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had one daughter, Robin, who is now 21. They were divorced four years ago on grounds of incompatibility. "I don't feel bitter," said the former Mrs. Dole last week in Sylvan Grove, Kans., where she is now married to a cattle rancher. "I don't have any bad memories—but I don't have any extra-good ones either."

The problem appears to have been mostly Dole's obsession with politics. Even before he left law school, he became a Kansas state legislator at the age of 27. Between 1953 and 1961 he practiced law and also served four two-year terms as Russell County attorney, earning an extra \$248 a month at first—and a reputation as a tireless civic booster and political organizer. "Bob Dole was his own political mentor," reports Russ Townsley, publisher of *The Russell Daily News*. "I always had the feeling he had a timetable—with each step carefully calculated." In 1960, Dole urged a seven-term GOP congressman named Wint Smith to retire. He then won a primary for Smith's seat by 987 votes, swept the general election by more than 20,000 votes and went on to Washington to serve four terms in the House.

BARKING AFTER BILLIE SOL

In the lullhouse political days of the '60s, Dole's career flourished slowly but quite steadily. At home he became notorious as a fierce political fighter. "He's clever and ruthless," says farm journalist Bill Bork, a Democrat who ran against Dole and lost in 1964. (Among other things, Dole organizers ran radio and TV commercials that said: "Bork is a jerk.") In Washington, Dole won headlines as a watchdog barking after Billie Sol Estes in 1962—and Lyndon Johnson's free-spending protégé Bobby Baker two years later. Americans for Constitutional Action, a right-wing outfit, rated his stands on fiscal and foreign policy among the most conservative on the Hill.

Dole won election to the Senate in 1968 and quickly became an unconventional freshman member of the club.

YOUNG PRO

When President Ford introduced Mary Elizabeth Hanford Dole to a Kansas City news conference last week, he noted that she was a great campaigner. That is true for many political wives, but Liddy Dole's campaigning had been largely in her own behalf—as an upwardly mobile bureaucrat in three Administrations. "Public speaking and press conferences are old hat to her," says Presidential consumer-affairs assistant Virginia Knauer, for whom she worked for more than four years. "She is a young woman who through her own abilities got to the top ranks of government."

A Duke University Phi Beta Kappa and Harvard Law graduate, the 40-year-old second wife of Sen. Robert Dole calls herself "a working girl." "And I don't intend to live on anyone's Dole," she quipped when they were married last December. With a strong interest in consumer affairs, Liddy Hanford had signed on as an aide to Lyndon Johnson's consumer adviser Betty Furness in 1968, and she stayed on



Liddy Dole: No conflict of interest

with Knauer under Nixon. Thanks partly to some enthusiastic self-promotion, she won a Presidential appointment to the Federal Trade Commission in 1973.

There was confusion last week about whether Liddy was legally obliged to give up that post in order to campaign for the GOP ticket, but it turned out she could keep her job if she wished. "I'll have to give this some hard thought," she said, although the Doles' stock answer to questions about conflict of interest is simply: "There'll be lots of interest, but no conflict."

Appointing himself as President Richard Nixon's most outspoken defender in the Senate, he backed Nixon on the Vietnam war and dismissed antiwar leader Ramsey Clark in one memorable attack as a "left-leaning marshmallow." He supported Nixon's anti-ballistic-missile program, the supersonic transport and his Supreme Court nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell. For those services, Nixon appointed

Dole chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1971.

The appointment was nearly Dole's undoing. It made him the chairman of the GOP during the Watergate burglary. Dole dismissed the first exposés of the scandal in *The Washington Post* as "garbage." (He later quipped that the break-in had taken place "on my night off"—and when he ran for re-election two years later, he was supported by Sen. Lowell



On to Washington: Dole with Ike in 1960, first wife Phyllis and daughter Robin in 1968, Nixon in 1972 and new bride Liddy last year

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Weicker of the Senate Watergate committee.) He barnstormed the country on behalf of Nixon in 1972, but he somehow managed to offend Nixon's palace guardsmen H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman along the way. He was fired at a stormy encounter session in Camp David after the election. "My chopper had barely left the pad when Haldeman began pushing me down the hill," he said later.

By handing Dole his head, the tarnished White House aides probably saved his career. In 1974, Dole ran for re-election, and was challenged by a U.S. representative from Topeka named Dr. William Roy. To pre-empt the potentially terminal Watergate issue, Dole cast himself as a senior victim, running TV ads showing posters of his own face splattered with gobs of Watergate mud—ostensibly thrown by Roy. In a flanking attack, one Kansas anti-abortion group ran newspaper ads with a skull and crossbones next to Roy's name. (An obstetri-

developed a strong interest in programs for the handicapped; against advice that it would be distracting, he had his convention speeches simultaneously translated into hand language for the deaf and had his nomination seconded by a young delegate who is blind. Friends say that over the years he has also modified his views on other social issues. To the surprise of consumerist Ralph Nader, Dole made an about-face to support an independent Federal consumer protection agency. "He knows how to distinguish between conservatism on fiscal issues and moderation on social issues," observes Sam Jackson, an old friend from the NAACP. "He's tough—but he's fair."

A certain ambiguity thus clouds Dole's real value to Ford for the fall. "He's sort of a Harry Truman type who'll give 'em hell," said Kansas Rep. Garner Shriver last week. Dole also has many friends in the Farm Belt—where Ford does not



Dean at the convention: Some conspicuous changes in the east

cian-gynecologist, Roy had performed a few abortions—to save the lives of critically ill mothers.) A fundamentalist group distributed anti-Roy pamphlets with photos of dead babies in garbage cans. Dole did nothing to stop such material—and won by 13,532 votes. "He's probably the most effective political attacker in the country right now," Roy noted last week. "There's no question the Republicans are gearing up for a gutsy bloody fight."

HE'S TOUGH BUT HE'S FAIR

Dole hasn't always played the heavy. He has a record of defending blacks and civil rights that stretches back to his days as a young county attorney in Topeka. Over the years he has worked for fair public accommodations laws; he voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As a result of his own disability, Dole has

But Dole's public record as a man spoiling for slashing, partisan battles may make it easier for Jimmy Carter to resist the temptation to fight back—and make the mistakes Dole hopes to inspire.

To make his mission harder, Dole seems to have mellowed since he married Federal Trade commissioner Elizabeth Hanford eight months ago. The Doles live in the Watergate complex, where the Secret Service arrived last week for the duration of the campaign. "They'll just get bulletproof glass in the apartment for four months and that will be that," predicted the unimpressed liegeward down at the pool. But Dole is a Republican who has never lost an election. After November, he will either have spoiled that perfect record—or be Vice President of the United States.

—TOM MATTHEWS with SAMUEL SHAFER in Kansas City; CHRIS J. HARRIS in Rutherford, N.J.; and ELAINE SCIOLO in Chicago

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AFTER PRESIDENT FORD & DOLE MAKE ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES, WINNERS & LOSERS MINGLE

ON PODIUM AS CONVENTION ENDS WITH DISPLAY OF UNITY

TIME

THE CAMPAIGN

COMING OUT SWINGING

THE NATION

It was a helluva convention. It will be a helluva campaign. Moreover, it will matter, for it will give the nation a clear-cut choice between opposing economic and social policies that will influence America's course for decades. The Republican Party came away with one more, possibly last chance to sell its programs to the country and avoid a later, fatal schism or the danger of fading into insignificance.

Certainly it was the most dramatic convention since the Republicans in 1952 chose Dwight Eisenhower over Robert Taft; indeed it was one of the most fascinating conventions of this century. As the G.O.P. assembled in Kansas City, a sitting President, albeit appointed as a result of Watergate, was facing revolt from the faithful in his own party. The battle was ideologically murky, for Gerald Ford and Challenger Ronald Reagan are both basically conservatives. In the damp Midwestern summer heat, Ford pleaded for support with a steady stream of delegates. He finally won this brawl on the precipice by a painfully close 1,187 to 1,070 votes. But even after that outcome was clear, nobody was certain how the conservative fundamentalists would take their hero's defeat and how enthusiastically they would back the President in the election.

Then, on the final night, the President in his acceptance speech performed at his strongest, appeasing much of the party's inner anger and directing its passions toward the fight against the Democrats. It was the best speech Jer-

ry Ford ever made. He seemed transformed—vigorous, authoritative. He brought even the diehard Reaganites in the Texas delegation to their feet. For the first time, the hall previously turbulent with divisive cheerleading resounded in a unison of "We want Ford!"

The speech changed the atmosphere, but it would take much more than one platform triumph to turn the party around. The Republicans are still racked by divisions and face a tough, intelligent opponent, Jimmy Carter, who has come out of rural Georgia to lead a revitalized Democratic Party. While the Democrats were flaunting their new faces, the Republicans at the convention almost symbolically paraded such figures of yesteryear as Alf Landon, 88, and Barry Goldwater, 67, the badly defeated presidential candidates of 1936 and 1964. (Another face from the past, Movie Star Cary Grant, 72, made a relentlessly cute appearance to introduce Betty Ford.)

The fractious Republican Party faces a twofold dilemma: How can it reach out to the independents and Democrats it needs and still keep its own restive conservatives, who control so much of the party's machinery? Given the political realities, odds are heavily against the Republicans in November. But Ford does have a fighting chance, and the Democratic strategists know that Carter is no show-in.

The President managed to communicate this sense of optimism, however limited, and offer a foretaste of his campaign theme: a mixture of give 'em hell

and emphasizing the record of his Administration. He began forcefully and with a surprise, injecting a note that had not been in the text: "This year the issues are on our side, and I'm ready and eager to go before the American people and debate the issues face to face with Jimmy Carter." That unusual challenge from an incumbent to an opponent brought the audience to their feet for one of 65 ovations.

Throwing aside any remaining reticence about proclaiming his own accomplishments, Ford declared, "From August of 1974 to August of 1976, the record shows steady upward progress toward prosperity, peace and public trust. It is a record I am proud to run on." Where an underdog Harry Truman ran in 1948 against a "do-nothing Congress," Ford will take on "the vote-hungry, free-spending congressional majority of Democrats." The speech was essentially, though mutedly, conservative, an evocation of Eisenhower themes: "I see Americans who love their country for what it has been and what it must become. I see Americans who in their own quiet way pray for peace. My fellow Americans, I like what I see."

For all of his criticism of Democratic overpromising, Ford made some pledges of his own. He called for programs to reduce crime, improve health care for the elderly and provide for the needs of the poor. At the same time, he promised less Government, a fairer tax structure and a balanced budget. It was a pretty tall order—a com-

bination of social compassion and fiscal conservatism.

After that, the Republicans emerged from Kansas City with at least a public display of unity. Ford's treatment of the defeated Reagan had much to do with the reconciliation. About an hour after he was nominated, Ford at 1:30 a.m. visited Reagan's suite, where the challenger promised to campaign for the President in the fall. Then, after his acceptance speech, Ford brought his opponent down to the podium to have the last word—a wise peacemaking gesture.

Ford's selection of Kansas Senator Robert Dole as his running mate also appeased the conservatives, but at the risk of exasperating many others in and out of the G.O.P. Some suspected that the Reaganites had all but forced the President to choose Dole—or someone else from the right. Actually, Ford had his own reasons for picking the Kansan. Pennsylvania's Senator Hugh Scott said that Ford had told him Dole would have strong appeal to the farm-belt of the Midwest and Plains states. His background as Republican National Committee Chairman from 1971 to 1973, added Ford, has given Dole an extraordinarily wide acquaintance with Republicans in all states. And he has been an able Congressman and Senator. U.N. Ambassador William Scranton added another reason: "He is an excellent campaigner of the type we need. The President is not the attacker type, but Bob can do that kind of campaigning." He also can be abrasive and slashing to opponents, though his sense of humor al-

leviates some of the sting. Cracks Minnesota Republican Chairman Chuck Stocum: "We've got righteous Jimmy, dull Walter and stuffy Jerry. Bob Dole will add some zip to the campaign and prevent it from being dull."

Many moderate and big-city Republicans were deeply distressed, thinking Dole is too conservative. Moreover, Dole is a crony of Ford's, a fellow Midwesterner with an almost identical ideology. By picking him, Ford appeared to be looking inward instead of reaching out as the G.O.P. must do. Illinois Republican Senator Charles Percy believed that the selection of Dole compounds Ford's problem of winning in November. Said he: "If you are trying to reach voters in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New England, where a lot of the people are, the question is: What can he contribute? How do you reach independents and Democrats with a former chairman of the Republican Party?"

The choice of Dole also signaled to many that the Republicans have written off most of the South to Jimmy Carter. If Ford meant to contest Carter on his home turf, he might more plausibly have picked Tennessee's Howard Baker or Texas' John Connally. Jimmy Carter expressed approval: "Senator Dole is an excellent choice. It would be very difficult for the Republicans to challenge me successfully in the South, and it may be that President Ford just decided not to try."

Can Carter-Mondale beat Ford

Dole? The familiar arithmetic, according to the Gallup poll, is that only 22% of U.S. adults list themselves as Republicans, v. 46% as Democrats and 32% as independents. Last week Ford's minions trumpeted a new Gallup poll showing that Carter's lead over the President had narrowed by a remarkable ten points since late July. But Carter remains ahead by an impressive margin—56% to 33%.

Among his other problems, the President is burdened by Watergate; memories of Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon will surface often in the next ten weeks. In his keynote address, Baker tried to bury the issue by contending that the Republicans had faced up to it "with honor and dignity." And he carried the battle to the Democrats: "Since then, America has learned a lot about other political abuses in prior Democratic Administrations, and even in the present Democratic Congress—abuses of personal liberties, invasions of privacy and political mischief of the most shocking type. But there is one big difference. We faced ours, and in so doing, we raised the country's expectations for honorable government. But we are still waiting for the Democrats to face theirs."

Following tradition, the campaign will formally start on Labor Day. Confident of carrying the South, Carter will spend most of his time in the West, industrial Midwest and Northeast—particularly California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York and Ohio. To shore up his campaign in the urban Northeast, Car-