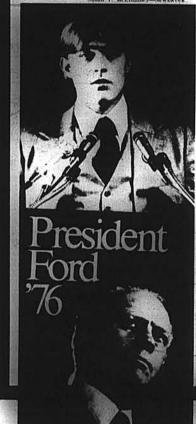
ims document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kans

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

a family could run for the Presiency en masse, the Fords might be eading the polls instead of trailing by 20-odd points. All last week, while the President stayed mostly in seclusion. Betty Ford and their four children kept very much in the public eye, displaying the sort of grace and winning good looks that voters have come to associate mainly with Kennedys. They whooped it up on the convention floor, trooped from caucus to cau-cus and ad-libbed jokes and campaign

Much of the Fords' appeal comes from their ability to remain a warm and individualistic family despite the artificial aura of the White House. Each of the children has been encouraged to follow his or her own lights rather than enlist in the common cause. Eldest son Mike, 26, who is married and a theological student, has settled into a small house in Essex, Mass., and seems the most anxious of all to avoid the fanfare; he and his wife Gayle were the least visible and the ast Fords to arrive in Kansas City

Jack speaks up for his father



Steve, 20, blond and boyishly handsome, has spent most of the White House years bronco-busting and ranching out West. Susan, 19, will leave home in a few months to attend the University of Kansas. Only Jack, 24, has caught the politi-

cal bug.

Humor: But last week all the Fords briefly hit the campaign trail, and they acted like naturals. Susan, who has mastered the big friendly smile if not the political speech worked crowds with "how are you-alls." Steve broke out with pixieish humor-when his father introduced him as a cowboy, Steve seized the microphone for a smil-ing dig at Ronald Reagan: "We're not country gentlemen cowboys where I come from," he said. Betty up-staged Nancy Reagan at the convention hall by breaking into a spontaneous dance with entertainer Tony Orlando and later did the bump with him on the Uptown Theatre stage.

Jack Ford, dressed in snappy three-piece suits and wearing an ELECT BETTY FORD'S HUSBAND button, bore the brunt of inter views last week, served as head cheerleader of the "Presidentials," a 1,200-strong Ford youth group, and ground out a diary column for The New York Daily News (though he reportedly had unnamed assistance in that effort). Along with his mother, Jack remains the most irrepressible free spirit in the family and carned his political spurs as a volunteer during the primary run.

A strapping (6-foot 1-meh) graduate of Utah State University (forestry Jack thinks he has a special role as guardian of his father's image. "More than anyone else I can translate this man and my feelings for him," he explains without embarrassment. His quick grin and forthright approach impressed his elders in Kansas City last week. "We are going through a unique experience . . . because we have a President who did not seek office because of his own ego drive for personal gratification," he told a function gathering. "We've seen in the last twelve years what can happen with that kind of President. If that is the only type of person who can winthe Presidency, maybe there's some flaw in our system. In the past Jack's relentless—often

guileless—candor has got him in trou-ble (as when he admitted too publicly



reason to defect to Ford on 16C. If by the morning of nomination day Ford had to

announce a Veep who had agreed to run

with him, Ford's emissaries pointed out, the choice could not be Reagan.Coun-

tered Reagan in caucus after caucus:

Betty bumps with Tony Orlando

that he had tried pot). And many po-litical pros in the Ford camp are known to regard him as something of a g pain. In particular, some senior Ford advisers resent Jack's easy accessibility to the President; father and son often shoot the breeze over drinks in the evenings. "Time and again you think a decision is all set, then Jack goes in the back door and the next morning the President comes in and says he's changed his mind," complains one Presidential adviser. Jack frankly admits he gets "a lot of resistance" from Ford campaign pros.

"They see me coming and throw up their hands," he says with a laugh. Gusto: Jack Ford intends to continue his campaigning full tilt. With Steve, will probably work the Rocky Mountain states they both know well Susan will also step up her present activities, filling in for her mother on appropriate occasions and making the seeme at Fordy on the years. Each of the Fords would probably admit, as Jack does, that their lives would be more pleasant if their parents should leave White House next January, But judging from their gusto in Kansas City last week, they are going to try their hardest not to let that happen.

DANIEL CHU with JANE WHITMORE and THOMAS M DEFRANK in Kansas City

"There is no way I would consider my-self a Vice President on any ticket." At a meeting with the Indiana delegation at one point, he even offered to put it in writing.
The Sears decision to wage a life-ordeath battle over 16C was vulnerable on other grounds as well. Forcing Ford to name a running mate seemed clearly a ploy by an opponent whose own selec-tion of a Veep had triggered such a backlash (the Ford camp quickly dubbed 16C the "misery-loves-company rule"). The Reaganites were banking on the

fact that some of the Ford delegatesboth moderate and conservative—were genuinely worried about whom the Prosident would pick. The Sears game plan called for Reagan's forces to pick up support on the issue from Reagan sympa thizers in Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina and Nevada, who were bound by state law to vote for Ford on the first ballot of the nomination proceedings Wednesday night. But even the votes of all such "Trojan horse" delegates would not by themselves close the gap against Ford: Ford supporters in Indiana and Georgia, bound to Reagan on the first ballot, were expected to vote with the President on 16C—and thus cancel out Reagan's Southern gains. In key states such as Mississippi Wyoming West Virginia and Pennsylvania, moreover, the

balance of forces was so confused that no solid predictions could be made. As the key test vote drew closer, the

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

battle for delegates grew more fervent than ever—although it never reached the level of bitterness attained by supporters of Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater in 1964. Symbolically, both Rocke-feller and Goldwater addressed the convention Monday night; watching Rocky's speech from an arena holding room, Goldwater suddenly exclaimed: 'And you know what? He'd have made a

### CHARGES OF 'DIRTY POOL'

damn good President, too.

But there were some flashes of anger. In the Illinois delegation, former Gov. Richard Ogilvie, a Ford supporter, charged that two Ford delegates had been offered bribes to switch to Reagan. But the delegates involved sounded a bit nebulous about the affair, and Illinois Reagan chairman Donald Totten said the charge "smacks of dirty pool." Two days later, Reagan delegate John Oldham Jr. weighed in with the countercharge that a top Ford man in the Midwest had offered campaign funds and assistance for a Congressional candidate whom Oldham was managing—if he crossed over to the President. "I thought it was improper then and I think it was improper now," said Oldham, 23. Ford people denied any impropriety and suggested that Oldham was over-reacting to the political fact of life that Presidents and their sup-

porters help those who help them first. New York GOP chairman Richard Rosenbaum, a longtime Rockefeller associate and strong Ford supporter, was also caught up in the rising tension. First, Rosenbaum helped orchestrate the highpressure campaign aimed at ending the nexpected "availability" of New York Sen. James L. Buckley as a Presidential candidate. Buckley, who had said he

### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

might plunge in to take the convention past a first ballot, withdrew as expected early in the week. Later, the bald, beefy Rosenbaum (inevitably dubbed "Kojak") used his political muscle to keep Reagan from addressing a formal session of the New York delegation. He was one of Ford's chief enforcers. "I'm getting a bad reputation here," he joked. "And I'm

### THE TENSION MOUNTS

But Rosenbaum wasn't laughing on the tense convention floor Tuesday night as an even bigger, beefier Reagan delegate-Douglas Bischoff of reached right into the New York delegation and ripped out its direct line to the Ford command trailer outside the hall. Rosenbaum turned beet-red and chased down the aisle after Bischoff-who later explained that he was only standing up for another Reagan delegate whose poster had been grabbed away and then crumpled by a grinning member of the New York delegation: Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. The Veep's line was that he thought the sign had been offered to him-"So I took it"-and that Bischoff was probably tipsy. When the Utah man—a non-drinking Mormon—said he might sue, Rocky apologized.

The incident touched off yet another bout of chanting ("We Want Reagan") and counter-chanting ("We Want Ford") by opposing forces on the floor. The orchestra by this time had developed a special tactic for these outbreaks: it would launch into repeated renditions of "God Bless America" which temporarily made things louder-many of the delegates sang along-but eventually quiet-

ed everyone down. Finally the vote on 16C was begun, and it soon was clear that Ford's men had done far better than Reagan's in counting and keeping their votes. Congressman Michel's tally sheet projected 1,173 votes for Ford's position against the pro-posed amendment. In between tending to waverers, he happily checked off state after state that had been correctly predicted. "When you go through the first eight states and you are only one off, your confidence begins to build," he said later. In Delaware, the President's forces even won the support of Tom Evans, a Ford delegate who had wavered because months earlier he had publicly suggested a procedure almost identical to 16C When his agony became known, Evans was quickly granted a twenty-minute visit that afternoon with the President, who said he would support such a reform for 1980. "He couldn't have been better," said Evans, "and he seemed like he

was really in command of things." The Ford men stayed in command through the vote with an elaborate communications system, and a network of floor managers and troubleshooters in red and yellow caps (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 23). In their walkie-talkie lingo, the President was "Tarzan," the First Lady "Jane," Senator Griffin "Trailblazer."

BY PETE AXTHELM

# **DELEGATES' DELIGHT**

errence R. Flynn of Belle Harbor, in the borough of Queens, N.Y., adjusted his 260 pounds in his sculpted red plastic chair and shook his head. It was late Tuesday night and all around Flynn, in his own New York delegation and elsewhere on the floor, the uncommitted delegates were falling into place behind President Ford. But Flynn still held back, waiting for some encouragement on the only issue that mattered to him Terry Flynn was determined to go back home to St. Francis de Sales parish, to his district Republican club and to his favorite bar with some firsthand word from Kansas City about Ireland.

"Hey, Terry," said his friend Phil Fitz-patrick, the Staten Island leader, "it's time to make your move. What do you "I need an answer," Flynn said. "Not

for me, Phillie, you understand that. For my people. Terry, that's easy," said Fitzpatrick, socking a fist into an open hand for emphasis. "We'll sit you down with the Vice

"Right here on the convention floor? When he's so busy?'

# 'HE WAS ALL RIGHT'

Flynn was still dubious as he was led through the crowded aisle and placed alongside Nelson Rockefeller, "But then the Vice President told me that he and his wife were very concerned about stopping the killing in Northern Ireland, and told him we should raise the immigration quota from Ireland, and I knew he was all right on the issue,

Flynn recalled later over a drink. Then he paused, flushed with pride, and revealed his final reason for committing himself to Gerald Ford. Flynn, a law secretary who supports five kids and still puts aside money for the Irish cause, had been promised a meeting with Henry Kissinger. "The way I hear it," said Terry Flynn of 131st Street, "the Vice President hopes that I can come up with some solu-tions for Mr. Kissinger." Flynn was among the nearly

100 delegates who arrived un-committed in Kansas City. The group ranged from cynical pow-er brokers to silly camera hogs; a few delegates accused dele-gate hunters of attempted oribes and a few more com-

Newsweek, August 30, 1976

plained because the imagined bribers never got around to them. But the uncommitteds who mattered most were those like Flynn: people who entered the convention with personal dignity and private goals—and departed with promises, press clippings and memo-ries. For them the convention was a flirtation with fame, a rich reward for party loyalty and local work.

Richie Robb, the aggressive, 30-year-old mayor of South Charleston, W. Va. (population: 17,000), had a clear flight plan. "When I decide to commit," he said wryly, "I'll talk about all the important issues. But what I've got in my area are some state roads that need fixing and an old armory that would look a lot better as a remodeled armory. So if someone wants to smile benignly upon my constituents .

For weeks Robb had taken calls from both sides and hinted to his newfound suitors of his needs and his dreams, which extend a bit beyond the political boundaries of South Charleston. Even when the experience came to a sobering halt last week, Robb's smile showed that it had been well worth his while. The end came in a lesson from Gov. Arch Moore Jr., who oolly explained to several delegates that Ford's count was about to go over the top; within hours, uncommitted delegates would also be unimportant ones. Robb, a quick learner, cheerfully pledged for Ford. So did other local officeholders. "We had kind of a logjam around here," said West Virginia alternate Steve Miller. "And it just got dynamited.

Delegate Flynn: To each his own issue



Maria Scalia's moment arrived even more suddenly. Uncommitted by New Jersey law but leaning to Ford she began the convention as an alternate. By

Tuesday night, she was moved into the main delegation to replace a deceased delegate. Then, during the vote over Rule 16C, the Reagan forces called for a poll of the New Jersey delegation. Scalia, a 27-year-old executive secretary who commutes from Jersey City to a lower Manhattan shipping company, felt her hands shaking and her throat tightening.
"I thought of my parents and friends watching on television," she said. "I was dying for some water, afraid my voice would crack.'

# THE 'HELL NO' LADY

Almost every delegate who has ever taken the mike to rhapsodize about the mountains, women and other paradisiacal features of his state must have known similar fears. But Scalia overcame hers, leaned toward the microphone and shouted, "Maria Scalia votes ... Hell No." From that point onward, in her delegation and back home in her ethnic neighborhood—"Don't tell the Italians of Jersey City that Republicans are all rich," she notes—Maria became the "Hell No" Lady.

"I'm the type of woman who has to show my emotions," she said later. "I'm not a simple 'yeah' or 'no' person, as all my friends know." Now the whole nation knew, and that was just fine with beaming Maria Scalia. She was offered a trip to the refreshment stand to celebrate. "Oh, no," she said intensely. "I'd never leave the floor during the convention."

Perhaps the Flynns and Robbs and Scalias were just sideshow figures, taking their tasks too seriously or dreaming a bit too boldly. But the high moments that stirred them-and many other dele gates—will eventually get a lot of leaflets distributed and meeting rooms filled around the country. The feelings of par ticipation and enthusiasm that they tool away from Kansas City provide one justification for the very existence of the tumultuous convention system. "They say the little guy can't fight City Hall, concluded Terry Flynn. "But I believe that you can at least spit on the front steps and get some attention. To me, that's what this week was all about.

Mounger.

Senator Tower "Cowboy" and Bryce Harlow—now a Proctor & Gamble lobbyist-"Soapsuds." At one point, Griffin telephoned Tower in the glassed-in "sky booth" balcony about a reluctant delegate he was sending up for further persuasion. "Trailblazer to Cowboy," said Griffin. "I'm sending up a pigeon."

# A MIX-UP IN MISSISSIPPI

Reagan's forces also had a commandand-control system, directed by millionaire oilman and rancher Anderson Carter, but it apparently developed some bad blind spots-especially where the prize 30-vote Mississippi delegation was concerned. After months of solid Reagan lominance, the Ford forces had recently begun gaining ground among the 60 Mississippi delegates and alternates (each



Cheers, tears: A Ford man in action . . .

with half a vote). And in the shock wave of the Schweiker selection, veteran political broker Clarke Reed, the outgoing state GOP chairman, switched his allegiance to the President. By the afternoon of the vote on 16C, the Ford supporters claimed a slender 31-28 majority on the issue—and thus the power to throw all 30 full votes to the President's position under the state's traditional unit rule. Reagan forces in the delegation had

the option of breaking that gentleman's agreement on block-voting-which was exactly what-Sears had expected. But the cord was never passed, and instead they decided to go along with the unit vote in hopes of switching the entire delegation

into the Reagan column in the Presidential balloting next day. "We thought we could have persuaded one or two during the night, said Reagan leader W.D.

A second chance for Reagan flashed up in Mississippi as the delegates took the floor Tuesday night. As Texas's John Connally was speaking from the podium, some members of the Alabama delegation brought over four or five copies of that afternoon's Birmingham News with a front-page headline that screamed: FORD WRITING OFF 'COTTON SOUTH'? The story, based on an offhand remark by Ford campaign manager Rogers C.B. Morton, set the Ford delegates in Mississippi fuming—and prompted Reed to tell
TV reporters that if true it might move him back to Reagan. As the vote progressed, a badly shaken Mississippi delegation passed its turn—and rumors flew around the floor that Reed was deserting

From their command-post trailer outside the hall, the White House operatives moved to snuff out the incipient rebellion. Reacting to an "all call" button from Baker in the command post, a swarm of Ford whips, including cam-paign boss Morton, descended upon the wavering delegates. "They knew . . . if another Southern delegation switched back over to Reagan it could be a turning point," recalled Reagan delegate Gerry Gilbreath. A phone call direct from the President assuaged Reed. And the fact that Florida had already put Ford over the top eased the conscience of Reagan sympathizers. "Go ahead, Clarke," said Reagan's man Mounger—and Reed cast a unit-rule vote that ended the balloting and boosted the President's tally to an even better than expected 1,180 (against 1.069 for Reagan).

PULLING BACK ON THE PLATFORM This was the key victory for the Ford camp, and it triggered yet another raucous demonstration. But following their show of strength, the Ford men made the decision to pull back from any new confrontations that might weaken their lines or further embitter the proceedings. Spe-cifically, they did not encourage the fight waged by GOP feminists to remove a conservative anti-abortion plank from platform-and in a last-minute switch they gave in to a so-called morality plank on foreign policy introduced by

refusal to meet with Soviet dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsvn. Earlier, Ford himself had encouraged liberal delegates to "go fight 'em" on the foreign policy plank, and Rockefeller took the same line at a late-night conference high in the arena. But with his nomination now a certainty, the President, by phone, finally approved throwing in the towel (Secretary of State Kissinger was informed of Ford's change in tactics-but only as a courtesy, according

to one of those present. "He wasn't con-

the rightists to criticize the Administra-tion's handling of détente and Ford's

sulted on the decision, he was told about

said the source.) In his suite at the Alameda Plaza Hotel. Reagan had watched the crucial test over 16C on TV with growing disgustnibbling on homemade cookies and arguing with Ford spokesmen on the screen ("That's not logical ... That doesn't make sense"). In the end, he and Nancy retired to their bedroom before the vote was completed. At the Crown Center Hotel, meanwhile, Ford's eight-centh-floor suite took on a festive air as the President followed the roll call. White House photographer David Kennerly became so exuberant at one point that Ford barked at him to "hold it down." In the mellow flush of victory, Ford later apologized.



. . . and a Reagan supporter in the dumps

next day, but it was clear his candidace was doomed. Hardly any of his wellpublicized "hidden strength" had surfaced. Reagan got some cross-over votes on 16C but Ford had done much better than expected in Indiana, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia and Wyoming. Running mate Schweiker, at a morning meeting with Reagan, Sears and co-strat egist Lyn Nofziger, offered to quit. "H you feel it will be any help at all, I will withdraw," said Schweiker, Reagan's answer was an appreciative thanks-but-nothanks-with a solid rationale. "There's no way in this political world I could drop Schweiker without being accused of pulling a McGovern-Eagleton deal,