campaigning across the con-tinent has been a legitimizing ordeal.

SWAN AMONG DUCKS

With ten weeks to go Carter is still a political projectile of uncertain velocity He lost eight of his last fifteen contested primaries. He was shellacked in New York and California. If Hubert Humphrey had Carter's 23-point lead in polls, the lead would be solid. Voters have had time to decide what they think of Humphrey. But a year ago 90 per cent of the public had not heard of Carter. And today, because Carter seems to believe that the way to keep knowledge pure is to keep it scarce, almost nobody knows what Carter plans to do. Thus his lead probably is soft. In Robert Dole, the dark, slender

gunslinger from Matt Dillon country, Ford has found his tongue. Pointing out other people's errors is not a duty from which Dole shrinks. He is a speaker whose gifts make him a swan among ducks in the brown Senate pond. He is well equipped to perform the duty fre quently assigned to a Vice Presidential candidate, that of behaving like a pyromaniac in a world of straw men. He will be point man in the GOP attack which

August 30, 1976

Republicans, it is said, should feel like about to be chewed up. Certainly Carter, and who fills many molds but doesn't as a said of the s keep any shape. of Britain's former Carter sought the nomination as a cen-Tory Prime Minis-

trist. Since his acceptance speech, which embraced advanced liberalism, he has ter Harold Macmillan. In 1963, at the not said much, aside from his remarkable end of his career, he gave this summation of his political life: "I usually drive down to Sussex on promise to make "the family" a responsi-bility of the Federal government. But since the selection of Walter Mondale, Saturday mornings and I find my car in a line of family cars, filled with fathers, mothers, children, uncles, aunts, all mak-Carter has been choosing a staff ideologically suited to advocate and implement the Democratic platform's Mondalean ing their way to the seaside. Ten years ago most of them would not have had cars, would have spent their weekends proposals to expand scores of Federal rograms and agencies. Some call this in their back streets, and would have seen the seaside, if at all, once a year. Now-now-1 look forward to the time, staff "liberal," others "progressive," according to the resources of their vocabu-laries. There is no doubt what to call the

little larger, a little more comfortable, 'DISPOSABLE INCOME!' and all of them will be carrying on their The banner of Ford-Dole conservaroofs boats that they may enjoy at the

tism should be a loaf of bread and a stick of butter rampant on a field of green seaside. That may strike you as a dispiriting emblazoned with the words DISPOSABLE summation of a great man's career. But INCOME! The first (and sometimes it seems the only) goal of contemporary there is idealism implicit in such demo-cratic materialism. The assumption is conservatism is to increase the individuthat affluence-more disposable inal's disposable income. It is not clear what yeast is quietly at come, if you will-means more freedom for the individual to achieve a better

work in the nation's soul. But Republiself. To be sure, the freedom may not be used for noble purposes. But that is not generally the politicians' business. cans are wagering that the bread-andbutter issue is the price of bread and butter—inflation. That and other costs of

government are natural Republican is-

America.

BANAL POLITICS

not far away, when those cars will be a

Ford's conservatism, like Macmillan's, sues. Politics involves dressing up narrow self-interest in the fine cloth of is criticized as banal, which it is. Of broader motives, so theoretically in-clined Republicans argue, correctly, that what costs money also costs freecourse, banal politics is not the worst kind. Ford, like Macmillan, is criticized because he does not give people a "sense of purpose." Ford can reply, as Macmillan did: "If people want a sense dom. Money is congealed labor. When government conscripts money through of purpose they can get it from their archbishops." That puts polities in its place, which should not be at the center direct taxation or regulation or the surreptitious taxation of inflation, it con-scripts the *time* of our lives, and limits our ability to make free claims on the of the human drama. Still, there is a sense of something

world's resources. Republicans hope that as the election missing in the conservatism that marchnears, voters will focus on the fact that es beneath the DISPOSABLE INCOME! banner. In my mind's ear, I hear Peggy Lee singing, "Is That All There Is?" What is missing is political leader-ship that summons individuals to citi-zenship, to the pursuit of something in the transition from candidacy to Presidency is a transition from lofty assertion to laborious doing, and they will prefer the prose of Ford's message to the poetry of Carter's presence. But there is a danger. Thoughtful peoaddition to the expanded personal free-dom that disposable income conveys. What is missing is a politics that appeals ple will not warm to Ford's message if it seems to reduce citizenship to consumership, as Nixon's did in 1960 when he to what Lincoln called "the better angels declared, "It's the millions of people that are buying new cars that have faith in of our nature." Lincoln, the fountain of Republicanism, is a reminder that even a muddy stream can have snow at Be that as it may, democratic conservsource

HOW FORD D

dozen years. And after nearly four hours of steadily building tension-cheers and jeers, angry shouts and even a tussle over a telephone—the moment of truth was nearly at hand for the sweaty, swirling crowd. The vote was over a procedural issue known as Rule 16C-a proposed requirement that each Presidential candidate name his running mate before the

vote on his own nomination. But in fact

16C had become a first ballot for the

nomination itself-a test of wills and

forces between Gerald Ford and Ronald

Reagan that would decide the closest race

For the Reagan camp, 16C was a last gamble, a desperate-hours attempt to

sandbag the President into naming a

Veep who would alienate some Ford

delegates. After appeasing the Reagan-

ites on almost every issue during the

tense pre-convention maneuvering over

in modern Republican history.

28

27

26

t was a floor fight the likes of which the rules and platform, the President had Grand Old Party had not seen in a little choice but to put his fragile margin to the test. To assure victory, the White House pulled out all the stops. Wavering delegates received last-minute phone calls from the President, others found themselves pressured by a squad of highranking Ford surrogates and, as the crucial vote approached, the White House command post flooded the floor with its whips to hold the line. Still, by the end of

chief delegate hunter, James A. Baker 111, who for months had kept what turned out to be prophetically accurate tabs on the vote. Baker's agents kept their cool established close contact with every del-

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>-20

N

Herblock in The Wash

'You're all set-as soon as that heals

egation and blended confidence with compromise to win over every delegate they could-and hold on to those they already owned. Baker's operations also benefited immensely from the carefully orchestrated participation of influential GOP congressmen—Senate Minority Whip Robert Griffin of Michigan, Rep. Robert Michel of Illinois-and savvy old Nixon Administration hands Harry Dent. Bryce Harlow and William Timmons. Still, there were those who though Ford's greatest advantage came from the Reagan camp itself, despite the close and dogged race the conservative Californian had run throughout the previous sev-en months. Reagan's credibility in Kansas City had obviously been damaged by the inflated delegate projections floated by his chief strategist John Sears, and some of the conservative cadres still smarted from the naming of liberal Sen. Richard S. Schweiker as his running mate (another Sears stratagem). Sears was also primarily responsible, and was later criticized by some Reaganites, for setting up the do-or-die fight over 16C— although it was difficult to see what other ploy the Reagan camp had left in order to break the President's majority

ENERGETIC AND DEFENSIVE

Both candidates arrived in Kansas City on convention eve and almost immediately began working the delegates. Reagan and Schweiker were more energetic in their hunt than the President, personally visiting delegation after delegation, while the President relied largely on his attractive family (box, opposite) and a score of political operatives. But the Reagan team rarely managed to get off the defensive. In the critical Wyoming delegation, for example, once almost exclusively Reagan country, the members kept questioning Schweiker's voting record despite Reagan's explanation that over a six-year period his running mate ranked only about 40th among Senate liberals. "That made it sound like it wasn't all that bad," Mary Garman of Sundance said later, but she was still leaning toward Ford. "I guess mainly Showdown: Moore puts Ford over, losers Nofziger and Sears, tally on 16C because I don't buy this Schweiker deal Reagan turned around and did the oppothe first roll call, Ford remained 18 votes short of triumph. Then Florida-which site of what he said he was going to do passed the first time around-called for Reagan's other problem was a growing belief among many delegates that he might end up on the ticket anyway—as Ford's Vice President. It was a notion that Ford's people were pushing hard in the caucuses and on the convention floor Monday night, some because they sincerely believed that a Ford-Reagan ticket would be the party's strongest weapon

recognition. "Mr. Chairman," droned delegation chairman Bill Taylor, "Florida votes 38 no, 28 yes-and that does it." Indeed it did. After months of primary battling and only 24 hours before his formal elevation, Ford had finally turned

back the Reagan challenge and put his lock on the nomination In victory, Ford's convention team against Jimmy Carter, others because it looked as professional and effective as was a way of sapping the passions of

Newsweek