

89. 1976

THE NATION

—that would reform the food-stamp program by making the benefits more generous than those in the plan backed by the President. When he questioned the Administration's tough food-stamp proposals, Dole was moved to ask: "Is there a burial allowance for those who starve?"

During his years in the House and Senate, Dole has been a special and persuasive advocate for the rights of the handicapped. At his suggestion, a sign-language expert stood behind him on the podium last week and interpreted

his speech attacking the Democrats. A blind woman also seconded his nomination.

Ford's choice of Dole as Republican Vice-Presidential candidate inspired assorted wordplays. Democratic wags began calling the pair "Dull and Dole." The New York Times headlined its editorial on the vice-presidential selection DOLEFUL NOMINATION, and on the facing page Columnist James Reston wrote about FORD'S DOLEFUL NEWS. There came the inevitable puns and jokes. Question: What do you get when you cross a Dole and a Ford? An-

swer: A pineapple that won't start. The grim prospect is that throughout the campaign, this sort of thing will be doled out regularly. So will some pretty sharp political barbs. Vice-Presidential Candidate Dole, after all, is the same man who said in 1969 that he went to visit Disneyland—and found Mickey Mouse wearing a Spiro Agnew watch. In the weeks ahead, he is likely to save such putdowns for Democrats. With Dole matched against Walter Mondale—a penetrating wit himself—the 1976 presidential campaign should be anything but dull.

'I Hope We've Bottomed Out'

Just before he received the Republican vice-presidential nomination, Kansas Senator Robert Dole joined TIME's editors and other staff members for breakfast in Kansas City to talk about the President, the party and the coming campaign. Excerpts:

**ON FORD AS A CAMPAIGNER.** Jerry Ford's always been out helping someone else campaign. He's always had a safe district. Suddenly he's in the White House and still basically a Congressman, which isn't bad. I mean you're now accessible. But all of a sudden he's in the big picture and running like a Congressman, still drawing for help on friends who represent districts, not states or regions. I just haven't met a person in the campaign yet that has a broad view. Also, with eight weeks to go, he has to be very aggressive. I don't know how you can do much else but go to Georgia the first day after the convention and work your way up. With him going to Vail for a week, that's 15% of it down the drain.

**ON REFORMING THE FORD ORGANIZATION.** Jerry Ford is a very decent, honest, open President. He just isn't the kind of guy to go around knocking heads together. But the President's got to do it. When you're 20 points behind in the polls, you have to take some risks, and I think one of those risks is that you have to risk offending a few people if you really are going to strengthen your organization. But you really have got to have somebody come in who's going to strengthen it, to add to it. I don't know what [Campaign Director] Rog Morton wants to do. But there is some talk of John Connally coming in, and [Budget Director] Jim Lynn's name has been tossed about. There's also been some talk about some of the Reagan people. I know President Ford wouldn't want to offend anyone, but he doesn't want to lose the election either.

**ON CARTER'S VULNERABILITIES.** His sensitivity. He says he's essentially a very sensitive person, and I think he is. Any time you say anything about him,

he responds. He better get ready because he may be down there playing softball, but we're going to be playing hardball pretty soon, and he's going to have to learn how to catch as well as pitch. He said that I was being very personal—I can't remember saying anything except that he was sort of a Southern Fried McGovern or Humphrey. Both Hubert and McGovern thought that was fine, as long as I mentioned their names. We don't intend to be personal. We'll keep this campaign on a lofty level. Jimmy Carter is afraid we're going to talk about the issues, and he doesn't want us to even know about them. Governor Carter is a mass of contradictions.

When we put out a little statement on the Democratic farm platform, really nothing. His farm director called a press conference and belabored me and Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz. Then I said they favored embargoes on grain and they came back and said they didn't favor embargoes. At least they were talking about embargoes. His position on IAB [the right-to-work section of the Land-Grant Law] was also coming to be interesting. He says one thing about IAB in one place and something else in another. Pretty soon nobody'll know what he's saying. The next time he's asked, he'll probably say he's not sure. He's just all over the lot. That's the point we're trying to make.

**ON GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.** The Democrats have the easy side of it and advocate more social programs, more outreach, more spending on people. If we take the initiative, we're shot down by our own troops. I think sometimes we overreact and seem to be sort of an anti-people party in some eyes. I don't know how you say no and still be acceptable. We say no and still be acceptable. We don't have to be that way. We don't have to go around the country saying farmers never had it so good. We can be sympathetic. They have had it better, and it doesn't do much good to say their net income is greater now than it was under the Democrats because you haven't cranked in inflation.

**ON THE FARM VOTE.** The thing that really hurts is that farm prices are declining. Farmers claim that the cost of producing wheat is \$3.50 per bushel, and they're getting \$3. You can't feel kindly toward the Administration under those circumstances. Farmers for the most part are conservative and vote Republican, unless they're restless. [Walter] Mondale will be effective in farm areas. He's a very bright, articulate guy and has strong ties to the Farmers Union and the co-ops, and he'll go up and down the Midwest.

**ON THE G.O.P.'S CHANCES IN '76.** I think there surely is going to be a change after this week. We'll probably drop quickly to a 15% difference in the polls. That's within striking distance. I still believe that there's a basic underlying feeling here, that we're Republicans. And we're going to go out of here and elect a Republican President.

**ON THE G.O.P.'S FUTURE.** Some people in the party think that the best thing to do is let the Democrats have the White House for eight years or whatever. Then we can run against them. We don't add a lot to the party that way, but we don't lose a lot. But the party's not ready in most places, so we'd have to bury it some other place. But I hope we've sort of bottomed out. We do have some young Governors, and there are a lot of bright people in Congress. With all respect to Conally, Goldwater and Rockefeller are great men but they don't in debate any forward thrust in our party. We've just started building from the bottom up instead of the top down. We're going to be talking between now and November '82 about electing a President, and we have done that very well, but we haven't focused on House seats and Senate seats, Governors and state legislatures.

We certainly don't have organized labor on our side to take that task on for us, and the result is we just keep coming up as 15%. We blew a real opportunity in '72. We had the money and we had the opportunity, but they spent it all on the presidential race. The new American majority, that's some, at least for the time being.

REPUBLICANS '76

BEHIND THE SURPRISE CHOICE OF SENATOR DOLE AS NO. 2—

The Kansan's role is to be the cutting edge of a slashing campaign. Strategists see him as adding needed assets to the party ticket.



The Dole family: vice-presidential nominee with his mother, Mrs. Doran Dole, his daughter, Robin, and his wife, Mary Elizabeth, a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

**KANSAS CITY** By the unexpected selection of Senator Robert J. Dole, of Kansas, Gerald Ford has acquired a running mate who is being counted on to:

- Provide the colorful, aggressive style of campaign oratory that the President himself lacks.
- Take the lead in "smoking out" the vulnerabilities of Jimmy Carter, and play the role of "hatchet man" in an all-out attack on the Democratic nominee.
- Strengthen the Republican ticket in the vitally important farm belt.

• Help heal a division between Ford and Reagan factions of the party, which must achieve unity quickly if it is to win in November.

• Become a Vice President whose 16 years of experience in Congress should have prepared him to take over as President, if that becomes necessary.

Thus, it was a combination of personality, politics and geography that led Ford to pick the 53-year-old Kansan.

Bob Dole, as he prefers to be called, is known as one of the most effective, hardest-hitting campaigners in the Republican Party. His choice reflects a judgment that a free-swinging attack will be needed to cut down the commanding lead that the Democratic ticket now holds in public-opinion polls.

Dole's acid wit and slashing style of speaking contrast sharply with Ford's style, which campaign planners consider too bland for the come-from-behind race that lies ahead.

In the words of Harry Dent, a Ford adviser: "We had to have a good strong cutting edge. That's Dole."

One idea is that Dole may be particularly effective in getting under the skin of Carter, perhaps provoking him into an indiscreet display of anger.

platform, much less try to run on it. I'm surprised our regulatory agencies haven't looked into it. It isn't safe. It is weak. It tells so far left that any of us would slide off."

Dole, serving his second term in the Senate after four terms in the House, has demonstrated his ability to turn an apparently losing campaign around. He fought his way to reelection two years ago after trailing his opponent by 12 percentage points in polls.

**Farm-belt favorite.** In addition to his strength as a campaigner, Republican strategists see several other advantages in having Dole on the ticket.

He is generally regarded as acceptable to virtually all segments of the Republican Party. As the party's National Chairman from 1971 to 1973, Dole established good working relationships with Republicans of every faction.

As a Kansan and the ranking Republican member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Dole has been in close touch and on good terms with farmers. And the farm belt, traditionally Republican, is a region in which the Republicans need help this year. Farmers still resent the 1975 embargo Ford ordered on grain shipments to Russia, which they say depressed crop prices. Dole opposed that embargo.

Some Republicans see him as well

as pluses in the Dole selection. A Ford-Dole ticket does not offer the kind of ideological balance that politicians like. Dole sometimes deserted the orthodox conservative line—pushing for liberalization of food-stamp rules, supporting a consumer-advocacy agency, and opposing deregulation of natural-gas prices, for example. Yet, in 16 years in Congress, Dole compiled a conservative voting record similar to that of Ford.

In announcing the selection of Dole on August 19, President Ford said: "Bob Dole's philosophy and mine coincide almost identically."

Dole's conservatism is not likely to add to the attractiveness of the Republican ticket among the millions of independents and Democrats whose votes will be needed in November.

One question being asked is whether the choice of a Midwesterner will dim Republican hopes of making significant inroads into Jimmy Carter's homeland, the South. Some Ford strategists think that Senator Howard W. Baker, Jr., of Tennessee, or John Connally, of Texas, would have given the ticket a bigger lift in that region.

In an election in which Richard Nixon is likely to be an issue, friends of Dole point out that the Republican National Committee he headed did not direct Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. But,

WHY DOLE WAS PICKED

[Continued from preceding page]

party Chairman, Dole was an aggressive defender of Nixon.

Democrats made that an issue in Dole's re-election campaign of 1974, which he narrowly won, with 50.9 per cent of the Kansas vote. Much of the credit for Dole's victory was given to his strong opposition to legalization of abortion, which his opponent favored.

Some Republicans worry that Dole's shoot-from-the-hip style of campaigning could backfire if he is not careful. Their thinking is that too much oratory verging on "mudslinging" might alienate voters and also damage a major Ford asset—his "nice guy" image.

Whatever the pros and cons of the decision, the choice of Dole struck many party strategists as showing a Ford capacity for surprise that could prove helpful in the campaign.

**How choice was made.** Although Dole's name was on the list of vice-presidential possibilities, whose backgrounds were screened by White House

aides, there were no hints from the White House that the Kansas Senator was high on that list.

As the White House chief of staff, Richard B. Cheney, described the process of choosing a running mate—

It started on July 31 with letters to Convention delegates, Republican members of Congress and other party leaders asking their suggestions.

By August 6, the list was whittled down to about two dozen potential choices. They were asked to answer a long questionnaire exploring their backgrounds, medical, tax and financial status, and possible conflicts of interest.

By Convention time, the list had been cut to about five names. After nailing down the nomination, Ford "consulted" with his defeated challenger, Ronald Reagan, had said publicly he would not take the vice-presidential nomination. And there was no indication of Ford "arm twisting" to change that stance.

After talking with Reagan, Ford began a discussion with advisers that ran from 3:15 to nearly 5 a.m. But the decision was not made until after another meet-

ing at midmorning. Dole accepted immediately, saying he was surprised but very proud to be on the ticket with President Ford.

**War hero.** For Dole, the vice-presidential nomination capped a long political climb that began in Russell, Kans., where he was born on July 22, 1923. A high-school athlete, he wanted to become a physician. But a World War II battle wound blocked that career.

While leading an infantry charge on a machine-gun nest in Italy on April 14, 1945, Dole was struck by shrapnel that shattered his right shoulder and cracked several vertebrae. He was paralyzed for several months. Doctors feared he would never walk again. But, after several operations and 39 months in Army hospitals, he walked out—a decorated-for-bravery captain—to resume his college education that was interrupted when he enlisted in 1943.

His right arm, however, still hangs useless. He appreciates it when friends remember to shake his left hand.

In 1948, Dole married Phyllis Holden, a physical therapist who had treated him in the hospital. With her help—she took notes and wrote his dictated answers on tests—he earned a B.A. degree and a law degree at Washburn University at Topeka, Kans. Later, he learned to write with his left hand.

His political career began at the age of 26 when he won election to the State legislature. Next came four terms as county attorney in his home county.

In 1960, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he concentrated on agricultural policies that were the chief concern of his western Kansas district.

**Nixon defender.** After four House terms, Dole moved up to the Senate in 1968, and soon became known as a defender of Nixon Administration policies.

In 1971, Dole was chosen party Chairman. Two years later, he was forced out of that job—not by Nixon, he insists, but by "a faceless, nameless few in the White House."

Dole has one daughter from his first marriage that ended in divorce in 1972. Last December 6, he took a second wife, Mary Elizabeth Hanford, a Harvard Law School graduate, she has been a member of the Federal Trade Commission since 1973.

If Dole is elected Vice President, his vacated Senate seat will remain in his party's hands, with his successor to be appointed by the Kansas Governor, who is a Republican. If the Republicans lose in November, Dole still has four years left in his Senate term.

Win or lose, Dole will be a prominent—and controversy-stirring—figure on the political scene for years to come.