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REPUBLICANS '76

# Exclusive Interview DOLE TAKES OUT AFTER CARTER

Whittling the Democratic standard-bearer down to size is a top Republican priority—and Senator Robert Dole makes clear in this interview with a staff member of the magazine that he will be the man to lead the attack.

**Q** Senator Dole, what do you see as the No. 1 task for the Republican ticket this autumn?

**A** First, we must strengthen our organization with some new faces and give it new direction. With only eight weeks to go, that must be done quickly.

From then on it's going to be an uphill battle that calls for a very vigorous campaign.

We have got to carry our message across the country, and I think that the best starting place would be Georgia—Jimmy Carter's home State.

**Q** What will be the Republican message?

**A** It will be to point out the contradictions in Carter's political statements and actions. The Democrats themselves don't know their candidate, and I don't believe that he wants the electorate to know him.

I'm not questioning his integrity or honesty. But he evidently doesn't want the electorate to know that he's taken at least 3 positions on "right to work," 2 on busing, 2 on abortion and 2 on nearly everything. He is a mass of contradictions.

**Q** The Democratic candidate has said repeatedly that the Republican campaign will be a "personal and vicious attack" on him. Are you going to be a sort of hatchet man?

**A** I think Carter's comment points up an area of vulnerability: his own sensitivity. He is apparently very thin-skinned politically.

If what I have said is a personal attack, then I don't understand American politics. I say it's democracy in action.

The American people have a right to know his record, and we are going to pin him down and find out just where he does stand.

Let's face it: Carter won a number of primaries with lit-

tle or no opposition. He lost six out of the last eight primaries where he had real opposition.

Carter has not really been tested. We intend to give him that test and point out his weaknesses.

**Q** You have called Jimmy Carter a "Southern-fried McGovern." Will there be other efforts to get under his skin?

**A** My purpose is not to get under his skin, but to alert the American people to the fact that Carter is certainly not a moderate or a conservative candidate; he is very liberal. He picked Walter Mondale, probably the most liberal member of the U.S. Senate, as his running mate. And he says, "Our views are compatible."

**Q** What are the strengths of the Ford-Dole ticket as you see them?

**A** One of the greatest is that people perceive President Ford as an honest, decent person. They know where he stands, as contrasted to Carter's fuzzy positions.

Next, we have a healthy economy, and that is certainly important to farmers, working men and women, and the business community. Employment is at a record high.

President Ford has held Government spending down. At the same time, he has secured passage of strong national-

defense legislation.

Republicans in Congress have sustained most of his vetoes—with a net savings to taxpayers of around 13 to 14 billion dollars. Carter, on the other hand, has no track record at all in national leadership. We'll point this out.

**Q** How are you going to overcome a lead of more than 20 points held by Carter-Mondale in the public-opinion polls?

**A** You overcome that lead by forging a streamlined and effective organization and by vigorous campaigning.

We will have to go to the States where our chances are good and to those where our standing needs to be strengthened.

For example, the Midwest is up for grabs. Normally, you count on rural and farm areas to vote Republican, but they're a bit restless right now.

We must shore up support there.

**Q** How will the Republican ticket cope with charges that the party presided over the worst political scandal in the history of the United States?

**A** We won't run from Wa-



Dole on Mr. Ford: "An honest, decent person." Voters "know where he stands, as contrasted to Carter's fuzzy positions."

## DOLE TAKES OUT AFTER CARTER

(Interview continued from preceding page)

tergate. The damage has been done, and we're now in the rehabilitation stage.

I assume that the Democrats can point to certain Republican leaders and find fault, but the party was never involved. I was Chairman of the Republican Party. There was never any hint of scandal in the Republican Party. History moves on. We don't look back; we look ahead.

Watergate was unfortunate. It was tragic—but we can point up that the Democrats seem to have a double standard.

We've seen all this scandal in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives, and Speaker Carl Albert appointed three Democrats to investigate it. Now, they didn't suggest that Watergate be investigated by three Republicans.

In any event, if the Democrats want to make Watergate an issue, that's up to them. They can do it. What they can't do is have Jimmy Carter keep saying, "I am above the battle. I'm above Watergate," and then say they haven't made it an issue.

It's as if Republicans were running against Senator Kennedy and saying, "We're not going to make Chappaquiddick an issue."

**Q** Will President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon be a drag on your campaign?

**A** I think not. Again, Mondale has raised the issue. Of course, Carter goes around saying, "I will not raise the pardon as an issue," after it has been done. That's a clever way to do it. Many people may not agree with what the President did, but I think the majority are coming to see that, under the circumstances, he did the right thing to get that unfortunate period behind us so that the country could go about its business.

**Q** In your keynote speech to the Convention you really tore into Congress. Is that good strategy for the campaign? If the Ford-Dole ticket wins, you will have to work with Democrats in Congress.

**A** The Democrat Congress is fair game. Remember Harry Truman? He made the Republican Congress his prime target.

People today are concerned about Congress, too. We are going to have a double-barreled attack—going after Carter and Mondale, and the Democrat Congress.

It won't be a negative campaign. The President will take

his record on the economy, inflation, employment, peace, defense and national security to the people in a positive way. But we've got to get to the roots of the nation's problems. Those roots lie with the Democrats, and they should be exposed. It worked effectively for Truman, and it can work for us.

**Q** Do you anticipate that Mr. Ford, as President, will have to spend more time in Washington and thus leave the brunt of the day-to-day campaigning to you?

**A** I don't buy the notion that he can stay in Washington while I take care of the rest of the country. I know the argument that he can make news just by staying home and being President. But people want to see the President, and it is vital to our strategy that they do, because when they see the contrast between President Ford and Governor Carter, it is going to result in victory in November.

**Q** Assuming the Ford-Dole ticket wins, how do you see your role as Vice President?

**A** I've heard all that talk about how Hubert Humphrey and Nelson Rockefeller didn't really like the job. Senator Humphrey has just published a book in which he indicated that there were times when he felt thwarted and abused.

But I will wager that if either of these men had it to do over again, he would still accept the vice-presidential nomination. So there must be a real opportunity for service, and as far as I'm concerned that's the key to the whole thing. The Vice President can do for the President many things that he can't do himself because of the press of time.

You're never working up to be President. You're No. 2, and that's it.

I would hope to carve out some special areas that other wise would not receive proper attention.

**Q** Will the Republicans be able to heal their deep divisions quickly enough to win this election in the weeks that remain?

**A** I certainly believe we can. The reports of divisiveness and hard feelings have been blown completely out of proportion. I was a member of the Platform Committee. We met for long hours—until 1 and 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning. We had our differences, but they weren't Ford-Reagan differences; they were on political philosophy, and we weren't all that far apart.

On balance, we've addressed ourselves to fundamental issues, and that is the theme we are going to carry into the campaign.

This idea that people in the Reagan camp aren't going to support the ticket has been overplayed. We've got to remember that we're a minority party—some 20 points behind in the polls. We now have one common goal, and that is to prove to the American people that the Republican Party can do a better job.

**Q** The Democratic candidate has said repeatedly that the Republican campaign will be a "personal and vicious attack" on him. Are you going to be a sort of hatchet man?

**A** I think Carter's comment points up an area of vulnerability: his own sensitivity. He is apparently very thin-skinned politically.

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Dole on Carter: "A mass of contradictions—thin-skinned." Copyright © 1976, U.S. News & World Report, Inc.

## Dole Says Debates Are Not Crucial

**TIMONIUM, Md. (UPI)**—Sen. Robert Dole says the series of debates planned between President Ford and Jimmy Carter will give Ford a chance to display his leadership ability, but will not be crucial to the campaign.

"I size up the debate as a forum where the President can demonstrate his leadership," the GOP vice presidential nominee told reporters Monday at the Maryland State Fair.

"I wouldn't say they are crucial," he added. "I think the polls are closing so rapidly they may not have that characteristic. But they'll be very important."

Dole, who was accompanied by Republican Sen. J. Glenn Beall Jr., called Carter a "mass of contradictions" several times as he strolled through the midway.

He criticized the Democratic presidential nominee for the "Democratic Party's stance on large government grain surpluses."

In explaining his own stance, Dole said, "I've seen surpluses used to drag down market prices. Farmers need to make a profit."

Dole admitted his "recognition factor" might be a hindrance in the campaign. Several times well-wishers confused Beall and Dole and one young woman remarked as she extended her hand to the Maryland senator, "Oh, is this Mr. Beall? I shook the wrong hand."

## WASHBURN ALUMNUS AUTUMN '76

### Ford binds political future to Dole

President Ford's selection of BOB DOLE (BA JD 52 DSA 66 HonLLD 69) as his vice presidential running mate in August surprised many political experts and reporters—but not most Washburn alumni.

To those Alumni who knew Dole as a 26 year old Washburn law student and the youngest state representative ever elected to the Kansas Legislature from Russell County, the President's decision was unexpected but not surprising.

In the early morning hours of August 19, when Gerald Ford contemplated the tough campaign ahead against an opponent well ahead in the August political polls, the record of Kansas, junior senator to succeed despite extreme hardship probably seemed more and more impressive. In his lifetime, Dole has overcome adversity much worse than percentage points in the Gallup Poll.

Dole, who was born and grew up in Russell, Kan., did not lead a leisurely childhood. He helped his family by working at the fountain of C.R. Dawson's for a \$1 a day and still managed time to play high school

football, basketball and track.

In 1943, Dole, a sophomore pre-med student at the University of Kansas, enlisted in the Army. Two years later, as a second lieutenant and infantry platoon leader, he was twice wounded and twice decorated for heroic achievement. His second injury occurred in April 1945 as he led his platoon across the Po Valley in Italy to destroy a German machine gun nest. In the first attempt the Germans killed two companions and wounded his radio man Dole, crawling under heavy fire, dragged the man to cover. He then left his shell hole to get close enough to toss a grenade at the Germans, but machine gun bullets and mortar fragments shattered his right arm and shoulder, fractured his neck vertebrae, injured his spinal cord and paralyzed his arms and legs. He lay on the battleground for hours thinking his arms were missing because they were stretched over his head beyond his sight.

Encased in a cast from his neck to his waist, Dole came back to Kansas in June, in the second of 39 months he would spend in hospitals. In a

series of operations at Chicago's Wesley Memorial Hospital, Dr. K. Kelikian transplanted bone muscle from Dole's leg to his shoulder and arm.

By 1948, his long and painful recovery nearly over, Dole enrolled at the University of Arizona. His former wife, Phyllis Holden, a registered occupational therapist from Rochester, N.H., took notes for him and wrote examination papers dictated by Dole.

In 1949, Dole returned to Kansas to complete his bachelor's degree and to study law at Washburn, where he recorded lectures and transcribed notes at home. It was during his second year at Washburn that Russell County elected him to the state legislature. He graduated magna cum laude from law school in 1952 and the next year was elected to the first of four terms as Russell County attorney.

In 1960 he was elected to the 87th Congress by a margin of nearly 20,000 in the Kansas Sixth District where the Republican in 1958 had won by 213 votes. During his third of four terms in the U.S. House of

Representatives, the Washburn Alumni Association presented its Distinguished Service Award to Dole.

When Sen. Frank Carlson announced his retirement in 1968, Dole decided to join the senate race. His record on support of agriculture was clear. As a member of the House Agriculture Committee he had sponsored a bill that initiated a people-to-people program between farmers throughout the world and helped expose Billie Sol Estes, the Texan convicted of grain storage fraud. After winning the nomination from a former governor and five-term congressman, Dole placed his record against an urban Democrat and won the election by a record 175,000 votes. During his first year as senator, Washburn conferred its honorary doctor of law degree on Dole.

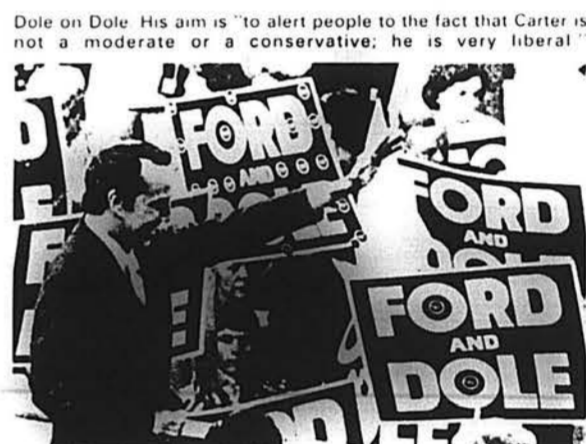
Impressed by Dole's defense of administration policies against Democratic party criticism, President Nixon named the Kansas Republican National Committee chairman in

1971

Dole, again demonstrated his ability to survive in the months after Watergate destroyed the Nixon White House, which Dole had long supported. Though party chairman until January 1973, Dole was able to remain untainted by the scandal and to overcome a 10 to 12 point deficit in

the polls in his 1974 re-election campaign against WILLIAM R. "BILL" ROY (JD 70).

Dole is now ranking Republican on the Agriculture and Forestry Committee. He is a member of the Finance and Budget committees and the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human needs.



Dole on Dole: His aim is "to alert people to the fact that Carter is not a moderate or a conservative; he is very liberal."