

## **Bob Dole**

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Dole - finances

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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# Dole's I.T.T. Role Could Be Fall Target

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Robert J. Dole, the junior Senator from Kansas and former chairman of the Republican National Committee, survived the political devastation of the Watergate and I.T.T. affairs apparently unscathed.

But the records of the two investigations leave several questions about Mr. Dole's role unanswered, and potential ground for political rhetoric in the next two months.

Mr. Dole became chairman of the Republican committee in January 1971. Four and a half months later the I.T.T.-Sheraton Corporation offered the Republicans a \$400,000 "guarantee" ostensibly as part of an effort to attract the 1972 Republican National Convention to San Diego, where the corporation was building a hotel.

At the same time, the Department of Justice was considering whether to ask the conglomerate to divest itself of several of its major, profitable holdings. John N. Mitchell, then President Nixon's key political adviser, was Attorney General.

I.T.T.'s offer was made public in late February 1972 by the columnist Jack Anderson in the publication of the "Dita Beard memo," which suggested that the money was to induce the Nixon Administration to press the Justice Department to make a decision favorable to the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

## Hearings Reopened

At that time, the Senate Judiciary Committee was considering the nomination of Richard G. Kleindienst to succeed Mr. Mitchell. It reopened its hearings to investigate the I.T.T. matter. Mr. Dole was not called as a witness, although he was chairman of the committee to which the I.T.T. offer was made.

Ed Reinecke, then California Lieutenant Governor, received the I.T.T. offer early in May and transmitted it by telephone to Mr. Mitchell. Mr. Reinecke was later tried and convicted for perjury because he lied to the Senate committee about telling Mr. Mitchell. The conviction was overturned on the ground that no quorum was present in the committee when he gave the testimony.

Mr. Reinecke later told a grand jury here that along with Mr. Mitchell he was sure he had informed Mr. Dole and Daniel Evans, Mr. Dole's assistant, about the offer.

Josephine L. Good, one of Senator Dole's assistants at the Republican committee, testified that she gave Mr. Dole a memorandum on July 2, 1971, that completely outline I.T.T.'s offer, and she said it was "conceivable" that he could have given a copy to Mr. Mitchell.



Senator Robert J. Dole and wife, Mary Elizabeth, shopping in Vail, Colo., before flying back to Washington.

would cost \$2,000 or so and that Mr. Dole had rejected payment for it with either Republican committee funds or through a Senate committee. If it was paid for with party funds, the memo said, Mr. Dole would be criticized for playing politics; if Senate funds were used he could be criticized for misappropriation of Government money.

The memo suggested that the re-election committee would secretly supply the funds and that if Senator Dole was asked, he would reply, "a private source supplied his travel funds." He apparently chose to do that.

On Aug. 1, 1972, the Congressional Quarterly routinely published Mr. Dole's report of his 1971 travels. The report noted: "Aug. 17-22: Japan, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Thai-

land, to observe the progress of the Vietnamization program, treatment of P.O.W.'s and drug abuse problems among servicemen, personal expense.

Mr. Dole was never called as a witness before the Senate Watergate committee and there is no record that committee investigators ever interviewed him on the matter. One former staff member suggested that he was not asked because "there were bigger fish to fry" and the committee did not have the time to follow up what appeared to be peripheral matters.

Senator Dole's opponent, Dr. William R. Roy, in the Kansas senatorial race in 1974 found it difficult to turn these questions and others stemming from Watergate to any political advantage. In one incident his efforts to make political mileage on a Watergate matter failed.

## Was Not Asked

Had Mr. Dole been a party to informing Mr. Mitchell of the offer, he might have been aware that there was an attempt to manipulate the Justice Department's I.T.T. case. He was never asked these questions by an official body.

Senator Dole has made several responses on the matter in news conferences, on March 10, 1972, he acknowledged that the party had received the offer but denied it had any connection with the antitrust case. He said he had rebuffed an effort by Miss Beard, a consultant for I.T.T., to meet with him in 1971. In 1974, when he was running for re-election, however, The Kansas City Times quoted him as saying he never knew about the offer.

A check of present and former Senate Judiciary Committee staff members who worked on the I.T.T. investigation found that there was no clear reason why he was not called to testify.

One staff man suggested privately that the thrust of the investigation centered mainly on I.T.T.'s relations with Mr. Nixon's White House and the staff believed that Mr. Dole and the party committee were "on the periphery" of what was going on in Washington.

## Replaced as Chairman

Senator Dole fell out of favor with the Nixon White House late in 1972 and was asked to step down. He was replaced by George Bush, now the Director of Central Intelligence.

During the Senate Watergate hearings in the summer of 1973, it was disclosed that while Mr. Dole was at the Republican committee he received \$3,000 from the same secret cache of money that later financed the Watergate burglary.

Hugh Sloan, the treasurer of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, testified that he gave \$3,000 to Senator Dole for a trip to South Vietnam.

"Internally within the staff we could not understand why we were paying for Mr. Dole's trip," he testified.

Committee investigators, however, found a memorandum from Bart Porter to Jeb Stuart Magruder, both elections committee officials, that more fully explained the transaction.

The memo noted that Senator Dole had been selected by President Nixon as a spokesman for the Administration's Vietnam policy in the summer of 1971. It was thought that to enhance his credentials he should make a trip to South Vietnam. The memorandum noted that Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, then the severest critic of the War, had never been to Vietnam. Mr. Fulbright was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The memo estimated the trip

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# DOLE SEES G.O.P. GAIN IN CARTER CAMPAIGN

## Kansan Says Public Has Doubts About the 'Weird Performance' of the Democratic Candidate

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1—Senator Robert J. Dole said today that the Republican campaign ticket was a beneficiary of the electorate's doubts about Jimmy Carter's "weird performance" as the Democratic Presidential nominee.

The Republican candidate for Vice President said at a White House news conference that Mr. Carter's discussion of lust in a Playboy magazine interview, his derogation of former President Lyndon B. Johnson and his imprecise plans for tax revision were "rather strange."

The exchange with the Senator from Kansas, who had emerged from a 40-minute meeting with President Ford, included the following:

Mr. Dole chastized Mr. Carter for having met privately with reporters to criticize their coverage of the Carter campaign. The Republican Senator then did the same thing publicly, contending that "the press set me up as a hatchet man before I even opened my mouth" as a candidate.

The Senator twice declined to offer an apology to Charles F. Ruff, the Watergate special prosecutor, for having insinuated earlier that Mr. Ruff's inquiry into Republican campaign financing in the President's home county in Michigan was politically inspired. Yet Mr. Dole acknowledged reports that the inquiry stemmed from an allegation passed on to Mr. Ruff by the Attorney General's office and Mr. Dole said, he "wouldn't have made the same comment" about Mr. Ruff had he known that at the time.

Mr. Dole blamed Mr. Carter for having "got Billy Graham in the act" because the Democratic nominee's son, Jeff, suggested that the evangelist had bought his divinity degree for \$5. Jeff Carter "probably heard it at home," Senator Dole said.

### A Question on a Contribution

The Kansan volunteered his appraisal of the "weird" Carter campaign in seemingly trying to change the subject of the news conference after repeated questioning about the Watergate special prosecutor's inquiry into an allegedly illegal \$5,000 corporate contribution to Mr. Dole's re-election campaign in 1973.

After a question about the inquiry, Mr. Dole repeated that he had done nothing improper and then added that voters were responding to the Ford-Dole campaign because of "great doubt that Governor Carter—his weird performance, his judgment."

Asked for an explanation, Mr. Dole alluded to Mr. Carter's use of a vulgarism in recent interviews, to the Georgian's private meeting with reporters and to what he called Mr. Carter's tendency to "always find fault in a very harsh way."

The Senator said "it just strikes me as rather strange" that Mr. Carter could question former President Johnson's veracity in a Playboy interview and "then he can go around to the widow and say, 'I didn't really mean it.'"

After quarreling with one questioner about the tone of the inquiry and accusing The Washington Post of having concocted "a sinister note" in reporting that several pages were missing from Mr. Dole's 1973 campaign finance ledger, Senator Dole struck a lighter note.

### Carter Was Guest Twice At a Corporation Resort While Georgia Governor



Senator Robert J. Dole is amused by a comment of President Ford during their

## President to Fly West on Monday On a 6-Day Trip

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1 (AP)—President Ford will leave on Monday for a six-day trip to California, Oklahoma and Texas, Ron Nessen, his press secretary, said today.

The centerpiece of the journey will be the second televised debate, on foreign policy and national security affairs, with Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee, in San Francisco on Wednesday.

Mr. Nessen said that Mr. Ford would leave Washington late Monday afternoon and fly to San Francisco, where he will stay in a private home for a three-night stay. On Tuesday, Mr. Nessen said Mr. Ford would participate in at least one public event, although he added that details had not been worked out.

After Wednesday's debate, the President plans to drop in on a party of campaign supporters who will watch the proceedings on television. He did the same thing in Philadelphia after the first debate on Sept. 23.

Mr. Nessen said that the President would leave San Francisco early Thursday for Los Angeles, where he will tour a plant of the North American Rockwell Corporation that has been set aside for production of the B-1 bomber. Later that morning, the spokesman said, Mr. Ford will take part in a "voters convocation" on the campus of the University of Southern California.

### At Dinner With Reagan

On Thursday night, he will join Ronald Reagan, his defeated challenger for the Republican Presidential nomination, at a fund-raising dinner. The President's remarks will be broadcast by closed-circuit television to similar dinners around the country.

Mr. Nessen reported that Friday morning would be devoted to meetings with civic leaders and other persons from the Los Angeles area, followed by participation in a civic festival in suburban Glendale. On Friday afternoon, Mr. Ford will fly from Burbank to Lawton, Okla., for an overnight stop.

On Saturday, the President will fly on to Dallas to take part in the opening of the Texas State Fair and, in the afternoon, is expected to attend the Texas-Oklahoma football game in the Cotton Bowl. He plans to return to the White House around midnight Oct. 9.

Meanwhile the President signed a bill to give top employees of the legislative branch annual pay increases to keep pace with private industry.

## F.B.I. Is Said to Find Of Wrongdoing in

Continued From Page 1

he had "absolutely no ... knowledge" that Mr. Ford was the target of the special prosecutor's investigation.

However, he noted that the locale of the allegation was Mr. Ford's Congressional district in Michigan, which surrounds the city of Grand Rapids. "One has to assume when you mention Grand Rapids, you'd think of Gerald Ford," he said.

### Other Information

This conflicts with information developed by The New York Times in interviews here and in Grand Rapids in which sources said the special prosecutor's investigation was to determine whether campaign contributions had been illegally and covertly diverted to Mr. Ford through Kent County Republican committees.

Mr. Tyler said that when bureau officials brought the allegation to his attention he discussed the matter with Attorney General Edward H. Levi and then, with Mr. Levi's approval, referred it to Mr. Ruff's office. Mr. Tyler said, "I did not inform Mr. Ford ... I never told the White House" about the allegation.

He said that he and Mr. Levi were the only two officials in the Department of Justice who knew about the allegation and that he had never termed it "serious" or "significant" in discussions with newsmen.

After he made the initial referral to Mr. Ruff, he said, he never again discussed the investigation with the special prosecutor nor had any knowledge of how it proceeded.

### 'Automatic Referral'

Mr. Tyler termed the decision to ask Mr. Ruff to investigate the allegation an "automatic referral" because it involved, he said, the 1972 Presidential elections.

"My job is to decide where to send these things and the key words to me were 'Presidential election ... 1972,'" he said. Under the original charter, the Watergate prosecutor has jurisdiction over all charges of campaign financing illegality in the 1972 Presidential election.

Mr. Tyler, who was nominated as Deputy Attorney General by President

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## Northeast Governors

By LAWRENCE FELI

# BOB DOLE. Conservative contradiction

Robert J. Dole, the Republican vice-presidential nominee, is a 'mass of contradictions.' Is he a liberal conservative or a conservative liberal? Is he a tough 'hatchet man' or a 'softie'? Colleagues give their impressions of the one-time Nixon defender in this profile by a Monitor correspondent.

Boston, Mass.  
C.S.M.  
Sept. 10/76  
M-181, 794

By Peter C. Stuart

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Hubert Humphrey was late.

His less-senior colleagues on the Senate Agriculture Committee, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the audience all were growing restless waiting for the hearing on milk-price supports to begin.

Finally, in he breezed — and was mockingly toasted with a glass of milk hoisted by Sen. Robert J. Dole.

That is one side, the public side, of the 1976 Republican vice-presidential nominee: the knife-edged humorist, the needling partisan.

But there is another, more private side. Behind the gibes, Senator Dole is a close friend of the man he targeted, Hubert Humphrey. A spectrum apart philosophically, the would-be Republican vice-president and almost-was Democratic president share the same small town Midwestern-plains background, zest for political combat, and a genuine enjoyment in working together.

The problem in getting a fix on Senator Dole is that these two sides keep conflicting with each other. He often seems to be just what he is so fond of accusing Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter of being: "a mass of contradictions."

## A tough softie

• Aggressive, but sometimes a "softie." A close friend says candidly the Senator has a "tart tongue" that at times benefits himself and his party, but at other times damages both. It damaged him enough to earn from one former Republican fellow Senator, William B. Saxbe of Ohio, the label "hatchet man."

The lean, dark Kansan with the bullhorn voice describes his own style more mildly. "I have been," he says, "aggressive in a partisan sense now and then."

This aggressiveness apparently was a major reason for his surprise selection as vice-presidential nominee. President Ford's chief of staff Richard B. Cheney said afterward that among Mr. Dole's chief attributes were "that he was a man who is a good speaker, who is a very effective campaigner, that he is a tough-minded man."

But the "tough" facade contains cracks. His first major speech in the Senate in 1969, on the anniversary of his World War II wounding in Italy which left him with a crippled right arm, urged creation of a presidential task force on the physically handicapped. President Nixon did so.

He has pushed a variety of legislation aiding the handicapped, including bucking the Ford administration last year on an education-for-the-handicapped bill it opposed.

And he has teamed up with former Democratic presidential nominee George S. McGovern (whom he once derided as having "limited himself to a few nutrition issues") to draft a reform of the food-stamp program which the Ford White House fought as too liberal. "I am trying to impress my Republican friends that we are not anti-people," he explains.

Claims Clark MacGregor, the former White House official who served eight years with Mr. Dole in the House of Representatives: "When it comes to people, Bob is a softie."

## A Nixon defender

• A staunch conservative, but a civil-rights liberal. Senator Dole's politics are as plain as the Kansas horizon. He is a conservative from a conservative family in a conservative state, whose vice-presidential nomination was cleared by Ronald Reagan, and whose seven-year Senate voting record wins a 75 percent approval rating from the Americans for Constitutional Action (average Senate score last year: 34.5 percent).

"I consider myself to be fairly conservative," he says, a self-assessment which is itself fairly conservative.

But such categorization overlooks evidence that the conservative Kansan may be something of a liberal when it comes to civil rights. Since his second term in the House (representing a district where, with a black population of barely 1 percent, race was not an issue), he has voted for most major legislation broadening the rights of black Americans, except for school busing, which he opposes.

He also has bolted the conservative ranks to support the proposed women's equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

• A bitter-end Nixon defender, but a Watergate survivor. Senator Dole hitched his political wagon to Richard Nixon's rising star in 1968 when the ambitious Kansas Senate candi-

date helped mastermind the Nixon convention nomination.

The new Senator soon became the new President's most vocal supporter on Capitol Hill — chiming in on Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew's broadsides against the news media, touting the unsuccessful Supreme Court nominations of G. Harrold Carswell and Clément F. Haynsworth, and defending Mr. Nixon during the Watergate scandal (dismissing it as a mere "rescue operation" concocted by the Washington Post for the McGovern presidential campaign).

The grateful President reciprocated by appointing Senator Dole chairman of the party from 1971 to 1973, a tenure encompassing the most tumultuous Watergate revelations.

One of the last loyalists to abandon the sinking Nixon presidency (he was still defending the President just days before he resigned), he also was one of the most successful at it. In his re-election campaign soon afterward, he made light of his Nixon ties (joking that he "wouldn't mind if Nixon flew over the state") and deftly turned the Watergate issue against his opponent (branding him a "mud-slinger" for pushing it).

Having survived Watergate, he now lives in an apartment there.

• A Ford running mate, but a Ford critic. The President says he picked his vice-presidential candidate because, among other things, he "has been a team player [and] Bob Dole's philosophy and mine coincide identically."

Yet this "team player" also has been a clubhouse critic and Monday morning quarterback of the Ford captaincy. During his own re-election race two years ago, he rated the President "no great asset to Republican candidates," and voiced hope that "Ford doesn't kick the ball away in the first quarter. He's already fumbled a couple of times." He faulted his pardon of former President Nixon as "premature."

But if the Republican vice-presidential nominee often seems of two minds, his political career has been determinedly single-minded.

Introduced to farm-belt politics as a boy listening to farmers at his father's grain elevator in Russell, Kansas, it has dominated Robert Joseph Dole's life. Returning home from war and marriage (to the physical therapist who nursed him through 39 months in Army hospitals), the 26-year-old vet was elected to the Kansas Legislature. He has not lost an election since.

## Workaholic reputation

During his four terms in the House, the demands of tending one of the most sprawling and rural constituencies in the country — rolling wheatfields covering more than half the state — gave Mr. Dole a reputation on Capitol Hill as a "workaholic." He still has it.

He keeps late hours, reads incessantly from agricultural

and economic tracts; has no known hobbies except an elephantine collection of (Republican) elephant figures; shuns the Washington social circuit to linger in his office at night telephoning farmers and other Kansas constituents.

"He's not really a workaholic," says William A. Taggart, a political adviser to the Senator for 15 or 20 years who now works for him on the Agriculture Committee. "It's a stronger motivation. He's goal oriented. He wants to do the very best job he can."

One casualty of such devotion to the job, say those in a position to know, was Mr. Dole's first marriage. The couple was divorced in 1972, and last year the Senator married Mary Elizabeth Hanford, a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

His vice-presidential nomination resurrected the standard descriptions of Senator Dole as a "tough infighter," "heavy hitter," "point man." And his campaigning since then has done little to dispel his advance billing.

But when the newly nominated candidate made a triumphal return with the President to tiny Russell, where 30 years ago home-town friends had raised \$1,800 for treatment of his war wounds, the "heavy hitter" stood before a courthouse crowd and openly wept.

## The quotable Dole

The wry verbal style of Republican vice-presidential candidate Robert J. Dole has been aptly described by a group of Ralph Nader congressional researchers as "an appetizer of humor with two full courses of sarcasm." Here is a sampler.

On Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) of Minnesota: "I'm a sort of Humphrey man myself. I'm sticking with Hubert. I think he's a loser."

On George H. W. Bush, his successor in 1973 as chairman of the embattled Republican Party (when he was a little late appearing): "Here he comes. They're dragging him in now."

On the Watergate tapes: "Thank goodness whenever I was in the Oval Office I only nodded."

On President Ford (during the Senator's uphill re-election race): "President Ford has tried to help me. First there was the Nixon pardon, then there was amnesty, and last week the cancellation of the wheat to the Russians."

On Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter: "Southern-fried McGovern."

On himself: "If you liked Richard Nixon, you'll love Bob Dole."

P. C. S.

Republican vice-presidential nominee Robert Dole: hard-working, conservative, a zest for combat

## Some Punching Power for the Ford Ticket

Based on recent precedent, vice presidential nominees apparently are supposed to assume a self-deprecating role and supply the humor for the ticket.

Shortly after he was tapped by President Ford as his running mate, Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, recalled how he was given word of his selection. "John Connally's suite was next door. I assumed they had the wrong number, so before I identified myself, I said, 'Yes, I accept.'"

**Fighter:** In the real world of politics, Dole is less coy and his remarks have more of a sting to them. He is regarded as an outspoken, aggressive legislator and campaigner with a biting wit and a maverick spirit.

Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., known as being sparing in his praise, once said of Dole, "He's the first man we've had around here in a long time who will grab the other side by the hair and drag them down the hill."

Dole's slashing partisan attacks and his ability to define and sharpen the issues were decisive factors in his selection.



*The Ford-Dole ticket savors its nomination*

A preview of what the Democrats can expect was given by Dole in his speech on the opening night of the Republican National Convention. Sighting in on Jimmy Carter, Dole said, "He may have gotten his party's nomination by default. But he's not going to get the presidency that way. We haven't convened in the 'Show Me' state for nothing. The buck stops here and so does the baloney. I am amazed at the candidate's defensiveness about the purity of his intentions."

**Selection process:** Dole's nomination was the culmination of an extensive selection process during which Ford sought the views of each of the Republican delegates and alternates, as well as the GOP governors, party leaders and Members of Congress. Once the list was narrowed to about two dozen names, each of the potential nominees was sent a detailed questionnaire on possible conflicts of interest, financial background and health record. The process came to a head on the night of Aug. 18 when Ford, after consulting with Ronald Reagan, met with a group of advisers in a session that lasted until after 5 a.m. The group reconvened at about 9:35 and Ford made the decision shortly afterwards.

Yet, for all the consultation and internal debate, it is likely that Ford's decision was purely a personal one based on pragmatic political considerations, not much different from the traditional system of choosing vice presidential candidates.

Listing reasons why Dole was chosen, Ford noted that

he was "a team player," that they shared a similar political philosophy, that Dole is a good campaigner and "will help heal any divisiveness within the party." No mention was made of Dole's potentiality as President or what his role would be as Vice President should Ford win the election.

Thus, it can be assumed that Ford, with good reason, is first trying to marshal his forces to defeat Carter before looking beyond November to a second term.

**Personal background:** Dole, 53, reached the political heights via the conventional route. Born and raised in Kansas, he was graduated from the University of Arizona and received a law degree from Washburn University in Topeka. He served 5½ years in the Army during World War II and was severely wounded during combat in the Italian campaign. He was hospitalized for more than three years as a result of the wounds, which left him with a crippled right arm and hand.

During his recuperation, he met and married his first wife, Phyllis Holden, a physical therapist who had attended him in the hospital. They were divorced in 1972 and three years later, Dole married Mary Elizabeth Hanford, a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

Dole's political career began in 1951 when he was elected to the Kansas Legislature at the age of 26. He then served four terms as Russell County attorney from 1953-61. He was next elected to the House of Representatives, serving from 1961-68, when he won a Senate seat.

Dole was narrowly reelected in 1974 after a bruising campaign battle against Dr. William R. Roy, which centered on the abortion issue. Roy supported self-determination in abortion cases, while Dole took a hard line against abortion.

**Political stance:** Dole is generally considered to be a conservative. However, the record shows that he sometimes crosses the line from one side to the other. He himself has said, "I'm not as conservative as many would like. I have probably a moderate to conservative voting record."

During the early stages of the Nixon Administration, Dole mostly could be counted on by the White House to support the President, as he did on such issues as Vietnam policy, the proposed anti-ballistic missile system and the unsuccessful nominations to the Supreme Court of Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell.

During the early stages of the Watergate scandal, Dole defended the Nixon White House, but then, after bitter criticism of the President's top aides, whom he referred to as "gutless wonders," he parted company with it. At the same time, he was deprived of his chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, a position he held from 1971-73.

**Senate record:** Dole's chief value to Ford is expected to be his identification with the farm bloc. He is the ranking Republican on the Agriculture and Forestry Committee and is a staunch defender of his farm constituents, often taking positions independent of the White House. In 1975, he supported the emergency farm bill, which Ford vetoed.

This year, he was the principal proponent in the Senate of a compromise food stamp bill, which was more liberal than the White House wanted. Dole is also a member of the Finance Committee, where his record is less distinguished. For the most part, he is considered a safe business vote.

Above all, he almost certainly will add color and controversy to the campaign.

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United Press International

Republican vice presidential nominee Bob Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, enjoy a sign at a rally in her honor.

# Dole Stumps Reagan Country

## North Carolina Still Divided, but Candidate's Wife Makes Points

By Margot Hornblower  
Washington Post Staff Writer

SALISBURY, N.C., Sept. 2—The band played "Dixie" at the barbecue. The signs read "We're Sold on Dole" and the governor of North Carolina declared it to be "Elizabeth Hanford Dole Day."

Republican vice presidential candidate Bob Dole and his North Carolina-born wife were greeted enthusiastically on their two-day trip to the state where Ronald Reagan in his quest to take the GOP presidential nomination from President Ford won his first primary.

But the division created by that close battle was still evident amidst today's festivities.

Reagan's most visible supporter here, Sen. Jesse A. Helms, failed to appear, although the Senate was not in session. Reagan's North Carolina chairman, Tom Ellis, who said he came at Helms' request, carefully avoided mentioning President Ford, and added that the conservative Kansas senator "would have made a good President."

After criticizing Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter, Ellis told 250 townspeople at the barbecue for Dole's wife here: "We can get behind Sen. Dole. From what I know about his voting record, the ticket could have been turned around and served this country very well."

Before the barbecue, Dole acknowledged in a news conference the considerable work the Republicans face in order to woo back Reagan supporters and catch up to Carter in the South.

"I realize there were very strong positions held about the [Republican] candidates before the convention," Dole said. "But the convention is over now. Our common objective is to win in November."

After an afternoon visit to Georgia yesterday, Dole flew to Charlotte, N.C. Wednesday night for a reception hosted by local Republicans. About 350 persons stood under a huge banner that read "Ford-Dole Superstars" and applauded Dole's steady stream of one-line political jokes.

"With Ford and Dole you've got two four-letter words you can live with," he said. On a more serious note Dole

warned that inflation would increase under a Carter administration and said Carter gets "his marching orders" from labor leader George Meany.

The Doles spent Wednesday night at Elizabeth Dole's parents' home in Salisbury, a city of 23,000. Today, the barbecue was held at Catawba College with a country music band and a handful of local and state politicians, including Republican Gov. James E. Holshouser Jr.

Salisbury Mayor James Summers, a Democrat, read the proclamation designating today as "Elizabeth 'Liddy' Hanford Dole Day" for the woman "who is destined to play a prominent role in this upcoming great American drama." He presented her with a large silver tray.

The crowd of 250 included many who knew Elizabeth Dole long before she went to Harvard Law School, became a federal trade commissioner, and, nine months ago, married a U.S. senator.

"She was one of the smartest ones in the class," said Charles Sowers, an accountant who went to high school with "Liddy," as her friends call her.

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# PICKING A VEEP

Dole

be told the New York delegation later.

On the convention floor that night, the atmosphere was no longer tense but still highly emotional. Reagan supporters staged one of the longest, loudest demonstrations in the history of GOP conventions when their candidate's name was placed in nomination, both to vent their frustration over his inevitable defeat and—so many Ford supporters thought—to delay the President's victory until after prime time. "For what's supposed to be a party of serious, responsible businessmen, we sure do act like damn fools," one Illinois delegate complained over the din of horns and hoarse-voiced cheers.

The vote differed only slightly from the one on 16C. As expected, Mississippi broke its unit rule to vote 16-14 for the President. Finally, at 12:30 a.m., Gov. Arch Moore of West Virginia announced the votes that put Ford over the top. At once, the Ford family was up in their seats and hugging one another as Ford supporters below cheered, Reagan followers wept and the last few states kicked in their votes to make it 1,187 for Ford—1,070 for his vanquished opponent.

## 'ON THE SAME SIDE'

"I hope nobody demands a recount," joked Ford in his hotel room where he had followed each state's vote with gusto. After West Virginia, aides had applauded for 30 seconds or more. At the Alameda, by contrast, Reagan breathed what almost seemed a sigh of relief and wife Nancy gave him a consoling kiss. "Well, that's it," he said. Replied Nancy: "I don't care, honey. You did what no one else had ever done." Moments later Ford was on the phone and within the hour the man Reagan had pressed so closely for so long stood at his side. "Our fight is over," said Reagan. "We are on the same side and will go forth together."

They stood side by side once again the next night as Ford, after his unexpectedly rousing acceptance speech, beckoned to the Reagans to join him on the podium. Surprising even his own advisers, the President stepped aside—and Reagan hushed the convention with an eloquent excerpt from what would have been his own acceptance speech. The delegates erupted in a final, emotional communion between the Ford and Reagan forces, and then Ford walked out on the floor into a crush of delegates and reporters. It was the first rough passage of a campaign that promised many more to come.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with HAL BRUNO, JAMES DOYLE, JOHN J. LINDSAY and the NEWSWEEK convention staff in Kansas City

In the smoke-filled Royal suite of Kansas City's Crown Center Hotel, Gerald Ford and nine advisers congregated around a \$5-a-day rented conference table tussling over the Vice Presidency. Sipping coffee beneath a wall dotted with photos of the Ford family (Vice President Rockefeller kept stirring his coffee with the earpiece of his eyeglasses) the shirtsleeved group weighed options as first one candidate, then another ebbed and faded. At 10:15 on the morning after Ford's nomination, the discussion suddenly crystallized. "All

Ford's final round of deliberations began at 3:15 a.m., a few hours after his nomination and a much publicized meeting with Reagan. Throughout the week, the President had dangled the possibility of a Ford-Reagan ticket before uncommitted delegates. Reagan, for his part, had insisted he would not accept a Vice Presidential job: a condition of their unifying tête-à-tête was that Ford would not even make the offer. Thus the President, who had never really wanted to share a ticket—or the limelight—with his rival, did not ask Reagan to assume an official role either in the Ford campaign or a new Ford Administration. He did, however, solicit Reagan's opinion about possible Vice Presidential candidates, among them Dole and Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee. Reagan was apparently most enthusiastic about the Kansan. But, said Reagan chief of staff Mike Deaver, to say that Reagan endorsed Dole warmly "would be putting it strongly."

## DERAILING CARTER.

As a sop to Reagan supporters, Ford's Southern delegate hunter Harry Dent had suggested that he throw his Vice Presidential choice open to the convention, thus forcing Reagan into the position of having to publicly refuse a draft. But as one of their first orders of business at 3:15, the brain-trusters decisively rejected the suggestion. Rockefeller, particularly, argued that it would show Ford to be weak and un-presidential. "Make the choice yourself," he urged. There was some talk about former Texas Gov. John Connally. Despite Ford's early preference for him and his formidable campaign skills, the group soon eliminated him. Connally's association with the milk-fund scandal was a clear liability; special White House polls also showed him hurting the ticket more than any other candidate.

It soon became evident that the President had narrowed his Veep list to four—Baker, Dole, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain Anne Armstrong and former Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus—though one participant recalled that, at the time, "Dole didn't have anyone for his champion." Not even Ford mentioned him much, he said. Instead, the President's early favorite was Baker, whose Southern roots and high poll scores for integrity worked in his favor (the fact that his wife had been treated for



Dole fighting back tears in Russell: 'You made me what I am'

right," Ford wound up the conversation. "Let's get Bob Dole on the telephone."

Unlike Jimmy Carter, who entered his convention with the nomination in hand and plenty of time to contemplate a running mate, Ford had been too preoccupied with Ronald Reagan to begin his winnowing process until the final weeks before the convention. On July 31, he requested Republican delegates to send him their top five choices for Vice President. A week later he was working from a list of two dozen possibilities, and his aides were assembling health and financial records of the leading contenders. Ultimately, however, the selection of Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas was the product of old-fashioned backroom politicking and the dictates of a conservative convention.

# 'A BRIDGE TO REAGAN'

Enroute to Washington from his hometown of Russell, Kans., Sen. Robert Dole granted an interview—his first since becoming the Republican Vice Presidential nominee—to NEWSWEEK'S Henry Hubbard:

**HUBBARD:** When did you first suspect that President Ford would pick Rob Dole as his running mate?

**DOLE:** We turned on TV that morning and [heard] that I was among four finalists. Well, I knew Anne Armstrong was in Scotland, and probably couldn't be back by noon, and I heard that [William] Ruckelshaus was in Tacoma, and he had it tight to get in there by noon. I said well, this could be down to [Howard] Baker and Dole. If they don't go alphabetically, I might have a chance. We did take a little interest then.

**Q.** You had an emotional moment up on the podium in your hometown.

**A.** You know, you see a lot of faces in the crowd that you haven't seen for a long time. When I was wounded and needed some money for an operation they sort of had a solicitation and raised \$2,000 or \$3,000, and I could see different people there that had helped. And I lost my father in the past several months and he was very proud of my standing in politics and he wasn't there to see this. The combination of just being home among real friends that know you inside and out, and if you've done anything worthwhile it's because of people like that. You look out and find one in the crowd and it stirs you up inside.

**Q.** How does it feel to be on a ticket that's 30 points behind with only two months to catch up?

On selling the ticket: 'You've got to get attention'



**A.** I really haven't thought about it. I suggest we have a lot of work to do. Right now, I'm still in a daze.

**Q.** What do you bring to this ticket?

**A.** I think a bridge with the Reagan forces. Some [delegates] abstained in the vote for Vice President; [they were] very upset about the Reagan loss. But by and large, I have a good relationship with the leadership of the Reagan forces. Secondly, I already had a bridge with party leaders in each state. They change, of course, but having been the chairman of the party, I'll be going into each state not as a stranger, as compared to [Walter] Mondale. My role in agriculture is quite well known. And I think philosophically we have a bridge to the South. I have a conservative record; it's my understanding that I may have had more support among the Southern chairmen than, say, Howard Baker. Also I'm not totally ineffective on the stump.

**Q.** Is it fair to say you're noted for a sharp tongue?

**A.** I don't know about the sharp tongue. That may be not the right epithet, but I do react, and it seems to me if you're going to close the gap 30 points you've got to get people's attention. You don't do it by going out and slandering anyone or attacking Fri : Mondale, or Governor Carter. You do it by pointing up contradictions. It seems to me there are enough there to keep us busy to Christmas, let alone November.

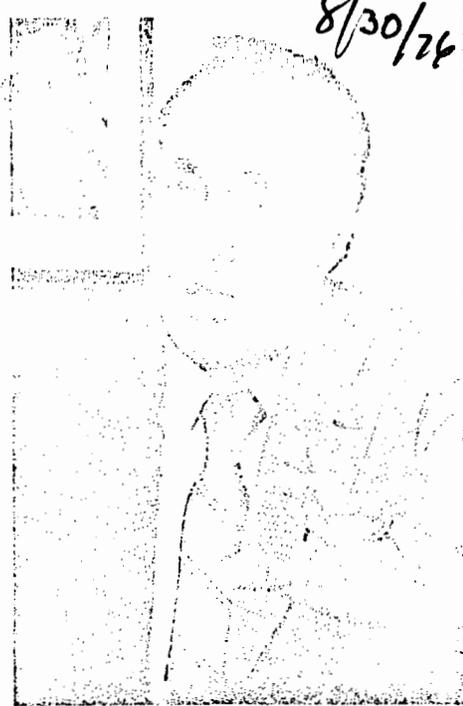
**Q.** Will it be a hardball campaign?

**A.** I have a feeling that though Carter publicly plays softball, he's capable of playing hardball, and we just want him to learn how to catch as well as pitch.

**Q.** Where is he vulnerable?

**A.** My instincts tell me that he may be vulnerable in farm states, and that may be another reason I'm on the ticket. To me, he is vulnerable in the South [even though he's a Southerner]; the latest poll indicates he has firm support of 57 per cent of the voters in the South. You've got a very uphill battle but you don't write it off. You go down and see what you can do and run selective surveys and see where your best opportunities are.

**Q.** Are there inconsistencies in Carter the man?



Photos by Susan T. McElhinney—Newsweek

On Jimmy Carter: He can play hardball

**A.** Right. We mentioned a few on Monday evening in my speech. We talked about 14(B) [the "Right to Work" law] his various positions on that, and even suggested next time perhaps he is quizzed he would suggest it was his shoe size. After looking at the polls maybe hat size would be better.

**Q.** How about Senator Mondale?

**A.** Mondale has a very liberal record—we're probably two senators who can be absent from Congress without changing a vote. We'll have a live pain from now till the election. He's a sharp, able fellow. We're on good terms. He'll be selling his wares and I'll be trying to sell ours. But they're starting off with a big lead.

**Q.** You have not always agreed with President Ford. Can that be used against you?

**A.** No. I think I had the sharpest difference on grain embargoes. I even refused to make a trip to Kansas with Ford. I didn't do it as an act of hostility. I just felt that we had to get someone's attention—not the President's, he understood, but others in the Administration who never really felt the embargo was a bad thing.

**Q.** You criticized him over the Nixon pardon. How do you feel about it now?

**A.** At least it's behind us. Now you may not agree that it was the right thing to do. But perhaps as far as the settling of the Watergate problem it was probably a wise judgment.

**Q.** Have you backed the President on all his vetoes?

**A.** No. I think I voted to override the education bill just a couple of weeks ago. I voted to override one which would provide a Congressional review of military-base closings. And we've worked out



food-stamp legislation, the Dole-McGovern bill—the Administration thinks it's terrible. But I don't believe that those who represent the Administration are totally realistic in that area. So maybe I'll have a chance to get the President's ear now and try to explain that we want reform but it's two-sided—we want to reform but not to deprive people who should benefit.

**Q. Why did President Nixon sack you as GOP chairman?**

**A.** I don't know. I didn't want to stay on as chairman much longer but it seemed after traveling thousands and thousands of miles and working hard it just wasn't total justice to be given a Camp David jacket and a rather strong suggestion that a good time for me to make a transition would be right after the 1973 Inaugural. In the Inaugural parade the chairman normally rides behind the President—I'm not certain I was in the parade—I was so far back, the parade had ended before I passed the reviewing stand. But I had to believe that a lot of that was the efforts of the underlings like Magruder. If they couldn't dominate you, they didn't want you. And I was, I guess, described as ineffectual.

**Q. You supported Nixon on the war up through 1972, didn't you? How does that look in retrospect?**

**A.** I don't know what I would do to change it. If you knew then what you know now, you could have changed, but everything was always a crisis whether it was Cambodia, bombing or whatever. It was always pretty well dressed up as the right thing to do.

**Q. You also backed him on the Supreme Court nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell. Did you act out of loyalty or conviction?**

**A.** I think I would stick by my guns on Haynsworth—I think we've really missed the service of an outstanding Southern judge. On Carswell, had he been properly evaluated by the Justice Department, he probably never would have been submitted.

**Q. Does your divorce make you politically vulnerable?**

**A.** No, I don't believe so. I mean it's four or five years ago now and my ex-wife remarried two or three years ago.

**Q. Aren't the Republican moderates going to feel excluded by a conservative ticket and a conservative platform?**

**A.** I hope not. We have to find room. I believe I have a lot of support with the moderate senators like [Charles] Mathias and Ed Brooke and others because I recognized that we could have different philosophies and still be compatible. \*

a drinking problem was not considered a serious drawback). But some Ford staffers, ever sensitive to the Watergate issue, felt voters would be confused about whether Baker had sided with the heroes or the villains of the scandal. Others criticized Baker as bland and too earnest. "Politically speaking," said one strategist, "Baker came out pretty much as a eunuch."

Several advisers, including campaign director Stuart Spencer, toyed with the idea of Armstrong. Choosing a woman, they said, would derail Carter's strategy for two weeks while he tried to figure out how to handle her. But then someone remembered that privately commissioned GOP polls had shown half the Republican women questioned about their Vice Presidential choices did not want a woman a heartbeat away from the Presidency (40 per cent of the Democratic women objected), and

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#### PULLING THE SOUTH

Dole's ties to the Farm Belt seemed to further sway Ford, who is unpopular with many farmers because of his grain embargo against the Russians last year. "The President felt he had to have the Farm Belt as a base," explained an aide. Also, the President knew he needed a strong campaigner to balance his own weaknesses. Dole was one of the toughest stumpers available.

While the President sipped coffee, his aides raised Dole's liabilities—his failure to provide geographical balance, his lack of appeal to moderates, his divorce,



Dole orates alongside interpreter for the deaf: A feeling for the handicapped

Armstrong's candidacy faded rapidly.

Rockefeller reportedly supported Ruckelshaus, whose Watergate role (he was fired for refusing to fire Archibald Cox), unlike Baker's, clearly worked in his favor. The former head of the Environmental Protection Agency also had a positive image as a conservationist. Moreover, he was acceptable to the moderates and even to Reagan, who had offered Ruckelshaus a spot on his ticket before choosing Schweiker. Thus despite Ruckelshaus's lack of campaign experience and the ardent feminism of his wife Jill, most participants left their meeting at 5 a.m. convinced he had an inside track.

Ford told his advisers to sleep on the decision for a while. But at 9:30 a.m. he called them together again, and it was clear that, after sleeping on it, the President had come to this meeting with Bob Dole on his mind. "Ford must have felt most comfortable with Dole," speculat-

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By 10:15, Ford had his mind made up. A few minutes later the phone rang in Dole's seventeenth-floor suite in the Muchlebach Hotel (he was right next door to Connally). "Bob, I want you to be on the ticket," declared Ford. Dole, who said later he hadn't expected the call, never hesitated. "Certainly," he replied.

—SUSAN FRAKER with SAMUEL SHAFFER and THOMAS M. DeFRANK in Kansas City

August 30, 1976

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# THE POINT MAN

On a sunny afternoon in Russell, Kans., last week, a platform draped in red, white and blue bunting—and decked with perspiring Republicans—stood sturdily in front of the courthouse on Main Street. There were no clouds in the sky, the smell of barbecued hot dogs and pickles was in the air, and under the Chinese elms a crowd began to swell on the grassy courthouse square. The high-school band suddenly struck up "Hail to the Chief"—and President Gerald Ford grinned back. But the real guest of honor that day was the tall, lean man who stepped forward to greet his home folks. "You made me what I am. When I needed help this town came through," said Sen. Robert J. Dole, referring to his old World War II wounds. Then his voice broke—and he wept.

For the junior senator from Kansas—and the new Vice Presidential candidate of the Republican Party—the touching homecoming was bound to defy dry eyes. Dole rose to his eminence in Kansas City last week out of the Midwest world of Main Street politics. He was reared on heartland virtues, Farmer's Almanac common sense and the Taft tradition of the GOP. At 53, he is a politician without jowls—a hard, athletic conservative. His thin lips can curl with equal speed into a boyish grin or an iron sneer. He deploys his quick wit both in friendly camaraderie and in flinty partisan attack. "He is one of the toughest men I've ever met," said Oregon's liberal Republican Sen. Bob Packwood. "He's the kind of guy I'd like to stand back to back with in a knife fight."

This Dodge City image didn't hurt Dole in Kansas City last week—though a few critics predict that his rough-'em-up style may hurt more than it helps before the fall is over. (Former Sen. William

Saxbe of Ohio once called Dole a "batch-et man" so oil-putting he "couldn't sell beer on a troop ship.") But Dole has a number of other, more positive attributes. He is a survivor—a man with a reputation for beating bleak odds. In Washington, a city of pomp and protocol, he is a cool hand who regularly totes his own dirty shirts to the laundry. He has cultivated a sense of humor born of pain and a feeling for the handicapped born of his own paralyzed right arm. He is smart and daring; he once outmaneuvered former liberal Sen. J. William Fulbright on an antiwar amendment. "Dole's stolen my cow," grumped Fulbright. "No," Dole replied mildly. "We've just milked it a little."

## 'CAN'T' NEVER COULD

Country metaphors come naturally to Dole. His grandfather was a farmer who moved the Dole family to west Kansas from Ohio in the 1880s. His mother was a sturdy homebody whose motto was: "Can't never could do anything." She passed that ethic on to her son, who was born in Russell (today's population: more than 5,000) on July 22, 1923. Dole's conservative Republican father ran the White Way Café on Main Street, then an eggs and creamery store, and the local grain elevator. Young Dole got his first lessons in Farm Belt politics there: farmers dropping their grain would also stop to sneak a drink of bootleg whisky and talk weather and politics. "Our father's life was work," says his sister Gloria Dole Nelson, 54. "He never wanted to give up and sit in a rocking chair—and Bob's just like him."

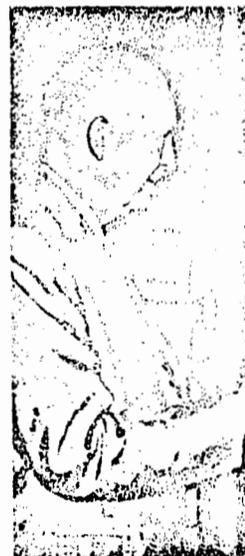
The Sinclair Lewis setting shaped an early and lasting regard for authority as well as Dole's faith in the work ethic. One day when the family alarm went off at 3 a.m. by mistake, Dole's father groggily

sent his son off to the grocery store to buy butter. The store was closed, but Dole dutifully stayed till his father realized the error and came for him. "He was told to bring that butter home and that's what he was going to do," chuckled Mrs. Nelson. Dole jerked sodas and had a paper route. One Christmas Eve, it was Bob who tried to keep his brother and sisters from sneaking peeks at the presents.

Dole's ticket out of Russell was college—and World War II. In 1941, he enrolled as a pre-med student at the University of Kansas. Two years later he enlisted in the Army and became a second lieutenant in the elite Tenth Mountain Division. On April 14, 1945, Dole was leading an infantry squad across the Po valley in northern Italy when a German machine gun cut him down. His right shoulder was shattered, his neck vertebrae were fractured and he lay paralyzed for hours, able neither to see nor to feel his arms—they were pinned above his head. He spent the next 39 months in Army hospitals; he wasted away from 194 to 122 pounds; he lost one kidney to an infection; he developed blood clots in his lungs. In desperation, doctors administered an experimental antibiotic: streptomycin. It worked. Dole emerged from the hospital broken in body—but alive.

## AN OBSESSION WITH POLITICS

Dole slowly began to patch together a new life and career in law and politics. Transplanted bone and muscle from his leg gave him a right arm of sorts; Dole cannot hold anything much heavier than a pencil with it and works the crowds with his left arm. When he married a young occupational therapist named Phyllis Holden in 1948, his doctor wired: "Hope that arm I fixed will be used lovingly." For a while it was. Dole went on to win a B.A. in history and a law degree from Washburn Municipal University in Topeka. Phyllis helped pay the bills and wrote out his dictated answers to a special exam to qualify for the Kansas bar. They



A Kansas scrapbook: Dole, 7, with brother Ken and sister Gloria in Russell; above left, later with Ken; as a young GI, circa 1944

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 hothouse political days of the '60s, Dole's career flourished slowly but quite steadily. At home he became notorious as a fierce political infighter. "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 protege 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

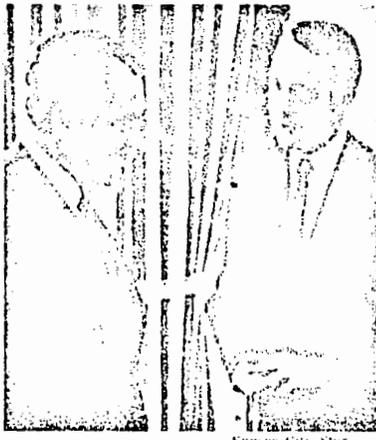
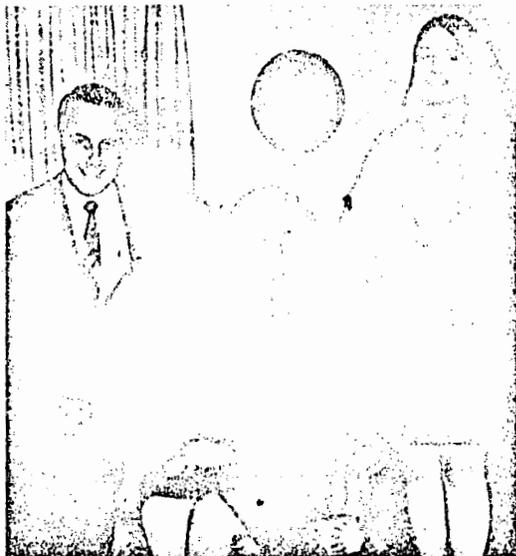
with Knauer under Nixon. Thanks partly to some enthusiastic self-promotion, she won a Presidential appointment to the Federal Trade Commission in 1973.

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."

Anointing 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



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 reelection, 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 smear 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.

# GHOSTS IN THE HALL

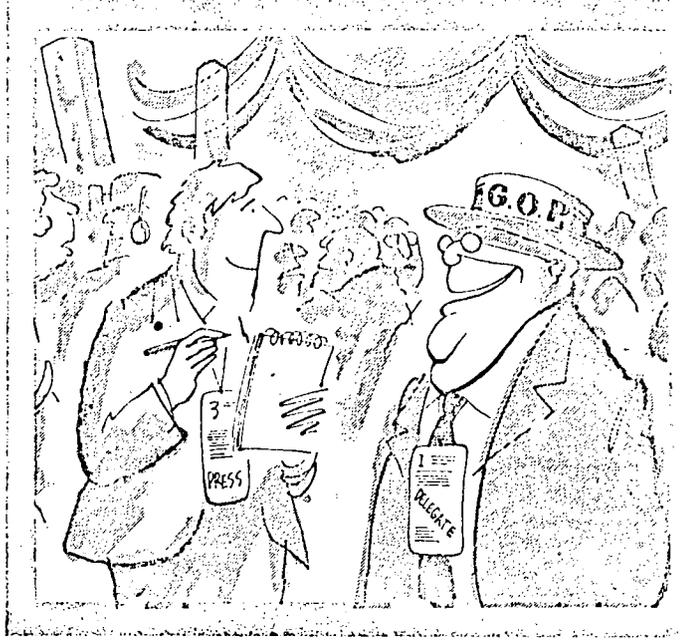
Spino Agnew found it "a little painful to watch." What Charles Colson saw of it on television made him "very glad I'm home." In the thick of it, a relieved John Dean reported that "people really have been very nice to me." The Republican gathering in Kansas City last week was the GOP's first convention since Watergate and there were some conspicuous changes in the cast of characters. Richard Nixon remained in distant exile, his name never officially mentioned, his picture never officially shown. Only Rabbi Baruch Korff, his old partisan, tried to keep the flame alight—but few people listened, and still fewer cared.

Behind the walls of San Clemente



Ken Kesler—Camera 5

Dean at the convention: Some conspicuous changes in the cast



Auth © 1976 Philadelphia Inquirer

'Richard Milhous who?'

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 life-guard 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 MATHEWS with SAMUEL SHAFFER in Kansas City, CHRIS J. HARPER in Russell, Kans., and ELAINE SCIOLINO in Chicago

Nixon kept his silence. He has become even more reclusive since his wife Pat's stroke seven weeks ago, staying by her side and foregoing his thrice-weekly golf games at the Shore Cliffs Country Club. Still, his barber and friend, Ken Allan, said that Nixon "talked about [the convention] quite a bit" a fortnight ago. "He said he'd be watching the whole thing," Allan recalled. "He's very curious about the outcome." Nixon would "kinda like to be there," Allan said, and he expected to be there in the future.

Beach: Nixon topsiders H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and John Mitchell, all convicted Watergate felons, have found new distractions from politics. Haldeman has settled for the summer into a California beach house, to write his book and await his appeal. Mitchell, widowed and disbarred, was similarly engaged in New York. In Santa Fe, Ehr-

all along in his repeated vow that he would not accept the post if offered it.

By the time Thursday rolled around, many of the conventiongoers were thoroughly worn out. "I'm so tired fightin'," said Mississippi Delegate Malcolm Mabry, "I just wish someone would ring the bell." Yet Gerald Ford managed to recharge the delegates.

It was, fittingly, one of the President's finest hours. The ovation that greeted his appearance on the podium carried a rousing ring of enthusiasm. Speaking with unaccustomed fervor and a punchy delivery, the President effectively assailed, by biting implication, his Democratic opponent, Jimmy Carter. "We will build on performance, not promises; experience, not expediency; real progress instead of mysterious plans to be revealed in some dim and distant future." At another point he jabbed: "My record is one of specifics, not smiles."

While Ford harshly attacked the Congress that either "won't act" or acts wrongly when it does, he also cited it to legitimize his presidency. "I have been called an unelected President, an accidental President," he noted. Yet he had been confirmed for the vice presidency, he pointed out, by votes of 387 to 35 in the House and 92 to 3 in the Senate. "Having become Vice President and President without expecting or seeking either, I have a special feeling toward these high offices. To me, the presidency and the vice presidency were not prizes to be won, but a duty to be done."

In a speech that sounded much better than it reads, Ford directly addressed his large television audience: "You are the people who pay the taxes and obey the laws. You are the people who make our system work. It is from your ranks that I come, and on your side I stand." Again, quite personally, he predicted about the election: "The American people are going to say that night, 'Jerry, you've done a good job. Keep right on doing it.'"

After his speech, Ford motioned to his vanquished foe in the guest galleries to join him and Betty on the podium. When Reagan and Nancy had entered the hall earlier to a resounding ovation, there were rhythmic cries of "Speech! Speech! Speech!" Invited to the podium by Chairman Rhodes, Reagan initially declined. "This is someone else's night," he said to friends. But now he responded to Ford's beckoning. As he moved through the packed arena with Nancy, then took the microphone at Ford's bidding, the eyes of many delegates shimmered with tears.

Reagan delivered a capsuled version of his intended acceptance speech. He warned in moving terms of the erosion of liberty in the world, the dangers of nuclear annihilation and the need for America to lead the fight against both. Not once did he laud his party's newly nominated candidate for President.



DOLE &amp; FORD HUDDLING BEFORE THE TEAM IS ANNOUNCED

#### THE V.P. CANDIDATE

## The Dole Decision

In his selection of Robert Dole as his running mate, Gerald Ford accomplished a tour de force of political theater: he surprised almost everyone (Dole included), and offended almost no one in the party's mainstream. Liberals in general and some moderate Republicans were disappointed by the choice. But even they acknowledged that Ford's problem was choosing someone who would appease the Reaganites without blatantly antagonizing other Republicans. Thus, once Ford unveiled his choice, politicians who only hours before had been touting "short lists" on which Dole's name did not even appear, began ticking off reasons why he made sense for the No. 2 spot.

It was exactly the sort of move with which the President was hoping to cap his nomination, and he prepared for it with a deft combination of openness and secrecy: he was demonstrably open to advice, but extremely secretive about his thinking as it evolved. As a Ford aide put it, in splendidly technocratic jargon: "His decision-making process was one of maximum input, zero feedback."

The input was massive indeed. Virtually everyone on a political visit to the White House in recent months, or to the "Oval Office West" in Kansas City last week, had a plug or a blackball for some prospect. Ford's floor manager in Kansas City, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin, promoted Colleague Howard Baker (who, perhaps coincidentally, may be Griffin's chief competition for the Senate minority leader's job next January). The First Family had its preferences too. Betty Ford urged more than token consideration for Anne Armstrong; Son Jack liked a mayor, Pete Wilson of San Diego, and two Governors, Christopher ("Kit") Bond of Missouri and Dan Evans of Washington. Henry Kissinger

promoted a lame-duck incumbent, his former mentor Nelson Rockefeller. Of the Cabinet members, only Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz recommended Dole highly—because of the Kansan's popularity in the farm belt.

Three weeks ago, Ford sent letters soliciting the opinions of nearly 6,000 G.O.P. delegates, party leaders and officeholders. A week later, two dozen father letters went out from the White House with detailed legal, medical and financial questionnaires to an array of possibilities, ranging from Northeastern Liberal Elliot Richardson to Texas Conservative John Connally. The two dozen receiving the bulky envelopes were officially under presidential consideration.

Throughout the selection process,

FORD &amp; REAGAN DISCUSSING TICKET



Ford was noncommittal. Pressure, such as that mounted by the anti-Connally movement, he ignored or rebuffed. Says White House Special Counsel Michael Duval: "The President doesn't like to be pushed. He reminds me of a gyroscope: if you whack it, it will come right back, but if you move it steadily in a direction that makes sense, it will stay."

Ford came to Kansas City with a list in mind—but not on paper—of about a dozen "semifinalists." Even after this nomination was in hand, Ford still seemed to be considering at least half a dozen candidates. These he sounded out with Reagan, who commented favorably on Dole and said William Ruckelshaus and Richardson were completely unacceptable. Said a Reagan associate: "If either of them had been chosen, we would have unleashed our troops." Ford also talked about his list with nine top advisers over coffee and nightcaps in his hotel suite until shortly after 5 a.m. the night of his nomination. The nine: Griffin, Rockefeller, White House Chief of Staff Richard Cheney, Texas Senator John Tower, Campaign Pollster Robert Teeter, Campaign Strategist Stuart Spencer, Counsellor John Marsh, former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and Veteran G.O.P. Presidential Adviser Bryce Harlow. When the consultants adjourned, exhausted, they were still uncertain whether the President had made up his mind. Not until they reconvened four hours later did Ford's final choice emerge, and then only obliquely: in his questions, the President kept coming back to Dole.

According to a White House official, Dole was Ford's "first expressed as well as final choice," though some advisers may have erroneously thought that their preferences were at the top of the list. For instance, Griffin apparently believed that Baker was Ford's choice. But the President wanted a more slashing, hard-driving campaigner than Baker. Ford also concluded that Dole had the most assets of all the possible choices, even though advisers pointed out that the poignant circumstances of Dole's first marriage and divorce might be as much of a liability as the drinking problem of Baker's wife. After an hour, Ford was satisfied that Dole had a consensus of support in the group, and the decision was final. The first to be told of the choice—after Dole—was Reagan. Ford began zeroing in on Dole the week before the convention, but the only Administration insider who had a sense of how he was narrowing the field was Chief of Staff Cheney, his sole confidant on the decision. The tabulations of the party-wide popularity contest showed a cluster of obvious names near the top—Connally, Reagan, Baker, Richardson, Rockefeller—but no overwhelming standout whom the President could reject only at the risk of antagonizing the party.

In the end, according to advisers

who participated in the final stages of the selection process, Ford was persuaded by these considerations:

► Like Reagan, Dole is a conservative, but unlike Reagan, he is palatable to party moderates.

► Like Connally, he is a forceful campaigner, but unlike Connally, he is a longtime party stalwart apparently untainted by scandal.

► As a Midwesterner and a magnet for the farm vote, he can, Ford hopes, solidify the ticket's strength in those parts of the country where it stands the best chance. He may even be able to make inroads in the rural South.

► As a former party chairman, Dole won the gratitude of a broad spectrum of Republicans and has the support of the party machinery.

In the opinion of one man who was at the final meeting on the selection last Thursday morning, Ford also liked the idea that Dole was something of a dark horse. "You remember how the President used to talk about wanting to feel 'comfortable' with his 'guys,' his 'team'?" commented a close associate. "Well, in the final analysis, he just felt more comfortable with Bob Dole than with the others. Two years ago, when called upon to appoint a Vice President, his personal choice was Don Rumsfeld; his choice for the sake of the party was George Bush; but Rocky was the best man to bring the country together behind him. This time around he figures he's got all three in one." That remains to be seen. But at the very least, Ford is now in personal command of the party and its ticket.



DOLE'S EMOTIONAL HOMECOMING WITH PRESIDENT FORD IN RUSSELL, KANS.

## Has Gun, Will Travel

Kansas Playwright William Inge might have written the script for the affair. The V.F.W. color guard lined up in the center of the street in front of the Art Nouveau county courthouse, hard by the Russell County farm bureau. The high school band was almost in tune as it entertained under the elm and locust trees. The ladies of the town grilled hot dogs and served potato chips and salad on paper plates. The sun was full and hot as the crowd of about 2,000 gathered to welcome back the local boy who was bringing to town the President of the U.S.

Suddenly the motorcade was there and Senator Robert Dole was moving easily through the crowd, introducing folks to Jerry Ford. When he finally made it up to the platform, Dole told how the President had called "and asked me if I would like to be on the ticket

with him. I thought about one second and said yes."

That drew a laugh —Bob Dole has always drawn laughs, even growing up in Russell—but later, unexpectedly, his mood changed abruptly. "You can come from a small town in America and you do not need wealth to succeed," he was saying. "If I have done anything, it was because of what you did for me..."

He was crying. His left hand shot up to wipe the tears away and he stood for a long moment, head bowed, unable to go on. He did not turn away from the crowd. Seated on the platform behind him, his mother, Bina Dole, his 21-year-old daughter Robin, Governor Robert Bennett and Ford stirred uncomfortably. Then Dole's old friends out front in the street began to clap. The President and the others rose to their feet, applauding. Slowly Dole regained his composure and went on, never alluding to the incident.

Dole introduced the President as "a man I consider to be a friend of America, a friend of rural America, a friend of small-town America." When his turn came to speak, Ford vowed that his Administration would be a friend to the farmer in towns like Russell and states like Kansas. Then, as quickly as they had come, Ford and the Senator who was his surprise choice to share the Republican ticket with him were gone. But the campaign had begun.

Two days before he was chosen for the job, Senator Dole relaxed and chatted with a group of TIME editors and writers about the kind of man Ford should pick to run for Vice President. From his manner, Dole clearly indicated that he did not at all consider him-

as "a political Rip Van Winkle who awoke and started to attack Nixon," and he once dismissed former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as a "left-leaning marshmallow."

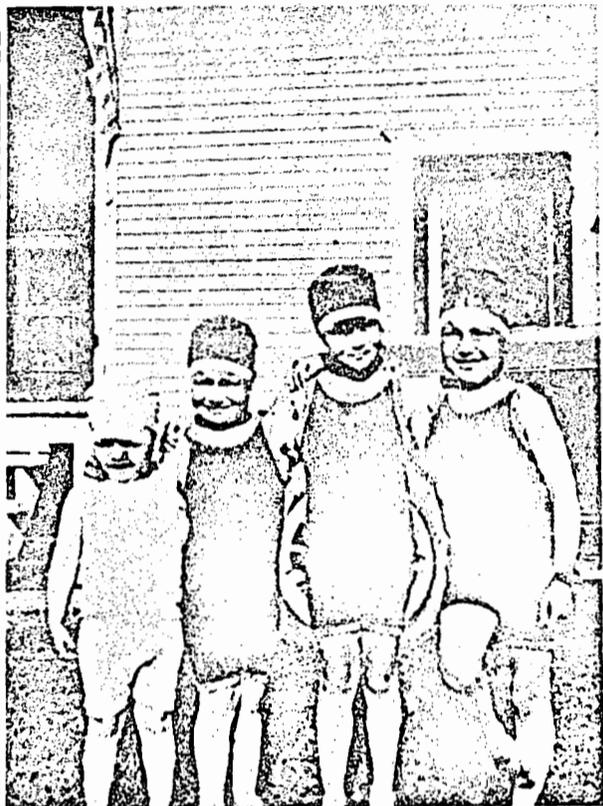
Dole is a politician so absorbed in his craft that his dedication—and travel—helped to break up his first marriage. He projects an impression of coiled-spring tautness. Indeed, he exudes so much vitality that new acquaintances usually do not notice the fact that his right arm is withered, the result of a devastating war wound, until they reach out to shake hands with him. (To avoid embarrassing anyone, Dole usually carries a pencil or a paper in his right hand so that a newcomer will not instinctively try to shake it upon being introduced.)

Back home in sun-scorched Russell, Kans. (pop. 5,400), where the Senator maintains a small, red brick house, the

(since razed) on the north side—the wrong side—of the arrow-straight Union Pacific tracks that cut through the geometric grid of tree-lined streets.

Doran Dole, the Senator's father, managed the Norris Grain Co. grain elevator and ran a small creamery, feed and seed business on the side. Bina Dole took in sewing to help out, and made many of the clothes for Robert, his brother Kenneth and his two sisters, Gloria and Jean. Recalls a neighbor: "The Doles just didn't have anything when the kids were growing up." To help out, Bob Dole jerked sodas after school at C.R. Dawson's for \$1 a day. Saturday afternoons he and his friends would take in the matinee at the Dream Theater, the only entertainment in town.

Growing up in this Andy Hardy world, Dole apparently never got in trouble; no one can remember him even



DOLE (RIGHT) & SIBLINGS (CA. 1930)

self to be the likely selection, but the man he described began to sound remarkably like Bob Dole. Ford's Veep, he said, should be helpful in the farm states. These would be critically important for the G.O.P.'s chances, the states where the Democrats' Walter Mondale—a Minnesota populist—would surely be making hay. The President's running mate should be able to help out with the party chores. And, Dole added, the man should be able and ready to do "some of the gunslinging."

In picking Bob Dole, 53, Ford signed on the most accomplished gunslinger in the party, a man who makes his points not with obloquy or the cement fist or leaden tongue of a Spiro Agnew, but with an acerbic wit that often leaves everyone but the victim laughing. Dole has characterized Senator Edmund Muskie



A FAMILY CHRISTMAS: NORMA JEAN, ROBERT, KENNY & GLORIA (1926)

news of Dole's selection caused a sensation. People gathered around the TV set in the Elks club and in the Ramada Inn to share in the excitement. To mark the occasion, Harold Elliott, Dole's high school basketball coach, took the clock off the living room wall and hung in its place an autographed picture of the Senator. Mrs. Carl Friesen, Dole's aunt, got out the family pictures and a folder of clippings she has been collecting for years. Mrs. Everett Dumler felt she just had to do something to celebrate. "So," she says, "I baked a strawberry pie."

**W**hen Bob Dole was growing up in Russell on the flat plains of central-western Kansas, the town was enjoying an oil boom. It had started in 1923, the year he was born, after the "Carrie Oswald" well came in. The good times lasted into the '50s, but they bypassed the Doles. The family lived in a tiny, white frame house

pulling a Halloween trick. He was a solid student, but his real promise seemed to be as an athlete who went out for track, football and basketball. "He was a marvelous physical specimen," remembers Coach Elliott, "about 175-185 and six feet two, and he was a competitor. If you told him to climb a wall, he'd climb a wall." George Baxter, the football coach, recalls that Dole "never competed in the easy track events. He went in for the 440 and 880." An end on the football team, Dole won a big game for the Russell Broncos by making an impossible catch on the last play and slogging down a muddy field to score, while the opposing coach threw his hat to the ground in disgust and jumped up and down on it.

Dole was planning to become a doctor but, in 1943, he left the University of Kansas during his sophomore year and enlisted in the Army. On April 14, 1945, Dole—a 21-year-old second lieu-

tenant—began leading an infantry platoon across the Po River in northern Italy. A burst of fire shattered his right shoulder and arm, damaged his left arm, broke five cervical vertebrae and destroyed a kidney. He lay for hours on the battlefield. "It was," he recalls, "sort of a long day."

Dole spent the next 39 months in hospitals. At first he lay imprisoned in a neck-to-waist cast. When it turned out that he needed a special operation, Chet Dawson, his old boss in the drugstore, started a drive that raised \$5,200 and sent him off to Chicago. Dole now has a right arm reconstructed in part from bone and muscle transplanted from his legs.

In 1948, near the end of his long and painful recovery, Dole met an occupational therapist named Phyllis Holden. Three months later, they were mar-

In 1960 Dole was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives by the thrifty, hardworking and innately conservative wheat farmers of the district that included Russell County. In all, Dole served four terms in the House, fighting for the farmers and opposing the social-reform programs of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, although he did vote for the landmark civil rights bills. Dole's witty and zealous partisanship caught the admiring eye of Jerry Ford, then the minority leader.

In 1968 Dole moved up to the Senate, taking the seat of Republican Frank Carlson, who was retiring. Willingly, even gleefully, the freshman Senator took on the job none of his senior Republican colleagues seemed to want: attacking the likes of Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie and J. William Fulbright when they criticized the new Republican President, Richard Nixon.

At one point, Dole surveyed the pride of Democratic Senators who had

him politically in conservative Kansas. Phyllis Dole had loved to campaign with him back home, when he was on the way up, but she disliked big-time politics. "I had a lot of fun stuffing envelopes and working with volunteers," she says now. "That's a lot better than being handed a schedule and told to go out alone and make a speech."

Phyllis Dole wanted to try to keep the marriage together a while longer, but the Senator wanted out. On Jan. 11, 1972, she agreed to a divorce, influenced in part by Dole's arguments that the unhappy marriage might harm the couple's only child, Robin, then a 17-year-old high school student. Now married



THE POLITICIAN, AGE TEN

ried. His wife still had to help tie his shoes and button his shirts when he enrolled in the University of Arizona. He graduated in 1949 with the help of credits he had accrued in the Army, the G.I. Bill, and his wife—who not only worked but also managed to take notes on his reading and write the exams that he dictated. In 1952 Dole got his law degree from Washburn University of Topeka.

In 1950, while still in law school, Dole was elected to a two-year term in the Kansas legislature—the first of eleven consecutive electoral victories. From 1953 to 1961 he served as Russell County attorney and developed his brisk, prosecutorial style. He was already a superb campaigner. In 1958 he had defeated Democrat Cliff Holland, who recalls how even his mother was converted into a fan by the eager and boyish charmer. Dole met Holland's mother once casually in a crowd, then 18 months later remembered her by name.



WITH HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL COACH

obvious aspirations to reach the White House and suggested that the Senate set aside a "presidential hour" every day that would be reserved for four groups: "First, those Senators who think they are President. Second, those who think they should have been President. Third, those who want to be President. And fourth, those who are willing to settle for Vice President."

As Nixon's gunslinger, Dole fought for the Administration's program virtually down the line: he supported the war in Viet Nam, helped lead the successful campaign to build the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system (it won approval by one vote), and vainly endorsed the President's nomination of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court.

As Dole's career took on momentum, his family life was collapsing. Although he and his wife had been drawing apart for years, he had maintained the marriage—as he is frank to admit—out of fear that a divorce would harm



WITH HIS SISTERS (1945)

to Lon Buzick, a rancher and the Republican chairman in Lincoln County, Dole's former wife lives in Sylvan Grove, 40 miles from Russell. When Ford picked Dole, Mrs. Buzick made an attempt to hide her sarcasm. "He always goes for the top," she said, "and apparently, he makes it."

In the meantime, Dole had taken a job that could easily have brought about a quick end to his career a good deal below the top. In January 1971, President Nixon showed his appreciation for Dole's one-man stands in the Senate by naming him Republican National Committee chairman, although Dole was still only two years into his freshman term.



DOLE (LEFT) WITH FATHER, DAUGHTER ROBIN & GRANDFATHER (1955)



CONGRESSMAN DOLE WITH FIRST WIFE PHYLLIS (1969)

Senator Barry Goldwater was delighted: "He's the first man we've had around here in a long time who will grab the other side by the hair and drag them down the hill." But William B. Saxbe, then a Republican Senator from Ohio and now U.S. Ambassador to India, complained that Dole's style was so offensive that he was "a hatchet man."

As Nixon had hoped, Dole worked hard to put some bite into the Republicans, strengthening the party apparatus and averaging a speech a day. But to his frustration, he discovered that he could not often get through the Praetorian Guard of the White House staff to see the President. In *The Making of the President 1972*, Theodore White recounts how Dole once got a call from a White House staffer who asked him if he wanted to see Nixon. "When?" Dole asked eagerly. Answer: "Tune in on Channel 9. He's coming up on the tube in ten minutes."

During the 1972 presidential campaign, Dole learned that he was to have nothing to do with the election of Nixon; the job was to be done by a new and oddly named group called the Commit-



WITH EISENHOWER IN 1958

tee for the Re-Election of the President. Dole got revenge, of sorts, by coining the acronym CREEP for the organization that was to become so infamous.

As it turned out, of course, the fact that he was so cut off from CREEP, Nixon and the White House saved Dole's political career after Watergate. He attacked the press for hounding Nixon on Watergate, but he apparently knew

nothing about the break-in that eventually was to drive Nixon to resign. Although he defended the President too long, Dole declared as early as May 18, 1973, that "Nixon appears to be hiding from the people, who really trust and like him very much." The Senator advised the President to come out of seclusion and meet openly with the public.

In January 1973, Nixon invited Dole to Camp David. The Senator had been forewarned that he was to be fired as party chairman, but the President was too embarrassed to get the words out. Finally Dole said that perhaps he should quit to give himself more time to prepare for his re-election campaign in 1974. Relieved, Nixon quickly agreed. Dole later said his dismissal was caused by "a faceless, nameless few in the White House... the gutless wonders who seem to take personal satisfaction in trying to do somebody in."

**D**ole had to use all of his political acumen—and his sharp elbows—during the 1974 Senate campaign against Dr. William R. Roy, a popular Democratic Congressman. In the early stages of the campaign, Roy succeeded in identifying Dole with Watergate and Nixon. Trailing 10 to 12 points in the polls, Dole began to fight. He sent his mother and daughter touring the wide-open spaces of western Kansas in a van, and the family team helped to offset any damage caused by his divorce. To fight the Watergate tag, Dole imported Connecticut's G.O.P. Senator Lowell Weicker—a member of Sam Ervin's committee—to stump for him. His most effective device was a TV commercial that showed a poster being obliterated by slung mud; gradually the mess dropped away and Dole's handsome face emerged.

The crucial—and most bitter—issue was abortion. Roy, a Catholic obstetrician, admitted that he had performed legal abortions; Dole took a strong stand against abortions. During the last days of the campaign, Kansas was flooded with anti-abortion literature that includ-

## The Droll Dole

In his 16 years on Capitol Hill, Robert Dole has become known as one of the wittiest Republicans. His humor consists mainly of biting quips on a variety of subjects—often his own party.

✓ On learning that Nixon had taped all his White House conversations: "Thank goodness whenever I was in the Oval Office, I only nodded."

✓ On Nixon's offer of campaign help in 1974: "I haven't invited him to stump for me, but I wouldn't mind if Nixon flew over the state."

✓ On authoring amendments: "In 1971 I introduced a resolution which Senator J. William Fulbright claimed he had already sponsored. 'Stealing a man's

amendment is like stealing his cow,' Fulbright complained. But I reminded him that it was National Dairy Week and I would never steal a man's cow during National Dairy Week. 'I just milked it a little,' I admitted."

✓ On Government spending: "My home-town newspaper, the *Russell Record*, once reported on a conscientious Congressman who kept having a recurrent nightmare in which he dreams that all the money he is spending is his own."

✓ On being a Republican: "A Republican has to have a sense of humor because there are so few of us."

✓ On his last name: "I'm not a household word except in Hawaii... Dole is a four-letter word you can get used to."

✓ On the presidency (in 1972): "When the President has a view and I have a view, we compromise and adopt his."

ed graphic illustrations of dead fetuses. Dole has always insisted he had nothing to do with the material, which clearly hurt Roy. The Senator won—by only 13,500 votes out of nearly 800,000. The victory still embitters many Kansas Democrats. Curiously, although Dr. Roy flatly accuses Dole of distributing the literature, he says he bears him no hard feelings.

On December 6, 1975, after nearly four years as one of Washington's most eligible bachelors, Dole married Elizabeth Hanford, then 39, a softly beautiful North Carolinian who had been for years one of the most eagerly courted women in Washington. They live in an apartment at the Watergate. A Phi Beta

Federal Trade Commission. She tackled the job eagerly—too eagerly for Mississippi Congressman Sonny Montgomery, who was then squiring her around town. Says he: "If we were planning to go out and something came up at work, boy, forget going out." During this period, she spent a good deal of time lobbying on Capitol Hill, where she soon met Dole. Recalls one Senate staffer: "We always wondered why he'd dash off the floor so often, until we realized he was meeting Libby Hanford."

The Senator's wife has done her best to make the stodgy FTC more responsive to the needs of consumers. She has written orders prohibiting the Encyclopaedia Britannica from using fast-sell techniques, and stopping Chrysler from misrepresenting fuel-economy test results. "Elizabeth Dole," says Virginia Knauer, "is a deceptive package. Behind those

President. Not that she has any possibility of turning Dole into a liberal. "It would be a lot easier to vote for Betty and Libby," says one consumer advocate, "than Ford and Dole."

The consumer issue, in fact, is one of the few on which Dole and Ford differ. In 1975 the liberal Americans for Democratic Action gave Dole an approval rating of only 17%, while the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action placed him at 67%, and the National Farmers Union at 78%. In 1972, during his last full year in the House of Representatives Ford got respective ratings of 6%, 68% and 20% from the same three organizations.

Like the President, Dole opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill as being unworkable and inflationary; he backs the Administration's defense policies, including the building of the B-1 bomber; he wants strong restrictions on the use of busing to integrate



DOLE'S 1975 WASHINGTON WEDDING

Kappa graduate of Duke University, Elizabeth Dole has both a law degree and a master's in education from Harvard. She began to work in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1960 during the Great Society years, then moved into consumer interests as an assistant to L.B.J.'s White House advisor, Betty Furness. When Nixon arrived in 1969, she stayed on to work in the same office, as the deputy to Virginia Knauer. Addressing a meeting of oil-company executives in Houston, she scolded them for not regulating mechanics at their service stations.

In December 1973, Nixon named Elizabeth to a seven-year term on the

fast-sell techniques, and stopping Chrysler from misrepresenting fuel-economy test results. "Elizabeth Dole," says Virginia Knauer, "is a deceptive package. Behind those



CANDIDATE'S DAUGHTER ROBIN & HIS MOTHER IN KANSAS CITY

good looks, there's a sharp, serious mind." Two years ago, TIME chose her as one of the nation's 200 leaders of the future (July 15, 1974).

Senator Dole has already had some influence on the FTC commissioner. "She was a Democrat; now she's an independent," he says. "This year she'll register as a Republican. She's moving in the right direction." There is some concern that Elizabeth Dole would violate federal conflict-of-interest laws if she campaigned for her husband. Both husband and wife are strong advocates of the Equal Rights Amendment, but if there is any question about the issue, she will resign her position.

For her part, Elizabeth Dole has also influenced her husband. Before they were married, she persuaded him to back legislation which would set up a Federal Consumer Protection Agency, a proposal opposed at that time by the

schools; and he endorses passage of a constitutional amendment giving states the right to set up their own abortion laws.

Dole did criticize Ford in 1974 for his "premature" pardon of Richard Nixon. The following year, he rapped the President for placing a two-month embargo on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. The President was responding to labor's charges that the deal would boost food prices in the U.S., but the ban infuriated Midwestern farmers who were eager to sell their bountiful crop to the Russians. In his acceptance speech—and again during his visit to Kansas with Dole—Ford vowed that there would be no more embargoes.

Ford's running mate also broke with the G.O.P. to form a curious partnership with Liberal George McGovern to get a bill through the Senate—the House is still considering its own measure

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Dole 8/30/76

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 Carter: "A mass of contradictions—thin-skinned."



WASHINGTON, D.C.  
POST

M - 534,400  
S - 736,527

# Dole Campaigns With Beall at Maryland Fair

By Margot Hornblower  
Washington Post Staff Writer

TIMONIUM, Md., Aug. 30—Republican Vice Presidential candidate Bob Dole and Maryland Sen. J. Glenn Beall campaigned through the state fair here today, eating cotton candy, kissing children and posing for pictures.

It was Dole's first appearance for a congressional candidate. As a former head of the Republican National Committee and a friend of many party leaders, he is expected to make many such appearances during the campaign.

The two Republicans made their way through the fair today followed by a crowd of about 50 reporters, photographers and Secret Service men. Fairgoers of all ages reached out to shake their hands.

"He's cute," said Judy Vetra, 22, of Carney, Md., after shaking Dole's hand. "I'm voting for him."

The candidates campaigned past carousels and hot dog stands and the "freak from the farm" exhibit that included pictures of five-legged sheep and "elephant skin dogs." They read aloud numbers for a bingo game, and threw dimes at glasses to win a prize.

Although most fairgoers just smiled sweetly, Donald Peacock, a Cockeysville machinist, asked Dole why he was addressing himself so much to Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter instead of American Independent Party candidate Lester Maddox. Dole replied that Maddox's candidacy hurts Carter more than it hurts the Republicans.

After waiting around shuffling his feet for 15 minutes for a TV camera to film him live, Dole told Marylanders that Beall's chances against his Democratic opponent, Rep. Paul Sarbanes are "good. I hope ours are just as good."

Asked if he would campaign again in Maryland, Dole said, "I'll be back tomorrow if something is going on. We're very accessible."

Beall said he thought President Ford has a good chance of winning Maryland. "Gov. Carter didn't carry Maryland. A lot of Democrats are looking for someone to vote for," he said.

Dole, who was accompanied by his wife, Elizabeth Hanford, a Federal Trade commissioner, seemed to make a good impression on the crowd. "Are all politicians this skilled?" asked Charles Wolpoff, a Baltimore college student. "He doesn't seem like he's being fake, but he seems to be doing as many things to get photographed as possible."

However, Paige Tyrie, a Towson State student, said she was not sure she would vote Republican because of the Republican platform's anti-abortion stand. "I don't like these male lawmakers to tell females what they should do," she said.

After posing with an organ grinder, shaking hands with a cerebral palsy victim, and winning a stuffed animal for his wife in a fair amusement booth, Dole held a brief press conference.

Asked about Watergate, he said, "We understand that we will lose votes because of Watergate, but we are not interested in making it an issue."

Dole said the television debates between President Ford and Carter will be "very important" to the outcome of the campaign, giving Mr. Ford an opportunity to present himself as "cool, calm, collected and responsive."

Beall was asked at the press conference if his change in position on no-fault automobile insurance this year was related to a \$5,000 gift from a trial lawyers' lobby group. He replied that "no-fault is not all it is cracked up to be," adding that "the contribution came two and a half months after the issue was decided by Congress."

# BACKLUSTER SPEECHES

By Walter Taylor  
Washington Star Staff Writer

**ST. LOUIS** — The campaign of Sen. Robert Dole, the only on-the-road advocate for the Republican presidential ticket, seems fatigued, almost out of gas after four weeks and with little time for recovery before the general election.

The speeches of the Kansas Republican, his party's vice presidential nominee, are flat, lethargic, uninspired. Dole is tentative, at times almost defeatist when addressing groups of other than hard-core GOP partisans whose support in the fall already is assured.

Complaining the other day about the failure of business organizations to rally to the Republican cause, for example, Dole pleaded with a Chamber of Commerce group in Lexington, Ky., to "take a position" in the presidential race "before the ship goes down."

**LATER THE SAME DAY**, he made victory sound like the impossible dream when he told an enthusiastic group of University of Kentucky students that he and President Ford would hold a celebration on the school campus "if" they won in November.

See DOLE, A-11

# DOLE

Continued From A-1

Monday night, when asked what roles he would expect to play as vice president in a Ford administration, Dole replied diffidently, "I haven't really thought much about being there because we're behind in the polls. I've thought more about how to get there than making plans after that happens."

A senior strategist on Dole's campaign plane sounded a similar chord yesterday when he privately listed as a chief priority the preservation of the senator's "image and good name" so that he might be a viable presidential candidate in 1980.

"Win or lose, we don't want to hurt ourselves irreparably during the next few weeks," the source said when asked whether Dole was deliberately slacking off in this year's campaign.

Generally, Dole's style, which features an endless string of one-line jokes laced with a heavy dose of self-deprecation, appeared better designed to win an appearance on "Hollywood Squares" than the nation's second highest elected office.

**HE ENTERTAINED** a Republican group here last night with a string of jokes — most of them well-placed shots at Democratic contenders Jimmy Carter and Walter F. Mondale — before getting to the "substance" of his speech: Shots at Carter and Mondale.

Dole showed the first signs of life this week as the crowd responded to one gag line after another.

There was little emphasis on positive aspects of the Republican ticket. In that respect the performance was typical of campaign appearances since Dole won the vice presidential nomination four weeks ago.

They have been reminiscent of the impersonal campaign style that Dole used in campaigning for various candidates while he was chairman of the GOP National Committee.

Beyond criticism of the Democrats, a general endorsement of President Ford's leadership over the past two years and a recitation of vintage Republican, free-enterprise dogma, Dole still seems reticent to delve deeply into matters of substance in the campaign, either in his stump speeches or in his increasingly

rare question-and-answer appearances before the national press.

**INSTEAD, QUESTIONS** on specific issues have prompted windy, circuitous statements evidently designed to obfuscate Dole's positions instead of clarifying them.

For example, when a member of a Salt Lake City group followed up on Dole's criticism of a pamphlet on cattle breeding issued by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration by asking why Ford, as chief executive, had not ordered a recall of the document, Dole gave this answer:

"Well, I suggested that to the President at the time. In fact, I sent him one of the pamphlets. I guess the tragedy of that is that it was drafted by some professors at Purdue University, very learned professors. They suggested that it wasn't really drafted for cattlemen; it was drafted for others who might not be familiar with the livestock industry and with cattle generally.

"The President did act very quickly when you said you couldn't have mother-daughter banquets, father-son banquets. He acted quickly. I think the pamphlet I refer to has been withdrawn from circulation."

It is not immediately clear whether Dole is unable to discuss such matters as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's peacekeeping mission to Africa and other aspects of the administration's current foreign policy, whether he merely prefers not to or whether he has been instructed by Ford campaign officials to leave such issues alone.

**IN ANY EVENT** Dole's reluctance to go beyond his fairly standard speech and his collection of witty one-liners, coupled with Ford's decision to remain in the White House in order to appear "presidential," leaves the Republicans with a stand-up comic as their only campaign weapon against Carter and Mondale.

Aides to Dole contend that the nominee's campaign has been hampered during its first four weeks by a lack of communications with Ford campaign headquarters in Washington and because he was forced to throw his staff together hurriedly after the convention.

Symptomatic of the problem is the absence of air-to-ground communications equipment aboard the Dole campaign plane. On long flights, a time that otherwise could include

Washington D.C. Star

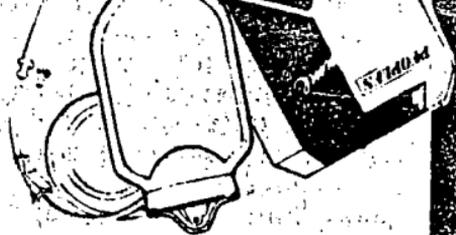
Sept. 15, 1976

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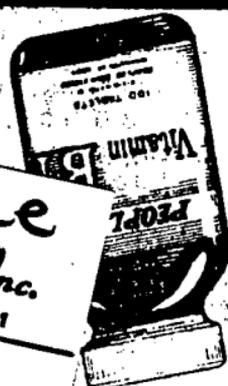
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PEOPLES FEMINIST FOUNTAIN SYRINGE  
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Front Page Edit Page Other Page

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
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SEP 15 1976  
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# The Dole Campaign

## LACKLUSTER SPEECHES

consultation with the Ford war room, the Dole staff often is incommunica- do for hours.

Generally, Dole's traveling staff is a collection of Senate aides, former Republican National Committee employees, former advisers to onetime presidential aspirant Ronald Reagan and on-loan White House personnel — few of whom have extensive experience in running a national campaign.

**BYOND THAT,** Dole remains hamstrung by tight budgetary restrictions placed on him by the President's campaign managers. Although Dole is the only member of the ticket actively stumping for votes, his campaign has been allotted only \$1.2 million for the entire fall campaign.

As a result he has been forced to keep a grueling schedule, and to make as many stops as possible while on the road. To hold down costs, he also is expected to return to Washington for overnight stops whenever possible.

**STILL ANOTHER** problem Dole, one that surfaced again today, stems from allegations, in senatorial campaign received corporate contributions in 1973. Dole, who has denied receiving money, refused to make a stantive on-the-record comment. CBS television report Watergate special prosecutor still had not cleared him of wrongdoing in the matter.

Rather, a spokesman for the plane trying to diminish the significance of the television report.

... Kentucky and President Ford held a celebration on the campus...

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end of Sept. 15, 1976  
D.C. Star

Dole - 1-16-4  
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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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WALL STREET JOURNAL  
-EASTERN EDITION-

SEP 7 1976

M - 556,051

## So Far, at Least, Campaigner Dole Leaves 'Em Laughing

\* \* \*

### Hurt Once by a Stout Defense Of Nixon, He Makes Bid Not to Get Burned Again

By DENNIS FARNEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
SPARTANBURG, S.C.—Bob Dole, campaign tongue for hire, knows why Jimmy Carter agreed to three televised debates with President Ford.

That way, Mr. Dole explains, Mr. Carter can take "three positions on every issue."

Jimmy Carter already is taking "orders" from George Meany, the Republican vice presidential candidate, tells audiences. "George Meany could run for President. But why should he step down?"

Watergate was Richard Nixon's fault, not that of the Republican Party, he says. The Watergate burglary "happened on my night off," Mr. Dole (who was GOP national chairman at the time) told a Carbondale, Ill., gathering of Republicans the other night. He paused. Then, as his partisan audience gasped, he added with a sardonic grin:

"In fact, I think I was on a job in Chicago" that night.

And so it went last week as the Kansas Senator ad-libbed his way around the country for the Ford-Dole ticket, which he calls "two four-letter words you can live with." Mr. Dole, a man of rapier wit and combative instincts, kept carving up Jimmy Carter, as expected. But, unexpectedly, he also devoted roughly equal time to poking fun at Richard Nixon, at the Republican Party and at Bob Dole himself. Consciously trying to modify his image as a hard-nosed partisan, assuring audiences that he isn't "a slasher," Mr. Dole left 'em laughing wherever he went.

But it's doubtful that the Dole campaign can continue in this lighthearted vein much longer.

#### "The Lead Campaigner"

With President Ford's strategists mapping a schedule that will take Mr. Dole to major "media markets" in all sections of the country this month, he will have to step up his attacks on the Carter-Mondale ticket. President Ford has adopted a lofty, above-the-battle pose, and it will be up to Bob Dole to carry the fight to the enemy.

"You'll see Dole used almost everywhere," a Ford strategist predicts. "He's going to be the lead campaigner in the show."

On Thursday he is scheduled to probe one potential Carter soft spot, the Jewish community, with an address in New York to the National Zionist Organization. Ford men have been pleasantly surprised by indications that Mr. Dole enjoys a strong positive rating among Jews because of a pro-Israel voting record and are trying to capitalize upon it. Mr. Dole then is to spend Friday and Saturday in Texas and Arkansas—trying, as he did last week in Georgia and the Carolinas, to convince Southerners that candidate Ford hasn't written them off. Later this month, Ford strategists envision swings through the West Coast and the industrial Midwest.

Meanwhile, Mr. Dole already has been hit by published reports citing his stout defense of Richard Nixon during most of the Watergate crisis and questioning whether, as GOP chairman, he worked behind the scenes to help smother the International Telephone & Telegraph scandal. And vester-

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# So Far, at Least, Campaigner Dole Tries to Modify 'Slasher' Image

Continued From First Page

can't decide what he wants to be." He said that the Democratic platform would cost "well over \$100 billion," that Mr. Carter would cut "\$5 billion to \$8 billion" from national defense while adding a \$60 billion-plus national-health-insurance plan and a \$40 billion full-employment program. With Mr. Carter in the White House and the Democrats controlling Congress, he said, George Meany would "run the country."

"You may have a geographical neighbor (in Mr. Carter)," he told the South Carolinians, "and I hope you'll still have him after the election. But President Ford is a philosophical neighbor."

But the Senator took the edge off his anti-Carter attack by detouring into a verbal jab at Richard Nixon. "Let me make it perfectly clear, as another well-known fellow used to say," he began. Then, as nervous Republican laughter welled up around him, he grinned and confided: "He only said that when he was in doubt."

Later, Sen. Dole received a glowing introduction from South Carolina Gov. James Edwards, who was an ardent backer of Ronald Reagan and who now is ready to work for the Ford-Dole ticket. But hardly more than an hour later the conservative Senator rebuffed the conservative governor with, of all things, a backhanded defense of liberal George McGovern.

At a press conference, with Gov. Edwards and other party notables standing behind him, Sen. Dole was reminded that he and Sen. McGovern have cosponsored an overhaul of the food-stamp program. "Right. And that's not illegal," the Senator shot back. Then, as the governor's jaw went slack, Sen. Dole declared heatedly that the food-stamp program "would be a lot better if they'd adopt the Dole-McGovern" approach.

"It's easy to be for reform where you just knock off people (from the rolls)," the Senator continued in a rush, his voice turning harsh. The Dole-McGovern approach, while culling ineligible from the rolls, would also seek the enrollment of eligible persons not now taking advantage of the program. "I don't know anybody in this country who feels the elderly or the poor should be denied an adequate diet," he declared. "And if that's heresy, I'm for it."

The Senator was rolling now. And with Gov. Edwards, who is an orthodontist, still

listening, he launched into a new subject: a criticism of doctors who abuse the Medicaid and Medicare programs.

"I don't see anybody out there carrying signs about (this) abuse because many of the abusers are upper- and middle-income people, doctors and others," he said. "Now, it's easy to pick on the poor people in this country, but sometimes we find it hard to do much else."

One of the still-unanswered questions about the Ford-Dole ticket is whether it can reach beyond traditional Republican conservatives to attract so-called new conservatives—people, many of them blue-collar Democrats, who are less concerned about balancing the budget than about such emotional social issues as abortion, busing and pornography. The conventional wisdom is that Messrs. Ford and Dole are both traditional conservatives and that they will have difficulty reaching the new conservatives. But at least one influential new conservative thinks that this assessment may underestimate Sen. Dole.

"Dole will make a strong appeal to my kind of conservative," says North Carolina's Tom Ellis, a former Reagan backer and a close associate of that state's new conservative Sen. Jesse Helms. "I think he can speak to the issues and speak to them well."

Ford strategists already have decided to reach out for new conservatives, particularly for nominally Democratic Catholics upset about liberalized abortion laws and other social trends. This decision alone all but guarantees the emergence of a more bitingly partisan Bob Dole in the weeks ahead. The question confronting Mr. Dole is how hard he comes down against abortion—an issue that revives questions about the manner in which he won his 1974 reelection race.

Trailing in that race, Sen. Dole successfully attacked his Democratic opponent, Dr. Roy, by erroneously charging that he favored abortion on demand. (An obstetrician, Dr. Roy had performed some legal abortions and said that although he personally opposed abortion, he also opposed a blanket ban on abortions.) Then, late in the campaign, skull-and-crossbones advertisements urging Kansans to "Vote for life! . . . Vote for Dole" began showing up in heavily Catholic areas of the state.

At the time, Sen. Dole disavowed the ads while Dr. Roy accused him of orchestrating them. Recently, however, Dole aides confirmed that the Senator did list in a post-campaign report required by the federal election law, five insertions of the skull-and-crossbones ad as "in-kind" contributions from the Eastern Kansas Right to Life Organization. Nevertheless, the Dole campaign neither solicited nor approved of the ads, says Mr. Owen, Sen. Dole's campaign director.

Sen. Dole says he has no intention of making abortion an issue this year, but his old opponent, Dr. Roy, is unconvinced. "His use of the abortion issue says two things about him," Dr. Roy argues. "One, he can count. He will persist with an issue that is worth even two or three percentage points. And, two, he's willing to campaign on emotional issues."

Meanwhile, Mr. Dole already has been hit by published reports citing his stout defense of Richard Nixon during most of the Watergate crisis and questioning whether, as GOP chairman, he worked behind the scenes to help smother the International Telephone & Telegraph scandal. And yesterday a New York Times article said that Claude Wild Jr., the former chief lobbyist for Gulf Oil Corp., has told a federal grand jury that he passed \$5,000 to \$8,000 in illegal corporate contributions to Mr. Dole through a Dole assistant. Mr. Dole denied the allegation.

#### **Avoiding Being Burned Again**

But although the campaign seems certain to turn rougher—and although Mr. Dole is a man normally most comfortable on the offense—he appears genuinely reluctant to mount a slashing, no-holds-barred attack in behalf of the Ford ticket. One reason, according to a close associate, is that Sen. Dole got burned when he unstintingly defended Richard Nixon and would prefer not to get so far out on the limb again.

The staunch Nixon defense enabled Sen. Dole's 1974 opponent, Bill Roy, to assert that the Senator was more loyal to his party and his President than to Kansas and the nation. Sen. Dole barely eked out a come-from-behind win. "I think he's very cautious about being cast in that kind of (extremely partisan) role" this year, says Dave Owen, director of the Senator's vice presidential and 1974 Senate campaigns.

Perhaps for that reason—and because of a natural bent toward irony in his personality—Mr. Dole's campaign speeches so far have been curious blends: partisan attacks on Mr. Carter, mingled with self-deprecatory quips and, occasionally, gritty insistence on saying the impolitic thing. The approach showed up clearly last Thursday in off-the-cuff performances in and around this South Carolina city.

Sen. Dole, foreshadowing his main campaign theme this fall, labeled Jimmy Carter "a man of many positions, a man of mass contradictions, a good man, but a man who

*Please Turn to Page 24, Column 1*

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Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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## Senate Turns Back Move To End Postal Service's Independence

After rejecting a determined attempt to end the financial independence of the U.S. Postal Service, the Senate Aug. 24 voted to advance the beleaguered agency an emergency \$1-billion subsidy to see it through its immediate money crunch. The vote was 79-9. (*Vote 515, p. 2363*)

The subsidy was the key feature of a bill (HR 8603) that clamped a moratorium until Feb. 15, 1977, on postage rate increases and reductions in mail service. Another provision, added by amendment on the Senate floor, established tight regulations governing the closing of small post offices and permitted residents to appeal such closings in court.

HR 8603 also established a 12-member Commission on Postal Service to study the agency's problems and make recommendations by the Feb. 15 moratorium deadline. It was expected that the commission report would serve as the starting point for a major congressional re-examination of the 1970 Postal Reorganization Act (PL 91-375) that created the Postal Service.

HR 8603 was a compromise measure, the product of protracted and often bitter negotiations between congressional leaders, who had argued for a much larger subsidy, and the White House, which originally had rejected any Postal Service bail-out. During the Senate debate, sponsors stressed that the compromise was a stopgap measure designed to buoy the Postal Service through its immediate financial crisis until after the 1976 elections. The next Congress might be able to address the problems in a less politically charged atmosphere, they reasoned.

"None of us are proud of the compromise," said its floor manager, Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.), chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. "But I firmly believe it is wise for this body to accept the temporary compromise in order that we might proceed to address ourselves fully to the problem without any limitations when we return after the election year politics."

### Substitute Bill

The bill's sponsors won passage of the compromise only after beating back a fierce effort by senators, led by Ernest F. Hollings (D S.C.), who were angry over the Postal Service's performance, to scuttle the agreement with Ford and replace it with a substitute that would have brought the Postal Service's budget back under Congressional control. The House approved such controls in its version of HR 8603, passed in 1975. (*House passage, 1975 Almanac p. 719*)

Although sponsors went into the two-day debate confident of the votes to stop Hollings, they received a major scare the first day (Aug. 23) when Jennings Randolph (D W.Va.) unexpectedly offered the amendment placing controls on small post office closings. Opposing the amendment, McGee in effect set up a test vote by declaring

that any such tampering with the compromise would subject the entire bill to a veto. But the Senate ignored McGee's warnings and gave overwhelming approval to the amendment, 60-13. (*Vote 510, p. 2363*)

That vote came as a shock, one staffer said afterward, and signaled potential trouble on the Hollings substitute. But after four hours of heated oratory on the amendment, it was rejected almost casually, 26-58. (*Vote 511, p. 2363*)

After defeating the Hollings amendment, relieved sponsors of the bill attributed the difference between the two votes to the fact that Randolph's was a "motherhood" proposal that senators could not vote against. They said it would be troublesome for the White House but probably would not, as McGee had warned on the floor, produce a veto.

HR 8603 also contained noncontroversial provisions that streamlined postal ratemaking procedures. (*See committee action, Weekly Report p. 2082*)

The bill now goes to conference with the House, whose version differed substantially from the Senate's. Although the Senate compromise was expected to prevail in conference, it could face serious opposition on the House floor. Protesting the McGee compromise, several House members publicly reaffirmed their commitment to the original House version, which required the Postal Service to come to Congress for annual budget authorization and appropriations. (*Related House action, p. 2350*)

### Dole Backs Ford

In his first appearance on the Senate floor since his nomination as the Republican vice presidential candidate, Robert Dole (R Kan.) demonstrated an accommodating spirit that could be expected to serve him well as a Vice President.

During floor debate on the postal subsidy bill, Dole introduced an amendment to require the President to appoint at least one consumer representative to the 12-member Postal Service Commission that would be set up under the bill. "It seems we could end up with both labor and management, but no one representing the users of the mails," Dole complained. He noted that his amendment had bipartisan support in the Senate.

Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.), floor manager of the bill, agreed that, indeed, there was so much "equity" to Dole's proposal "that I think it would carry of its own weight." But he pointed out to the vice presidential candidate that his running mate, President Ford, opposed the amendment. "The President just felt a little sensitive about hamstringing his prerogative" of appointing commissioners, McGee explained. He assured Dole that he would urge the President to appoint such a consumer representative.

Upon that assurance, Dole decided to withdraw his amendment. "The senator from Kansas is also sensitive to the wishes of the President," Dole said, "more so this week than last week."

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page	✓
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
TIMES

AUG 20 1976

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S - 1,415,515

# Doleful Nomination

President Ford's—or was it Ronald Reagan's?—choice of Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas reflects a politics of despair, if not of desperation.

It is impossible to believe that in selecting Mr. Dole yesterday for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination, Mr. Ford could have thought first of the supreme and only truly valid qualification for that office: Is this man (or woman) the best suited of all the party's available candidates to assume the Presidency of the United States should the office for any reason become vacant?

Judging from the nature of his choice, it seems unlikely that Mr. Ford thought of this aspect of the task at all. To his credit, Senator Dole himself modestly proclaimed a few moments after the President's announcement: "I am not certain what I can add to the ticket. . . ." It is indeed difficult on the basis of his public record to ascertain just what he can add—except only that tough, aggressive, sometime witty, always partisan biting style (in contrast to Mr. Ford's) on which Mr. Dole built his reputation as one of former President Nixon's loyal supporters and strongest defenders.

Member of the House for four terms, Mr. Nixon's appointee as chairman of the Republican National Committee and Senator since 1969, Mr. Dole—whose legislative record is based principally on defense of agricultural interests—is distinctly on the conservative side of the Republican spectrum in Congress. In view of that fact, it was revealingly frank for President Ford to announce that "Bob Dole's philosophy and mine coincide identically." No bridging of the party's ideological gap here. In fact, the liberal Republican Ripon Society immediately termed the selection "disappointing," noting that "while it unifies the [already united] conservative elements of the G.O.P., it ignores the moderates in the party who

were responsible for Ford's nomination." In a very real sense, this is Mr. Reagan's ultimate triumph.

Even on a strictly political basis, it is hard to see what President Ford accomplished by his choice except appeasement of the Reaganite wing of his party. But at what cost!

Instead of reaching out to the great mass of independent, moderate and even liberal voters who may be looking for a viable alternative to the still relatively unknown and untried Democratic nominee, President Ford, exactly as Mr. Reagan had done during his unsuccessful fight for the nomination, turned inward to that minority faction within the minority party—seeming almost deliberately to signal to the vast voting world outside that narrow framework that he does not seek its support. Neither ideologically nor geographically does the Dole nomination add strength to the ticket—except possibly in Kansas and Nebraska where Mr. Ford needs it least, and among extreme Reaganite diehards who might otherwise have stayed home.

But if the expectation is that Senator Dole with his characteristic style of campaigning will prove effective on the low road while President Ford remains on the high road, that is pretty thin strategy on which to base a national campaign.

The only chance the Republicans have to break out of their minority status in this election will be to offer ideas, inspiration and the promise of forthright leadership to a country and a people still bemused by the past decade's cataclysmic changes in American society and in the world at large. Can the Ford-Dole ticket inspire the American people with the confidence that it offers this kind of leadership in the next four years?

## An Aggressive Campaigner With A Sharp Wit

Robert Dole is a tough campaigner whose sharp verbal skills and assertiveness have wounded more than one senatorial ego since he entered the Senate in 1969.

"He's one of the toughest men I've ever met, the kind of guy I'd like to stand back-to-back with in a knife fight," a colleague, Sen. Robert W. Packwood (R Ore.) once said of Dole. In 1970, when Dole was defending President Nixon's Vietnam policy in the Senate, one grateful White House aide declared, "Dole is always trying to find out what you can do to seize the initiative and make the other guys look bad."

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.) said of Dole the same year: "He's the first man we've had around here in a long time who will grab the other side by the hair and drag them down the hill."

### Counterattacks

That kind of approach might come in handy for President Ford, who has been running far behind Jimmy Carter in the public opinion polls. In his come-from-behind 1974 re-election campaign, Dole managed to turn adversity to advantage with a spirited counterattack.

In that race, Dole's Democratic opponent, Rep. William R. Roy Sr. (1971-75) criticized Dole's record on Watergate. Dole had defended Nixon and had served as Republican national chairman during most of the time the deeds that later became the Watergate scandal were taking place. He blamed much of the uproar on *The Washington Post*, which had taken the lead in covering the story, and the Democrats. He had once accused the Post and George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate, of being "partners in mud slinging."

Kansas Democrats in 1974 believed Dole to be a vulnerable candidate. They thought they could show that Dole either knew about Nixon's involvement in the coverup and lied about it, or that he should have known and was too willing not to find out. For a time that line of attack worked. Less than three months before the election, Dole trailed Roy by eight percentage points.

Dole first tried humor. Asked if he wanted Nixon to campaign for him, he replied, "I wouldn't mind if he flew over the state." But in August Dole fired his campaign director and ad agency and went on the offensive. Reviving a chapter from his earlier Watergate counterattacks, Dole began accusing his opponent of mudslinging. One of his television ads showed his face on a campaign poster being splattered by mud and then being wiped clean. The tactic worked. Dole began recovering in the opinion polls, and in November he won with 51 per cent of the vote.

### Acerbic Tongue

Dole's well-known wit is sometimes directed against himself, but more often toward Democrats.

Dole's replacement in January 1973 as chairman of the Republican Party was George Bush. When Bush was a little late in making his appearance, Dole quipped, "Here he comes. They're dragging him in now."

"I think we could survive (Watergate) if the coconuts would stop falling," Dole sighed at the end of 1973.

"You know, you feel like walking around with a steel helmet because there are more coconuts."

After McGovern's defeat in 1972, Dole allowed that he "was never a hard-working senator. He limited himself to a few nutrition issues."

While serving as chairman of the Republican Party, Dole said in reference to Jean Westwood, his Democratic counterpart, "Mrs. Westwood will soon be driftwood, I guess."

In an earlier political era, Dole was asked whom he thought the Democrats would pick as Nixon's 1968 presidential opponent. "I'm sort of a Humphrey man myself," Dole replied. "I'm sticking with Hubert. I think he's a loser."

Dole once strolled in late to a Senate subcommittee hearing on air and water pollution called by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), who did not attend. The acting chairman, Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D Mo.), asked Dole if he had any questions. Seizing the opportunity to needle a Democrat or two, Dole said, "I just came to see if there were any presidential candidates here, and there aren't, so I'm going back to my office." He left as the audience broke into laughter.

Dole holds his own during heated debates. Former Sen. J. William Fulbright (D Ark.), chairman of the prestigious Senate Foreign Relations Committee, became furious with Dole after he introduced an important piece of legislation that Fulbright had intended to offer himself in 1970.

"I do not blame the senator (Dole), in view of his brief attendance here, for not having learned all the proper procedures," Fulbright fumed. Dole replied, "Is it a rule of the Senate that one must clear everything with the senator from Arkansas?"

Fulbright later complained, "I think it's very unfortunate for one member to try to appropriate another member's bill. It's not very different from appropriating the neighbor's cow." Dole retorted, "I told him [Fulbright] I'd send him a quart of milk."

Dole's acerbic assessment of President Ford's 1974 pardon of Nixon takes on a shade of irony now that Dole is Ford's running mate. Dole declared that Ford lost his popularity "in a matter of days, and he's no great asset to Republican candidates now." Still, Dole allowed, "If we're going to have a strong, balanced Republican ticket in 1976, we will have to do it with a Ford-Rockefeller ticket. That is if Ford doesn't kick the ball in the first quarter. He's already fumbled it a couple of times."

Discussing his political philosophy during a 1976 press conference, Dole said, "I consider myself to be fairly conservative, just as conservative as some of those who worry about Ford being too liberal—which is hard to believe. I'm certain some of them even feel [Ronald] Reagan is too liberal—he believes in federal programs. For the purist, I don't believe there are enough of those around to have a meeting."

—By Donald Smith

defender in Senate debates, rising automatically to answer Democratic attacks on the administration. He offended some senior senators by prowling the Capitol hallways between debates, seeking to engage them in further discussion of issues.

The Kansas senator was one of the Nixon administration's most vocal defenders in some of the Senate's most heated battles. Among other issues, he helped lead Republican fights for the Supreme Court nominations of G. Harrold Carswell and Clement F. Haynsworth and for the construction of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

In 1971, Nixon rewarded Dole for his loyalty with the GOP chairmanship, an unusual honor for a freshman senator. Dole had lobbied actively for the job and won it over the protests of senior Republicans, including Minority Leader Hugh Scott (Pa.), who were concerned that Dole was too aggressive and too abrasive for the job. A White House staff member said at the time that the Kansan had been chosen because he "looks good on television" and could "say things which the President himself cannot."

As chairman during a turbulent period in the party's history, Dole was the forceful spokesman that Nixon apparently had sought. In 1971, he joined with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew in attacking the news media, and especially television networks, for biased reporting of the Vietnam War. When Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) was trying to build a campaign for President in 1971 by attacking the FBI for domestic spying, Dole compared what he called "Muskieism" with "the McCarthyism of the 50s."

When the Democrats began attacking the administration in the summer and fall of 1972 for the Watergate break-in, Dole dismissed the issue as a diversionary tactic concocted in desperation by Democrats on the verge of defeat. He accused *The Washington Post*, which uncovered much of the scandal, of trying to conduct a "rescue operation" for Democratic candidate George McGovern (D S.D.). "The greatest political scandal of this campaign," Dole charged, "is the brazen manner in which, without benefit of clergy, *The Washington Post* has set up housekeeping with the McGovern campaign."

Dole's blistering attacks on the Democrats at times caused consternation in some wings of his own party. In July 1972, he received letters from several Republican governors urging him, for the sake of party wholeness, to tone down his attacks. He came under criticism from local and state party members who felt that the party had not supplied them with enough concrete help, such as money and organization, in the 1972 elections below the presidential level. Dole also incurred trouble from above by criticizing Nixon for not campaigning actively in the 1972 election, especially for Republican senate candidates.

Shortly after the election, the controversial Kansan was removed as chairman, despite his stated desire to stay on. He denied that his relationship with Nixon had soured, however, blaming his ouster instead on "a faceless nameless few in the White House...the gutless wonders who seem to take personal satisfaction in trying to do somebody in."

Dole remained loyal to Nixon during most of the Watergate affair. In the summer of 1973, during the hearings by the Senate Watergate Committee, he introduced in the Senate an unsuccessful resolution to end the hearings, saying the public was tired of them and the matter should be settled in court.

He stated in February of the next year that there was no legal case against the President. But by June he had softened somewhat, saying he hoped Nixon was not involved

and criticizing the President for secluding himself away from the public in the White House.

Watergate and Dole's tie to the administration almost cost him the election. At one time he was rated 12 points in the polls behind his popular opponent, U.S. Rep. William R. Roy (D 1971-74).

Nor did Nixon's Aug. 9 resignation bring him much comfort in the race. For, although General Ford's accession to the Presidency boosted Republican stock generally, the new President's first actions did not go down well with Dole's conservative Kansas constituency. "President Ford has tried to help me," Dole remarked jokingly. "First there was the Nixon pardon, then there was amnesty and last week the cancellation of the wheat to the Russians."

Immediately after the Nixon pardon, Dole issued a statement criticizing Ford for the action. Under increasing attack from Roy in Kansas, Dole characteristically went on the offensive himself. Instead of trying to defend his Watergate record, he portrayed Roy as a "mudslinger" for trying to associate Dole with the scandal. And he imported Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R Conn.), a member of the Senate Watergate Committee, to testify to his character. (*Dole campaign, box, p. 2267*)

In the November election, Dole surprised the experts, coming from behind to win with a bare 50.9 per cent majority.

### Voting Record

Dole and Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, are the first senators to oppose each other on the second spots of Republican and Democratic tickets since 1952, when Republican Nixon ran against Democrat John Sparkman of Alabama.

The voting records of Dole and Mondale could hardly be more different. Whereas Mondale has one of the Senate's most liberal overall records, Dole's is decidedly more conservative.

The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) gave Dole an average rating of 75 per cent for his voting record over the seven-year period 1969-75. Conversely, the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) never gave him a rating higher than 19 per cent. (*Box p. 2269*)

Although Dole has kept a special eye out for the needs of his Kansas farm constituency, he has not won particularly high ratings from farm groups. His ratings from the

### Dole Staff, Advisers

Although Dole has not yet put together a vice presidential political staff, following are key staff members in his Senate office:

**C. Bill Wohlford**, 31, Dole's administrative assistant. He is a lawyer who came to Washington from Kansas.

**William A. Taggart**, 45, a former Kansas newspaperman and longtime political adviser. Formerly a legislative assistant to Dole, he now works for the senator on the minority staff of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee.

**Claude D. Alexander**, 30, Dole's head legislative assistant. He is a native Kansan.

**Janet W. Anderson**, 26, press secretary.

1-16-4 Dole

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**Ford's Running Mate:**

# Dole: A Seasoned Political Infighter

In naming Robert Dole as his vice presidential running mate, President Ford chose a hardened party warrior who could be expected to carry an aggressive political fight to the Democrats in the fall election.

In his 16 years in Congress, the Kansas senator has earned a reputation not so much for his legislative skills as for his zest for political warfare. He emerged on the national political stage as the acid-tongued Republican national chairman who led the party during the 1972 Nixon re-election campaign and the early stages of Watergate.

As chairman from 1971 to 1973, Dole earned the respect of Nixon and other party regulars for his personal loyalty and his dedication to the Republican cause. But his blunt, sometimes abrasive outspokenness also embroiled him in controversy, eventually causing him to be dumped as chairman and nearly costing him re-election to the Senate in 1974. Former Sen. William B. Saxbe (R Ohio), another Nixon loyalist who also was outspoken, criticized Dole as "a hatchet man" who was "out of the mainstream" of Republican politics.

Dole also comes to the Republican ticket as a conservative not likely to antagonize disappointed backers of Ronald Reagan. He supported the Vietnam War right up to its end. He has opposed Democratic social welfare spending programs. And as a midwesterner who has fought indefatigably in Congress to protect programs such as crop subsidies, which are dear to farmers, he can be counted on to help repair political damage suffered by Ford in 1975 when he clamped an embargo on grain exports to the Soviet Union.

## Background

Dole, 53, was born in Russell, Kan., his voting residence today. He attended public schools there and went to the University of Kansas for two years before joining the Army during World War II.

Dole still bears the marks of his war service. He was severely wounded on April 14, 1945, when he led an infantry charge on a machine-gun nest in Italy. His right shoulder bone was shattered and several vertebrae were cracked. Doctors feared that he would never walk again, but after more than three years in Army hospitals, he regained use of his legs. His right arm still hangs useless.

For those injuries, Dole earned a Purple Heart, his second of the war. The experience has led him in his Senate career to push for federal programs for the handicapped.

In 1948, Dole married Phyllis Holden, the physical therapist who had attended him while he was bedridden. When he returned to Topeka's Washburn University after the war to get his B.A. and law degree, his wife served as his substitute right hand, taking notes, transcribing lectures and writing his answers on exams.

In 1972 they were divorced. Dole was married again on Dec. 6, 1975, to Federal Trade Commissioner Mary E. Hanford.

## Political Career

Dole has never lost an election. At age 26, he won election in 1930 to the Kansas Legislature. In 1952 he was



elected to the first of four terms as the Russell County prosecutor, a post he held until 1960.

Dole won election to the U.S. House in 1960 and served there for four terms. As the representative of a large wheat-growing district in Kansas, he devoted most of his efforts to agricultural issues.

In the House, he showed early glimmerings of the hard-line partisanship for which he has come to be known. In 1962, he set himself up as a one-man watchdog for signs of Kennedy administration involvement in the Billy Sol Estes grain storage scandal. In 1964, he served as chairman of a Republican committee formed to investigate the Bobby Baker scandal. Baker was a protege of Lyndon B. Johnson, who parlayed the post of secretary to the Senate majority leader into a personal fortune.

Also in 1964, a presidential election year, Dole led an effort to prohibit Johnson, then the President, from issuing memorial certificates to relatives of deceased veterans. Dole complained that the documents were political campaign literature.

When Republican Sen. Frank Carlson (1950-69) retired in 1968, Dole ran against former Kansas Gov. William H. Avery for the GOP nomination to replace him. Dole won with a comfortable 68.5 per cent, then went on to defeat a moderate Democrat in the general election. He won with a 60.5 per cent plurality.

## Senate Record

Almost from the day he entered the Senate, Dole made waves. Consigned by the seniority system to obscurity in his committee assignments, Dole virtually set up camp on the Senate floor. He assumed for himself the role of Nixon

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
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# Dole Believes He Was Nominated to Span G.O.P. Gap

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 22 — Senator Robert J. Dole conceded today that he felt he had been chosen as the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee not to broaden President Ford's base of support among voters but to try to "bridge the gap between those who were strongly for Ford and those who felt strongly about Reagan."

Mr. Dole speculated that after Mr. Ford's narrow victory at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., last week over his challenger, Ronald Reagan, some of those involved in selecting a Vice-Presidential candidate thought "maybe Bob Dole could be the bridge."

"Before you broaden a base, you have to shore it up," he explained in an interview on CBS-TV's program "Face the Nation" when asked how his candidacy could be expected to expand Mr. Ford's support outside the minority Republican Party.

Critics of his selection as Mr. Ford's running mate have noted that he and Mr. Ford are both Middle Westerners with relatively conservative political philosophies who seem likely to appeal to similar constituencies.

### First Things First

Mr. Dole, some observers within his party and others outside it have said, would not appear to offer enough differences from Mr. Ford to attract the large numbers of Democrats and independents that the Republicans must win over to make up their current substantial deficit in the national polls and go on to victory in November.

But Mr. Dole said it was more important to take care of first things first.

"My point is that you have to bridge that [gap] immediately," he said. "You might have someone else on the ticket who might help you in Massachusetts or New York, but if you end up leaving the convention without a good feeling for both members of the ticket, it's going to take a while just to settle down the Republicans and independents and conservatives who have that view. And in my view, that's where I fit into the picture."

### Trouble With Farmers

He said that "we have problems in the Farm Belt" because of the embargoes in recent years on foreign grain sales when domestic prices were rising, which is probably precisely the reason I'm on the ticket.

"If I bring anything to the ticket," he went on, "it's, I think, a close identification with agriculture, small towns, rural America, and that would appeal, I think, in those areas to Democrats and independents."



Senator Robert J. Dole is tidied up by his wife, Mary Elizabeth, before his televised interview.

Recognizing that the embargoes have led to illfeeling, even among normally Republican farmers in the Middle West, Mr. Ford has promised that there will be no more such actions under a Ford Administration.

Summing up his assessment of the reasons he had been chosen for the ticket to the surprise of most of the convention delegates, Mr. Dole, who is noted for his sardonic and frequently self-deprecating wit, said: "I would hope that it was a positive thing, not a negative thing—who will do us the least harm—I understand that may be a consideration."

### Getting Prepared

Since returning here Friday night from a hasty post-convention visit to his hometown of Russell, Kan., with Mr. Ford, Mr. Dole has spent most of the weekend at his home or at his Senate office trying to prepare for the role that was suddenly thrust upon him.

His lack of time to consult with Mr. Ford or other high Administration officials since his nomination Thursday was apparent today when he was reminded that if elected he

might become President and might have to deal with incidents such as the recent killing of two Americans in the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea.

Asked how he thought the United States should handle the matter, he replied:

"Well, I can only say at this point that I think the show of force by President Ford, that he personally approved, is the right thing to do. I'll draw the line there, and I'd also say that tomorrow I'll have a national security briefing by George Bush, and beyond that I can't comment. I mean, I think it's—until I really know what the ins and outs are of the Korean thing, I'm only guessing."

### Several Briefings Scheduled

Mr. Bush, Director of Central Intelligence, is to brief Mr. Dole at the White House tomorrow afternoon regarding security matters. Other top Administration advisers are to brief him tomorrow and Tuesday on foreign, defense, domestic and economic affairs.

"The President feels it is im-

portant for me to have these briefings immediately, since I will be an active spokesman during the coming months for Administration policy," Mr. Dole said in a statement issued by his office.

In fact, he will assume that role on Wednesday, when he is to deliver what his newly appointed campaign press secretary, Larry M. Speakes, who moved over from the White House press staff, described as a "major speech" before the American Legion's national convention in Seattle.

### Other Appearances

The selection of Mr. Dole, a decorated and severely wounded World War II Army captain, to address the American Legion apparently is an attempt by the Ford camp to counter the scheduled appearance before the same organization Tuesday of the Democratic Presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter, a former naval officer who was graduated from the United States Naval Academy.

After his Wednesday speech, Mr. Speakes said, Mr. Dole may make another campaign appearance or two before joining Mr. Ford at the President's vacation retreat in Vail, Colo.

More briefings and campaign strategy discussion are expected to take place in Vail, the spokesman said, and final decisions are to be made on the makeup of Mr. Dole's campaign staff. Almost all the staff members will be drawn from outside his Senate office.

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STAR  
AUG 24 1976  
E - 353,168  
S - 336,087

# Dole to Mathias: I'm 'Bridge' to Liberals

By Martha Angle  
Washington Star Staff Writer

Acknowledging the GOP needs to broaden its base to win in November, vice presidential candidate Robert Dole has offered to serve as a "bridge" between disaffected Republican liberals and President Ford.

The Kansas senator made the offer yesterday to Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., an outspoken critic of the GOP's steady rightward drift, who said he was "gratified but not satisfied" by the gesture.

Mathias and other leading GOP liberals are convinced the Ford-Dole ticket must move toward the center on issues if the Republicans are to stand a chance of defeating Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale this fall.

Furthermore, they feel the President owes them — and the industrial states they represent — more than mere lip service, since he could not have won the nomination in Kansas City last week without their help.



The liberals want a voice in the campaign, a place in Ford's inner circle. They want the national ticket to address some of the issues, both foreign and domestic, for which they themselves have pledged to fight.

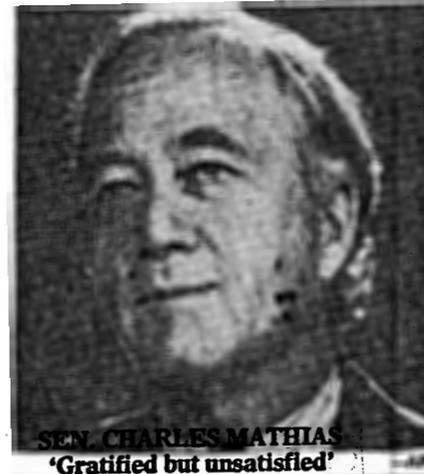
"WE HAD SO MUCH TO DO with the President's nomination it is not only our right but our duty to insist upon this," said Sen. Jacob K. Javits,

R-N.Y., whose state delegation delivered the single largest bloc of votes Ford received Wednesday night.

During a Sunday television appearance, Mathias warned that progressive Republicans would not actively campaign for the GOP ticket this year unless the President and his running mate demonstrated greater concern for issues which the liberals consider crucial, such as jobs, health care and the plight of the cities.

Mathias hinted that GOP liberals, who have become the forgotten members of the Republican party despite their proven vote-getting power in state after state, might even quit the party if their views continue to be ignored.

His warning clearly hit home. Before the Maryland senator left the television studio Sunday, he received a phone call from House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., who served as chairman of last week's national convention.



SEN. CHARLES MATHIAS  
'Gratified but unsatisfied'

"He said he was very sympathetic to my concerns, that he agreed there were things that needed to be done and that he wanted to help," Mathias said.

Yesterday morning, Mathias got another call — this time from Dole, who had returned to Washington for two days of administration briefings on foreign and domestic policy before he makes a short campaign swing and joins Ford in Vail, Colo.

DOLE SAID "THAT HE wanted to be a bridge, that he was in essential agreement with what I had said, and that he hoped to bring about a working relationship between us and the campaign," Mathias said.

The Kansas senator confirmed Mathias' account in press conference remarks later. "I told him I agreed with him, that we've got to get everybody into the campaign," Dole said.

"We can't win this election without the active participation of every segment of the party. We have a big tent and we're trying to broaden it further," the vice presidential nominee added.

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See DOLE, A-6

102  
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## DOLE

Continued From A-1

Dole said he had spoken with other liberals such as Sens. Edward Brooke, R-Mass., Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., and Javits, promising to do what he can to persuade the Ford organization to heed their counsel.

Although he is generally regarded as a conservative, Dole has good personal relations with many of his more liberal colleagues in the Senate.

Indeed, were it not for Dole's membership in the Senate "club," the liberal Republicans might be walking instead of talking.

"There's a lot of quiet concern about how a totally conservative ticket is going to affect races around the country," said Dole's liberal Kansas colleague, Sen. James B. Pearson, R-Kan.

**"IF A CONSERVATIVE** of Bob's stripe from outside the Senate had been put on the ticket, things might have been different. But he's one of us."

Although Mathias, Javits and other liberal GOP senators were pleased by Dole's quick response to their complaints, they are adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

"At least we have their initial attention," Mathias said.

Javits — like his Maryland colleague — suggested the conduct of this year's campaign, and its outcome, will influence the future course of liberal Republican officeholders.

"We may have to rethink our position if the GOP proves no longer viable," he said.

"It's a question of who dominates, and whether there is a party left at all. We were right in backing Ford. As the nominee, he at least has the capacity for becoming more moderate. But there's still an election ahead."

# Dole Attacks Carter on Pardon for Draft Evaders

## Amnesty and Pardon Differ in Legal U

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND  
Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, Aug. 25—Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican vice-presidential nominee, took Jimmy Carter to task today before the American Legion's national convention here for having promised "a blanket pardon" to all Vietnam draft evaders.

Where Mr. Carter, the Democratic Presidential nominee, in an otherwise well-received speech, was booed by the legionnaires yesterday, Mr. Dole received a loud, standing ovation from them when he declared:

"Let there be no confusion as to President Ford's position on this issue. It is unequivocal and applies equally to draft evaders and deserters, no blanket pardon, no blanket amnesty, no blanket clemency."

Mr. Carter had told the convention:

"I do not favor a blanket amnesty, but for those who violated Selective Service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon."

"To me, there is a difference. Amnesty means that what you did was right. A pardon means that what you did, right or wrong, is forgiven. So pardon, yes; amnesty, no."

Mr. Dole, a decorated severely wounded World War II Army captain who is a member of American Legion Post 99 in Russell, Kan., recalled Mr. Carter's remarks, but did not name him.

Having said that a speaker, "whoever he was," yesterday had "provided his own definitions" for amnesty and pardon, Mr. Dole said that he had checked Webster's New World Dictionary and found that it "makes no such distinction."

"It defines 'amnesty' as 'a general pardon,'" he said.

In replying to Mr. Carter, a former navy officer who also is a member of the legion, Mr. Dole said:

### President's Offer Recalled

"Today, we have those who would signal weakness and generate strife by declaring that those who served this nation in her armed forces deserve no greater consideration than those who turned their backs and scurried away."

"President Ford extended the hand of mercy to those who fled America when she needed their service. He offered them a chance to earn clemency, and I say earn clemency, by proving their right to resume their place in this nation. The offer was extended to draft evaders and deserters alike, on a case-by-case basis. Some accepted. Some 19,000. Some refused. Some 80,000 or 90,000. As far



Senator Robert J. Dole, Vice Presidential nominee, telling the American Legion in Seattle of Republican opposition to blanket pardons for draft resisters.

as I know, the effort is finished."

That drew some of the loudest applause from 4,000 to 5,000 legionnaires and their wives, about half the audience Mr. Carter had in the coliseum yesterday.

At a news conference following a breakfast meeting with local Republican leaders, Mr. Dole was asked how President Ford could reconcile his pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon and decline to pardon draft evaders.

"I think you go to the case-by-case basis," the Senator said, suggesting that Mr. Nixon's pardon had been handled in that manner.

"At the time I thought it was a premature decision," Mr. Dole said, "but it did get Watergate behind us."

In his Legion speech Mr. Dole recalled that four wars in this century had been fought under Democratic Presidents.

"We know that wars become self justifying once they've begun," he said, "but the harsh light of history reveals that they rarely begin for reasons that are self justifying, but rather because of weakness,

wishful thinking and bad leadership."

Then sounding what may well be a theme of the Ford-Dole campaign this fall, he said:

"No one hates war more than those who have had to fight. And none have a greater right to insist upon leadership that understands how to prevent war, to protect liberty and to preserve peace, than those who have had to fight."

"I say to you, and the record shows, that we have such leadership in the White House, and I believe the American people will keep it there."

### Defense Cuts Attacked

Attacking the Democrats as a party that would allow the defense posture of the country to grow weaker, Senator Dole said:

"Yet on any day in the Congress, you can hear representatives of our people condemn this nation's efforts to remain strong—to keep the power that keeps the peace."

"They tell us what we need to reduce our defense budget even further, while increasing spending even more for well intentioned, but ill conceived,

domestic programs. Certainly our cities need help, certainly we cannot turn a deaf ear to the poor and the needy. The question is not whether we should act, but how."

Mr. Dole argued, however, that the Republicans were not unaware of the needs of people, saying:

"There are those today who say we care nothing for the people. There are those who say we spend too much on planes and tanks and warships and troops, and not enough on people. They say we are callous. They say we are indifferent."

"And I say I would rather spend a million dollars, or a billion dollars, to preserve peace, than to expend a single human life to pursue war."

This brought loud applause from the legionnaires.

"We must be clear in distinguishing between being as strong as we have to be," he went on, "instead of determining how weak we can afford to be."

At the morning news conference, Mr. Dole was asked about a report in The New York Times that he had declared as campaign expenditures in his 1974 Senate race in Kansas funds that were spent to attack his opponent on the abortion issue. Recently, he has said that he had disavowed several advertisements that were run on that issue, saying that they were sponsored by right-to-life groups without his knowledge.

"I didn't claim them as a campaign contribution, I did disavow them," he said. "Some of the pro-life groups who thought they were helping us, I guess, ran some very despicable ads showing a skull and crossbones and saying vote for Dole and save babies. I thought

Although amnesty and pardon are often used interchangeably, the two words have different legal meanings. In common usage, though, this distinction sometimes blurred.

Amnesty is generally addressed to large groups of persons with respect to matters of conscience or political offenses. According to a series of 19th-century Supreme Court cases, amnesty is "abolition and forgetfulness of the offense." It is usually invoked by an act of a legislature.

An executive pardon terminates punishment for an individual, without obliterating his guilt.

In his speech Monday before the American Legion national convention, Jimmy Carter said: "Amnesty means what you did was right, pardon means that what you did, right or wrong, is forgiven. So pardon, yes; amnesty, no."

it nearly cost us the election the time."

He said that the decision to list expenditures for these advertisements as part of his campaign spending must have been made by a subordinate who was accounting for the funds.

"Some of the pro-life groups showed some very bad judgment," he said.

Mr. Dole later flew to Des Moines to attend the Iowa Fair there tonight and tomorrow, once again following the footsteps of Mr. Carter. Senator will fly later tomorrow to Vail, Colo., for discussion with Mr. Ford and his advisers.

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Mr. Wild declined to reveal the candidate's name on the round that he had lost and should not be drawn into this issue.

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# Dole, at the Southern 500, Trails Carter in Applause

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Special to The New York Times

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Mr. Dole, the Republican Vice Presidential nominee from Kansas, started off bravely enough. But before the day was out there was little doubt who was the favorite of most of the Labor Day crowd in T-shirts and tank tops soaking up the September sun at Darlington Raceway.

### Airport Welcome

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While President Ford, who doesn't plan to make his first appearance on the

hustings until next week in his home state of Michigan, remained in the White House, Senator Dole, natty in a blue-and-white seersucker suit, planted the Republican banner on South Carolina soil for the second time within five days.

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Declaring that he didn't exactly consider that to be "writing off the South," he added:

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Then, jabbing at his Democratic rivals, he went on:

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'We're going to have a great crowd and a great race. Come back next year when all the politicians aren't around.'

Only the slightest ripple greeted Mr. Dole as he took the microphone.

'I've said very honestly that I'm more of a stock-car fan today than I was yesterday,' he said. And that didn't bring much more applause from the assembled Southerners, for many of whom stock-car racing is a staple of life.

### Carter Recalls Visits to Tracks

But moments later, as Mr. Carter's motorcade sped onto the tracks thousands stood, craning their necks, waving and cheering.

And with the Confederate flag flapping in a favorable breeze beside Old Glory, the Georgia Democrat was brought to the speakers' stand with a call to 'welcome the next President of the United States, Jimmy Carter.'

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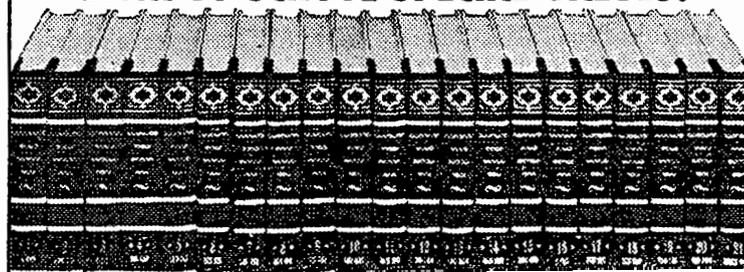
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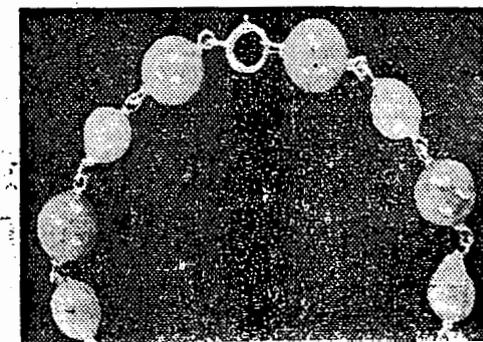
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Hand-Tailored Worsted Suits

## Ex-Gulf Lobbyist Says He Gave Dole \$2,000 in Cash to Aid G.O.P. in '70

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 6—Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf Oil Corporation lobbyist who dispensed some \$4 million in legal and illegal political contributions, said today that he gave Republican Vice-Presidential nominee Robert J. Dole \$2,000 in cash in 1970 to pass on to Republican candidates.

But Larry Speakes, Senator Dole's spokesman, said that the Senator would stand by earlier statements about alleged Gulf donations in 1973 as well as in 1970 that he had "received no money from Gulf Oil Corporation or Mr. Wild in any shape, form or fashion."

Mr. Dole said that he discussed the Gulf Oil allegations last night with President Ford's counsel, Philip Buchen, and is expected to meet with President Ford later this week. There was no indication the Gulf matter would be taken up at the meeting with Mr. Ford.

In a telephone interview today, Mr. Wild said that he recalled in 1970 he prepared a check, cashed it and gave Mr. Dole \$2,000 to pass to "deserving" Republican candidates around the country. Mr. Wild said he has in his possession a letter from one of the men who received this money thanking him for sending it to him via Mr. Dole.

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If Mr. Dole indeed received such money, he could have faced the legal responsibility of registering his role as a campaign committee.

Mr. Wild said that Mr. Dole was "anxious" to help Republicans around the country get elected in 1970. Mr. Wild declined to comment on an article in The New York Times today that quoted sources who said that Mr. Wild had told a Federal grand jury he illegally passed another \$5,000 or \$6,000 to Mr. Dole in 1973 through one of Mr. Dole's aides.

Dole has been answering questions about the 1970 money, which was made public in a report on Gulf Oil's secret slush fund. At that time he told reporters, "It involved a couple of other names and I don't want to embarrass them."

Today, Mr. Dole made public a statement on his financial affairs and again responded to questions on the 1970 affair in an impromptu discussion with reporters. He said:

"Well, the 1970 matter is a total mystery. I wasn't running. It was my first year in the Senate. I wasn't chairman of the party.

"All the check stub stays—I've seen a facsimile in handwriting, not typed, as the Gulf report is—it says 'Dole—given to Dole for transfer by him.'

"In other words, Dole or Dale, it doesn't say Bob Dole, it doesn't say Senator Dole, it doesn't say the fellow who will be the next national chairman, whatever. There's no link to me."

Later, in referring to the 1970 matter at today, he said:

"I don't know what they're the Special Prosecutor's office trying to find out there. They're trying to find out, I guess, if I got the money, or somebody else got the money or if the money was ever transferred. There are names on the document which I don't think I should reveal. I didn't get the money, I didn't transfer the money to anyone. It's a matter of public record."

Mr. Dole also continued to deny any knowledge of the alleged secret Gulf Oil contribution to him in 1973. Sources familiar with an investigation of the Gulf Oil contributions said that Mr. Wild told a Federal grand jury last January that he made a secret contribution of some \$5,000 to \$6,000 to Mr. Dole through Mr. Dole's long-time aide, William A. Kats, in early 1973.

The allegations of donations in 1970 and 1973, if true, present differing legal

questions. The \$2,000 from the Gulf Good Government Fund was a legal contribution and no violation would occur if the final recipients complied with state or local laws that required it be reported, here was no Federal law requiring such contributions be reported in 1970.

But Mr. Dole's role in 1970 would not have been as clear. If he were collecting money on behalf of candidates for Federal political office in 1970 in Washington, by law, he should have registered his role as a political committee.

The 1973 allegation, if true, has more legal ramifications for Mr. Dole. There is no indication he reported a contribution from Mr. Wild, Gulf or Mr. Kats.

Under the 1971 Federal Elections Law, Mr. Dole should have reported the money. Moreover, if he did not report such a contribution but turned the money to his own use, then it would raise tax questions on whether he should have reported the money as income.

## Dole, at the Southern 500, Trails Carter in Applause

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## Real Estate License Oct.

The 74th term in "Principles and Practices of Real Estate" for men and women interested in salesmen's or brokers' licenses opens Tuesday, Oct. 5 at Eastern School, 721 Broadway, N.Y. 10003. AL 5029. This 3 months evening course is approved by the Department of State (Division of Licensing Services) for meeting requirements for a broker's license. G.I. Veterans Eligible.

The instructors include Harold Lubell, attorney; Sidney G. Rosenber, banking mortgage expert; John J. Sullivan, appraiser; John R. O'Donoghue, executive secretary; Owner's Division, Real Estate Board of N.Y.; and Gerald D. Broder, attorney.



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## FORD AIDES EXPECT DOLE CASE TO FADE

Say Controversy Over an Alleged Illegal Contribution From Gulf Will Soon 'Blow Over'

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7—Several of President Ford's key political advisers said today they believe the controversy over whether Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, accepted illegal political contributions from the Gulf Oil Corporation will soon "blow over," as one of them put it.

These advisers, who asked not to be quoted by name, said that an assessment of the "damage" by the White House had concluded that the matter would soon pass from headlines and news broadcasts.

One of the advisers, however, said he felt the White House inquiry on Mr. Dole prior to his selection as Mr. Ford's running mate had been hurried and incomplete and did not include all the facts of the Gulf incident.

### Aide Disputes Charges

Edward Schmults, the Presidential counsel who conducted the review of Mr. Dole, strongly disputed this. In a telephone interview, he called such an evaluation a "serious mistake." He said he had discussed the allegations about Mr. Dole and Gulf Oil with the Senator prior to the Republican convention and was satisfied that the charges were "not true."

Mr. Dole's name has arisen in two matters involving Gulf Oil. In January 1976 Claude Wild, Jr., a longtime Gulf Oil vice president and lobbyist here, told a Federal grand jury that he made an illegal political contribution of \$5,000 to \$6,000 to Mr. Dole through one of the Senator's aides in 1973, according to sources familiar with the investigations.

Mr. Wild refused to comment on this testimony. But yesterday he said he had given Mr. Dole \$2,000 from a legal Gulf Good Government Fund in 1970 to pass on to other political candidates. Mr. Wild said he was confident that Mr. Dole had made the contributions because one of the recipients wrote Mr. Wild thanking him for the money sent via Mr. Dole.

### Dole Denies Receiving Money

Mr. Dole, the junior Senator from Kansas, has denied receiving any money at any time either from Gulf or from Mr. Wild. He said he voluntarily went before a Federal grand jury on March 8 here and testified to that.

If Mr. Dole had accepted the 1973 contribution and failed to report it, the transaction would raise questions about possible violations of the Federal elections law and tax laws.

If Mr. Dole accepted legal Gulf contributions to pass onto other Republican candidates in 1970, the transaction would raise the question of whether he should have registered as a political committee with a treasurer collecting money on behalf of the candidates.

### Last-Minute Decision

One of Mr. Ford's advisers said that the White House did not conduct an effective inquiry into Mr. Dole's background before his nomination because the decision on a running mate was made by Mr. Ford at the last minute and Mr. Dole had been considered one of the least likely persons to be chosen.

"I don't think he received five percent of the scrutiny that was given Baker's background," the source said, referring to Senator Howard H. Baker, Republican of Tennessee.

He said he believed that some of Mr. Dole's credentials were checked after the nomination. Another political adviser said he had conducted a personal inquiry about Mr. Dole among political figures and found his credentials to be in good shape.



# Dole Campaign Records Draw Renewed Interest

By Walter Pincus  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A 63-page ledger book has drawn renewed interest from the Watergate special prosecutor, who is investigating an alleged 1973 \$5,000 Gulf Oil cash contribution to the re-election campaign of Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.), according to informed sources.

The ledger purports to record all the cash received and spent during 1973 and 1974 in the senator's re-election effort. It was kept by Joanne Coe, then Dole's personal secretary.

Former Gulf lobbyist Claude C. Wild Jr. testified to a grand jury that he gave \$5,000 in cash to Dole's then-administrative assistant, William A. Kats.

The cashbook shows no listing of a contribution from Wild, and Dole, the GOP vice presidential nominee, has cited the book as proof that no Wild contribution was made.

Kats has said, "I just don't recall" receiving Gulf money. Kats has been questioned more than once by the special prosecutor's staff.

The ledger's first 10 pages were ripped out before it was first made available to the special prosecutor last March. The ledger's pages are numbered.

The list of cash contributions begins on page 11 of the ledger, and the first are dated April 17, 1973—the day of a Washington \$100-a-ticket fund-raiser for the senator.

The Wild contribution allegedly was

made some time before that, according to informed sources.

On the inside cover of the book, Joanne Coe wrote that the record of cash receipts begins "on page 9." Page 9 is one of the pages ripped out.

Coe has explained that she made some mistakes on Page 9 and, after tearing it out, began again on Page 11.

Investigators are attempting to determine whether a Wild contribution was listed on one of the missing pages and whether there were any cash contributions from any source prior to April, 1973, and not listed in the cashbook.

A review of the cashbook shows a possible violation of the federal campaign fund reporting laws.

Under the law then in effect, an organization spending cash was required to file in its public reports to the Secretary of the Senate any expenditures above \$50.

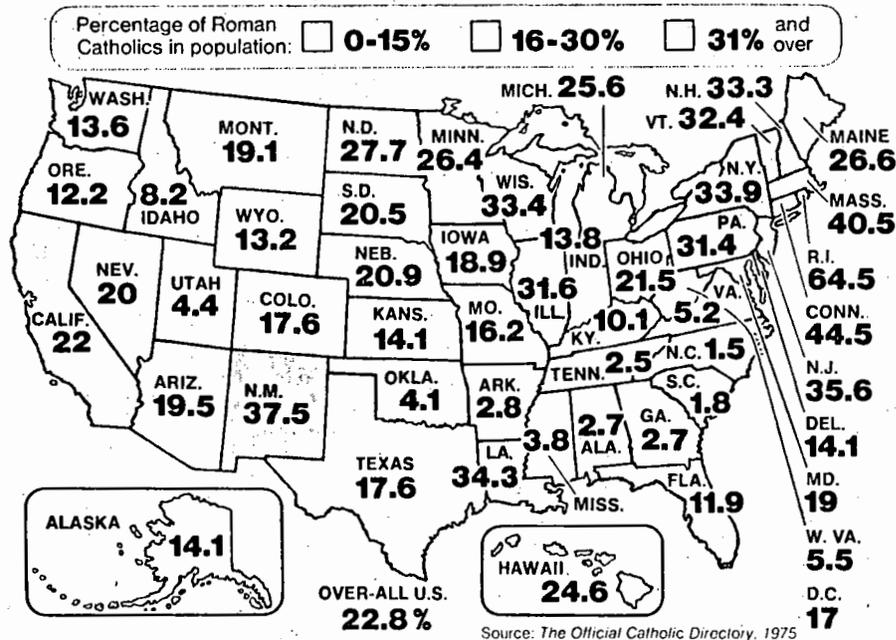
In August, 1973, according to the Dole ledger, three payments of \$100 each and a travel advance for \$97 were paid to Kats, who was accompanying the senator on a campaign swing, according to informed sources.

The 1973 records of Boosters for Dole, the senator's campaign organization, filed with the Secretary of the Senate, did not list the \$397 in cash paid to Kats.

The cashbook has never been made public, although Dole said on national television Sept. 12 that "I'm willing to have my campaign records looked at."

Handwritten notes: "7-10 Susan Tammenbaum" with a line through the name.

# The Catholic Vote



## IS ABORTION REALLY AN ISSUE?

Despite all the talk about Jimmy Carter's "Catholic problem," NEWSWEEK reporters in three urban, Roman Catholic neighborhoods last week found little concern among voters about Carter's religion in general or his stand on abortion in particular—even among Catholics who personally opposed abortion. Interviews were conducted in Gage Park, a quiet, middle-class neighborhood on the southwest side of Chicago, Boston's Hyde Park section and working-class Woodside, N.Y., a ten-minute subway ride from Manhattan. The results:

**A**lmost without exception, Catholic voters insisted that religion was not—and should not be—an issue in the 1976 Presidential election. Like most other middle-class city dwellers, they said the issues foremost in their minds were unemployment, inflation, taxes, health-care costs and, in some cases, busing. "Why should I be concerned about Jimmy Carter's religion? I wasn't concerned about Ford's—and Ford is no Catholic," said Chicago cabdriver Cora Smith, who also said she attended Mass every Sunday. "His religion doesn't concern me—as long as he's a good man," explained Irish-born Jane Savage, now retired in Woodside. A few of those questioned, however, expressed doubts about the way Carter has publicized his born-again Christianity. "Sometimes when people harp on a subject it makes you suspicious," said one Boston woman.

The Catholics surveyed were split

on the abortion question—with younger people predictably taking a more liberal position—but few cited the issue as a specific reason for opposing Carter. "It's a moral issue; to make abortion legal is gross," said Mrs. Rita Divver of Boston. But even though she found Ford's stand on the issue more to her liking, Mrs. Divver reported she was leaning toward Carter. His ticklish meeting with Catholic bishops a fortnight ago "has no bearing whatsoever on how Catholics will vote," she said. "I think an abortion is a woman's right," declared 22-year-old Paul Bergen of Chicago. "I really don't think it's an issue and those people who do are religious fanatics." Mrs. Mary Ann Wolak, 27, of Woodside, was equally fervent. "Abortion is very personal," she said. "I disagree with the church on that—and I think I'm a good Catholic."

**Fuzzy:** Many Catholic voters had not decided whom they would vote for. Even among those Catholics who said they supported Carter—or were leaning his way—there was often a noticeable lack of fervor, and some annoyance that his positions still seemed purposefully fuzzy. Others thought the Southerner's problem with abortion was being exacerbated by the way he tried to finesse the issue. "You can't straddle the abortion issue—either you're for it or against it," said John Padden, 73, of Boston. "Speaking out of both sides of his mouth on it," Padden suggested, was a sure way for Carter to alienate voters of all persuasions.

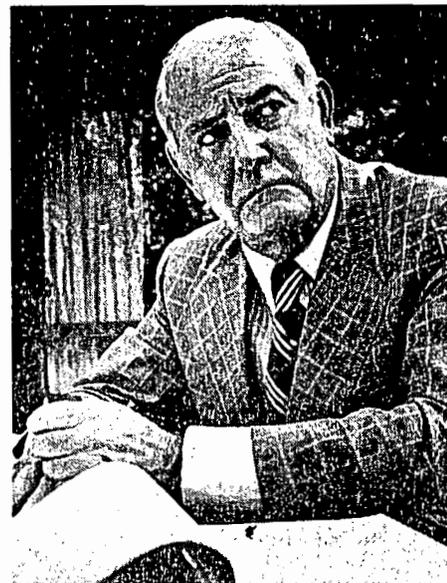
playing. "He's just going about the people's business," chuckled one top aide. Some second-guessing, however, seemed to come from GOP Vice Presidential candidate Robert Dole, who said the front-porch approach "makes some sense . . . as long as Congress is in session" but felt Ford should "be out campaigning . . . as the campaign heats up."

Yet on both sides there seemed to be a growing sense that personal campaigning—whether in ethnic neighborhoods or on the South Lawn of the White House—was now little more than sparring before the main event: the first of three TV debates between the two main contenders. Although former Sen. Eugene McCarthy and other minor-party Presidential candidates have begun legal action to block the TV debates, their efforts seem likely to fail—and aides to Ford and Carter were boning up on past Presidential debates and the positions of the current contenders. The League of Women Voters, meanwhile, was moving ahead with its preparations as sponsor of the debates. As the site of the first encounter next week, the league chose Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater, built in 1809 and said to be the oldest theater in continuous use in the English-speaking world. Whether the debates would prove as historic as the theater remained to be seen, but the spectacle they offer of the two candidates pitted against each other may turn out to be far more important than abortion, religion—or any other issue—in Campaign '76.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with ELEANOR CLIFT and JAMES DOYLE on the Carter campaign and THOMAS M. DeFRANK and HAL BRUNO in Washington

## Gulf and Dole

Republican Vice Presidential nominee Robert Dole intended to put in another long stretch of campaigning—but for a good part of last week he spent less time shaking hands than fielding



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Wild: An issue for the Democrats?

FEDERAL RESERVE NOTE

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## HOW TO SHAKE THE NEW MONEY TREE

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The slogans, the TV ads and even the candidates may look the same as in any previous election. But despite the appearance of routine, Campaign '76 is an election with an important difference: it is cheap.

As a result of the 1974 Federal Campaign Spending Law, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter must finance their efforts with only \$21.8 million in Federal subsidies, plus \$3.2 million from their respective national committees (by contrast, Richard Nixon spent nearly \$60 million in 1972). Congressional candidates can spend as much as they raise, but individual contributions are limited to \$1,000. The new regulations have made for tight budgets and meticulously organized campaigns; more importantly, they may have reduced the corrupting influence of money on politics. "This will be a fundamentally different... election," says Fred Wertheimer, vice president of Common Cause. "It's the end of the big-money system of electing [candidates]."

Carter and Ford have already noticed the differences. At Carter headquarters in Atlanta, the campaign budget, created with the help of a Harvard Business School professor and bound in a black notebook, allocates ex-

penditures down to the number of lapel buttons, bumper stickers and phones per state, and sets aside a nest egg for a last-minute push in October. To save money, staff salaries were slashed by a full 10 per cent last month.

At the President Ford Committee, employees have been directed to walk to the White House—since the committee has only one car. When they travel, they go tourist class, and they are reimbursed at a flat rate of \$50 a day even if their expenses exceed that amount. In scheduling campaign appearances, the PFC tries to tie in with local community programs, rather than plan more expensive events of its own.

**Priorities:** Roy Hughes, the PFC's deputy chairman for administration, is convinced that whichever candidate "manages his resources better should have the advantage"—and both campaigns have established careful priorities. As the challenger, Carter will outspend Ford on field organization (\$4 million to \$3 million) and travel. Ford, who intends to do little personal stumping until October, will rely on a \$10 million media advertising budget (compared to \$7 million for Carter). Significantly, for the first time in many

years, the Republicans will have no more money to spend than the Democrats (in previous years the GOP could rely on wealthy business interests to expand its war chest). The new law also liberates both candidates from the burdensome chore of fund raising, since private contributions—except to the national committees—are prohibited.

Fund raising for Congressional candidates, on the other hand, has become more time-consuming. With individual donations limited to \$1,000, it frequently takes ten donors to contribute what one did before. Another effect of the new campaign law has been to limit the influence of wealthy donors. In previous elections, fat cats such as financier Norton Simon and General Motors heir Stewart Mott gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to their favorite candidates. In return they frequently became intimately involved with the campaigns. Affluent contributors can still contribute a total of \$25,000 to political-action committees (which in turn channel a maximum of \$5,000 each to House and Senate candidates)—but they can no longer put a huge stake in a politician.

—SUSAN FRAKER with JANE WHITMORE in Washington and bureau reports

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DOLLARS

50

questions about two campaign contributions he was said to have accepted several years ago from the Gulf Oil Corp. Dole denied ever receiving the money, and Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf lobbyist who allegedly made the donations—one of them illegal—later issued a partial retraction of his story. Washington prosecutors have no evidence that Dole ever personally received any such gifts. But even though the immediate political damage appeared minimal, the on-again, off-again statements and the vague testimony of a former Dole aide were not entirely convincing—and could become a campaign issue for the Democrats.

News of the Gulf contributions became public early last week after The New York Times reported that Wild, testifying under a grant of limited immunity last January, told a Federal grand jury that in 1973 he had made an

illegal donation of \$5,000 to \$6,000 in corporate money to William A. Kats, Dole's administrative assistant. Kats, 68 and now retired, said he testified a month or so later that he "could not remember ever having received anything from Wild." In March, Dole revealed last week, he himself had voluntarily appeared before the grand jury to deny any knowledge of the money.

**Limitations:** The Watergate special prosecutor's office is still investigating Gulf's illegal contributions to U.S. politicians. However, even if it could be shown that Dole received Gulf money (there appears to be no written record of the transaction), it is probable that the donation falls outside the three-year statute of limitations on campaign-law violations.

Wild's other alleged contribution to Dole was a perfectly legal one from Gulf's "good government" fund—money

composed of contributions from executives and employees rather than corporate funds. Last week, Wild matter-of-factly told reporters that in 1970 he gave Dole \$2,000 from the fund to pass along to Republican candidates for office, and said he had a letter from former Utah Rep. Laurence Burton thanking him for sending the money via Dole. (The McCloy report on Gulf last winter also said that this \$2,000 had gone to Dole.)

But apparently unknown to Wild, who thought he was doing Dole a favor by discussing his legal contribution (the two men are acquaintances), Dole had previously denied receiving the money. Shortly after he discovered this, Wild retracted his story and apologized to Dole. He explained that a check for \$2,000 made out to cash on Oct. 9, 1970, had not been delivered to Dole after all, despite a handwritten notation in his checkbook—"Given to Dole for dis-

bursement." Instead, Wild maintained, he put the money in a safe-deposit box, where it was later given to another senator. After a search of his files, Wild was also unable to produce the Burton letter. "I probably appear the world's biggest fool," said Wild last week, "... but that's really the story... A terrible injustice was done [to Dole]."

Dole accepted Wild's apology and said he intended to "move ahead" with his campaign. "I am not concerned that anything more will surface," Dole told NEWSWEEK, "because I did not do anything wrong." The White House also seemed convinced that Dole was in the clear. Early last month, deputy counsel Edward Schmults discussed the Gulf contributions with Dole when he was under consideration as Ford's running mate. "The senator raised the subject voluntarily," said Schmults. "We were completely satisfied in what [he] said." Another Ford strategist declared that the Gulf issue had "already played out"—and that the Republicans had not been hurt by it. Public discussion of the alleged contributions had indeed subsided. But if the Presidential race gets close, the Democrats might very well try to revive talk about Bob Dole and Gulf.

—SUSAN FRAKER with ANTHONY MARRO  
in Washington and JOHN J. LINDSAY on  
the Dole campaign

## The Wallace Tapes

While his Presidential hopes still flickered, they appeared an affectingly devoted campaign couple: the crippled Alabama governor giving 'em hell from his wheelchair, his dark-haired wife lending mute, comely support at his side. Once the limelight sputtered out, however, it appeared that George and Cornelia Wallace were something less than inseparable. Wallace was seen dining in unaccustomed solitude at some downtown Montgomery restaurants, and at one public reception they arrived—and departed—separately. Early last month, a TV station in Mobile broadcast a report that Cornelia had been locked out of the governor's mansion. There was even talk that the governor's bedroom telephone had been bugged.

Last week, pressed relentlessly by reporters, Wallace testily confirmed that a bugging device and some tapes had been found at the mansion. He had ordered them destroyed, and that was that. "This happened in my bedroom between me and my wife. As long as it doesn't affect the State of Alabama or my service as governor, it remains the business of me and my wife." But inevitably the tales of the Wallaces' domestic trouble soon found their way into print; their falling-out, it developed, seemed

to have led them to the brink of divorce.

According to the general account, the gregarious Cornelia had been traveling frequently on her own, attending political meetings and making promotional trips for her autobiography, "C'nelia." Twenty years younger than her husband and uncommonly good-looking, she had undergone a face-lift at a Birmingham hospital this past July. Wallace, partly paralyzed by a would-be assassin's bullet in 1972, grew fidgety about his wife's absences. His jealousy is a characteristic problem of the wheelchair-bound. "He



Roger Wentowski—The Montgomery Advertiser

### The Wallaces rejoined: A tap in the bedroom

would worry if she went to the drug store," said Harold E. Martin, publisher of The Montgomery Advertiser. Some time ago, Wallace had her placed under "surveillance," and reportedly when Cornelia learned of it, she retaliated by rigging up an amateur phone tap.

Early last month, acting on a tip from one of his aides, Wallace had security officers check out the governor's mansion for wiretaps. In the basement, the officers found \$2,000 worth of recording equipment hooked up to Wallace's bedroom phone and a business phone. In a mansion safe they discovered more than 200 reels of tape. Apparently, they had

faithfully recorded Wallace's conversations since September of 1975, reportedly including calls to women staffers at the state capitol in which he confided his suspicions about Cornelia.

Cornelia, according to the account, was barred from the mansion when she returned from a Washington visit on Aug. 9. Not long afterward, both the Wallaces talked to divorce lawyers. (By one report, Wallace was considering a divorce even before the tapes were found.) Then, at the governor's 57th birthday party on Aug. 25, they seemed suddenly on a cozy footing again. Cornelia cut a slice of cake for her husband, looked after the gifts and called him "dear."

That left the situation somewhat confused. Plainly, things had gone amiss at the mansion, though Cornelia had moved back in and Wallace urged reporters last week to accept it all as "purely a domestic matter." Asked if he would support a bid by Cornelia for the governorship, he said he would "be as strong for her as I was for my first wife."

Wallace's wife Lurleen died of cancer in 1968, after serving fourteen months in the Statehouse. He married Cornelia in 1971. A niece of former Alabama Gov. Jim Folsom, she is said to have Statehouse ambitions for 1978, when Wallace's term expires. Reportedly, the idea does not sit well with the governor's aides, who see it conflicting with his own plans for a Senate race that year. One published speculation on the reasons for the Wallaces' reconciliation is that Cornelia feared reprisals if she pushed the rift further. U.S. attorney Ira DeMent said pointedly on Thursday that, at the governor's request, he would not pursue an investigation of possible illegality in the tapings "at this time."

**Interview:** Over the weekend, The Washington Post quoted an interview with Cornelia last May in which she accused Wallace's brother, Gerald—rumored to be a staunch opponent of her political plans—of spreading "rumors that I had slept with every state trooper around." (Gerald denies the charge.) Since her husband was paralyzed, she has several times hinted that she and George still have a sexual relationship.

Last week, after refusing to discuss the tapes controversy, she told the Post's Myra MacPherson, "All I was ever trying to do was to hold this marriage together under very difficult circumstances." At a reception in the mansion for Rosalynn Carter the day after Wallace's press conference, reporters were kept at a distance. But they could still view a familiar scene—the governor in his wheelchair, cheerfully greeting guests, with Cornelia positioned placidly, patiently at his side.

—DAVID GELMAN with JOSEPH B. CUMMING JR.  
in Montgomery, Ala.

# Ex-Gulf Lobbyist Says He Gave Dole \$2,000 in Cash to Aid G.O.P. in '70

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 6—Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf Oil Corporation lobbyist who dispensed some \$4 million in legal and illegal political contributions, said today that he gave Republican Vice-Presidential nominee Robert J. Dole \$2,000 in cash in 1970 to pass on to Republican candidates.

But Larry Speakes, Senator Dole's spokesman, said that the Senator would stand by earlier statements about alleged Gulf donations in 1973 as well as in 1970 that he had "received no money from Gulf Oil Corporation or Mr. Wild in any shape, form or fashion."

Mr. Dole said that he discussed the Gulf Oil allegations last night with President Ford's counsel, Philip Buchen, and is expected to meet with President Ford later this week. There was no indication the Gulf matter would be taken up at the meeting with Mr. Ford.

In a telephone interview today, Mr. Wild said that he recalled in 1970 he prepared a check, cashed it and gave Mr. Dole \$2,000 to pass to "deserving" Republican candidates around the country. Mr. Wild said he has in his possession a letter from one of the men who received this money thanking him for sending it to him via Mr. Dole.

Mr. Wild declined to reveal the candidate's name on the round that he had lost and should not be drawn into this issue.

## Drew From Fund

Mr. Wild said that he drew the \$2,000 from Gulf's "Good Government Fund," which was a lawful manner of making contributions to political campaigns from non donated by Gulf executives.

If Mr. Dole indeed received such money, he could have faced the legal responsibility of registering his role as a campaign committee.

Mr. Wild said that Mr. Dole was "anxious" to help Republicans around the country get elected in 1970. Mr. Wild declined to comment on an article in The New York Times today that quoted sources who said that Mr. Wild had told a Federal grand jury he illegally passed another \$5,000 or \$6,000 to Mr. Dole in 1973 through one of Mr. Dole's aides. Since as early as last Saturday, Mr.

Dole has been answering questions about the 1970 money, which was made public in a report on Gulf Oil's secret slush fund. At that time he told reporters, "It involved a couple of other names and I don't want to embarrass them."

Today, Mr. Dole made public a statement on his financial affairs and again responded to questions on the 1970 affair in an impromptu discussion with reporters. He said:

"Well, the 1970 matter is a total mystery. I wasn't running. It was my first year in the Senate. I wasn't chairman of the party.

"All the check stub stays—I've seen a facsimile in handwriting, not typed, as the Gulf report is—it says 'Dole—given to Dole for transfer by him.'

"In other words, Dole or Dale, it doesn't say Bob Dole, it doesn't say Senator Dole, it doesn't say the fellow who will be the next national chairman, whatever. There's no link to me."

Later, in referring to the 1970 matter today, he said:

"I don't know what they're the Special Prosecutor's office trying to find out there. They're trying to find out, I guess, if I got the money, or somebody else got the money or if the money was ever transferred. There are names on the document which I don't think I should reveal. I didn't get the money, I didn't transfer the money to anyone. It's a matter of public record."

Mr. Dole also continued to deny any knowledge of the alleged secret Gulf Oil contribution to him in 1973. Sources familiar with an investigation of the Gulf Oil contributions said that Mr. Wild told a Federal grand jury last January that he made a secret contribution of some \$5,000 to \$6,000 to Mr. Dole through Mr. Dole's long-time aide, William A. Kats, in early 1973.

The allegations of donations in 1970 and 1973, if true, present differing legal

questions. The \$2,000 from the Gulf Good Government Fund was a legal contribution and no violation would occur if the final recipients complied with state or local laws that required it be reported; here was no Federal law requiring such contributions be reported in 1970.

But Mr. Dole's role in 1970 would not have been as clear. If he were collecting money on behalf of candidates for Federal political office in 1970 in Washington, by law, he should have registered his role as a political committee.

The 1973 allegation, if true, has more legal ramifications for Mr. Dole. There is no indication he reported a contribution from Mr. Wild, Gulf or Mr. Kats.

Under the 1971 Federal Elections Law, Mr. Dole should have reported the money. Moreover, if he did not report such a contribution but turned the money to his own use, then it would raise tax questions on whether he should have reported the money as income.

## Dole, at the Southern 500, Trails Carter in Applause

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND  
Special to The New York Times

DARLINGTON, S.C., Sept. 6—Senator Robert J. Dole came to the Southern 500 stock car race here today to face down Jimmy Carter and prove that the Republicans intended to make the South a 'battleground' in this fall's Presidential election.

Mr. Dole, the Republican Vice Presidential nominee from Kansas, started off bravely enough. But before the day was out there was little doubt who was the favorite of most of the Labor Day crowd in T-shirts and tank tops soaking up the September sun at Darlington Raceway.

### Airport Welcome

And it wasn't the Republican hopeful from Kansas, who had flown down from Washington to test his popularity against Mr. Carter, the Democratic Presidential candidate, who had dropped in here after officially opening his campaign at Warm Springs, a vacation retreat of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

While President Ford, who doesn't plan to make his first appearance on the

hustings until next week in his home state of Michigan, remained in the White House, Senator Dole, natty in a blue-and-white seersucker suit, planted the Republican banner on South Carolina soil for the second time within five days.

Recalling that he had been in Spartanburg last Thursday, Mr. Dole, upon being greeted by an airport crowd of about 150 in nearby Florence said:

### 'We're Just Starting'

'It's great to be in South Carolina. I haven't been here for a couple of days.'

Declaring that he didn't exactly consider that to be "writing off the South," he added:

'We're going to make it a battleground.'

Then, jabbing at his Democratic rivals, he went on:

'They're leaving the South and we're just starting.'

A little later, before a raceway crowd estimated unofficially at 60,000, Mr. Dole may have wished that Mr. Carter had left just a little bit sooner—or by a different route.

Minutes before Senator Dole was introduced to the thousands who had come to cheer on Richard Petty and other driving heroes, the track announcer drew a roar of approval as he said:

'We're going to have a great crowd and a great race. Come back next year when all the politicians aren't around.'

Only the slightest ripple greeted Mr. Dole as he took the microphone.

'I've said very honestly that I'm more of a stock-car fan today than I was yesterday,' he said. And that didn't bring much more applause from the assembled Southerners, for many of whom stock-car racing is a staple of life.

### Carter Recalls Visits to Tracks

But moments later, as Mr. Carter's motorcade sped onto the tracks thousands stood, craning their necks, waving and cheering.

And with the Confederate flag flapping in a favorable breeze beside Old Glory, the Georgia Democrat was brought to the speakers' stand with a call to 'welcome the next President of the United States, Jimmy Carter.'

3

## DOLE IS REPORTED LINKED TO '73 GIFT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

tion. He said he testified that he "could not remember ever having received anything from Claude Wild."

### Compelled to Testify

Mr. Kats added, however, that, "like anyone," he could have been the "victim of human frailty" and that his memory might have failed him. He said he knew Mr. Wild and had met him several times over the years.

Mr. Kats, a 68-year-old Kansan, served as Senator Dole's administrative assistant from 1968 until 1974.

Mr. Wild was in charge of a Gulf Oil political fund from 1960 until 1974 and dispensed about \$4 million in political contributions during this period. The bulk of money was in illegal corporate contributions.

Last January, the Watergate special prosecutor's office gave Mr. Wild a grant of immunity and compelled him to testify about \$170,000 in Gulf funds that he dispensed in 1973.

Mr. Wild, according to authoritative sources, named four senators and four representatives as recipients of the money.

Among those named was Mr. Dole, the sources said. Yesterday, at an impromptu news conference in Rhode Island, where he attended a \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinner for the Republican Party in that state, the Senator acknowledged that he had testified before a Federal grand jury last March 8.

"I wasn't called before one, I volunteered to go before one and tell what I knew," he said, adding that investigators for the special prosecutor's office had asked him about Gulf Oil funds reported to have been distributed to several senators by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Senate minority leader.

"They were concerned about whether I had received any money from Senator Scott, and the answer was no," Mr. Dole said. "They were concerned about whether I had received any money from Gulf Oil, and the answer was no."

### 1970 Incident Cited

Mr. Dole also told reporters that the special prosecutor's office had made a "third inquiry about something that happened in 1970." He said that incident had something to do with a transfer of funds, and added that it "involved a couple of other names and I don't want to embarrass them." He would give no further details.

A report on Gulf's foreign and domestic political fund, prepared by three lawyers appointed by the corporation, noted that on Oct. 9, 1970, Mr. Dole received a check for \$2,000 from Gulf's lawful "good government fund."

According to the report, the money was given to Senator Dole "for disbursement." However, Mr. Dole was not running for office in 1970 and had no reason to be collecting political contributions.

It was not until January

1971 that Mr. Dole became chairman of the Republican National Committee, a post he held until 1973.

The Associated Press quoted Senator Dole yesterday as saying that the special prosecutor's office was "just trying to get information on whether or not we were the conduit to pass it on to someone else." He said he had no recollection of serving in that capacity in 1970, the news service reported.

### 'Never Asked' for Records

Mr. Dole said he had volunteered to turn over his records to the special prosecutor, but added that "they've never asked for them." However, he later said that the special prosecutor did take "one little book."

The Senator said he did not know whether "I was being called as a witness or being investigated." Mr. Speakes said Mr. Dole had never been advised by the special prosecutor that the matter was closed.

A spokesman for the special prosecutor's office declined to comment on the case in an interview two days ago, but Government officials said that the investigation of Mr. Wild's charges was being continued.

Mr. Wild could not be reached for comment. William Hundley, Mr. Wild's attorney here, declined to comment on any matters considered by a grand jury.

Mr. Wild was indicted for making an illegal campaign contribution to Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, but the case was dismissed because the three-year statute of limitations ran out before the indictment.

The exact date that Mr. Wild made the alleged contribution to Mr. Dole through Mr. Kats is not known, but several sources said it was probably outside the three-year statute.

### Other Questions

However, if Senator Dole knowingly accepted money from Mr. Wild that he failed to report as a campaign contribution, it would raise other questions. For example, if the money was converted to his own use or for personal expenses, it should have been reported on his income tax return.

2

### Talked With the Senator

"White House aides reviewed his campaign reports and discussed the matter personally with the Senator," the spokesman continued. "He told the White House he had talked with prosecutors in the investigation and, after reviewing all this, the White House aides were satisfied that Senator Dole had no knowledge of any such contribution, if indeed they did exist."

The spokesman said Edward C. Schmults, deputy counsel to the President, had questioned Mr. Dole on the matter.

Mr. Kats, who was reached at his home in suburban Maryland, said he was called before Federal grand jury in February or early March and was asked about Mr. Wild's alleged

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

Col. 1  
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Front Page	Ed Page	Other Page
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## DOLE IS REPORTED LINKED TO '73 GIFT BY GULF OIL AIDE

### Lobbyist Said to Have Told Grand Jury That He Gave Illegal Funds to Kansan

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — A lobbyist for the Gulf Oil Corporation has told a Federal grand jury here that in 1973 he made an illegal corporate contribution to Robert J. Dole, now the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, according to sources familiar with the investigation.

The sources said that Claude Wild Jr., Gulf's former chief lobbyist, testified under a grant of immunity from prosecution last January that he passed \$5,000 to \$6,000 in illegal corporate funds to Senator Dole through William A. Kats, then Mr. Dole's administrative assistant.

The illegal contribution was allegedly made as Mr. Dole was preparing to run for re-election as a United States Senator in Kansas, the sources said. The New York Times surveyed Mr. Dole's financial report for the 1973-1974 campaign and found no report of a contribution from Mr. Wild or any other employee of Gulf Oil.

### No Record Found

Larry Speakes, a spokesman for Mr. Dole, said the Senator had reviewed his own records and found no indication that he had received money from Mr. Wild or Gulf Oil.

Mr. Speakes added that Mr. Dole declined to comment on whether the grand jury members had asked about Mr. Kats and the transfer of the \$5,000 to \$6,000. The Senator said he did discuss other individuals, but of course I will not name them publicly, Mr. Speakes reported.

President Ford "was aware of the allegations concerning possible illegal contributions from Gulf to Senator Dole" before Mr. Dole was chosen as his running mate, a White House spokesman said today.

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# DOLE GROWS TESTY ON FUND QUESTIONS

## Asked Again About Donations to 1973 Campaign, He Urges Trial in Court, 'Not in Newspapers'

BY DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, grew somewhat testy today over continued questioning as to whether he took unreported campaign contributions from the Gulf Oil Company in 1970 and 1973.

"I didn't take the money," he insisted, as he has since the allegations were reported in The New York Times early last week. "Bill Kats (his administrative assistant at the time) didn't take the money. If there's going to be a trial, let's have it. Let's not do it in the newspapers."

His apparent annoyance came as questions persisted after he had appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press," where he had been interrogated at some length about the Gulf money.

At one point on the television program, he declared impatiently: "If the prosecutor is leaking the information, or someone in The Washington Post or New York Times is dreaming it up, I can't control that."

The 53-year-old Kansan, who has been known in the past as a waspish campaigner but who has been relatively mild since his nomination three and a half weeks ago as President Ford's running mate, did not elaborate on his implied criticism of the Federal special prosecutor, who has been investigating possibly illegal contributions, and the newspapers.

The New York Times reported last Monday that sources close to that investigation had disclosed that Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf lobbyist, had testified before a Federal grand jury that he had given Mr. Kats between \$5,000 and \$6,000 in illegal funds in 1973 to pass on to Mr. Dole for his 1974 re-election campaign in Kansas.

Later, Mr. Wild, who distributed \$4 million in legal and illegal contributions for Gulf, declined to discuss his testimony about the alleged 1973 gift, but said he had given Mr. Dole \$2,000 in 1970 for disbursement to others.

Senator Dole denied receiving money in either year from Mr. Wild or Gulf and Mr. Kats, now retired, said he had no memory of the alleged 1973 transaction. On Wednesday, Mr. Wild, still refusing



United Press International  
Senator Robert J. Dole answering questions about campaign contributions during TV interview yesterday.

to comment on his alleged testimony about the 1973 gift, said that after checking his records he was "confident" he had been "in error" about the 1970 donation and apologized publicly to Mr. Dole. The Senator accepted the apology and called the matter an "unfortunate incident."

Asked by a panelist whether he could see any way to definitely resolve the issue and get it out of the way, Mr. Dole replied that the "only way it might be resolved would be from some statement from the prosecutor."

Mr. Dole and many other politicians returned contributions to the Associated Milk Producers Inc. after Watergate investigators began investigating the milk fund.

"It just seems to me," Mr. Dole said later, that "we shouldn't be condemned and criticized and found guilty of anything without having the information—and I say it didn't happen."

Asked on "Meet the Press" whether he thought the acknowledged Republican strategy of having Mr. Ford remain in Washington "acting Presidential" would be effective during the campaign, Mr. Dole said that in his view Mr. Ford "is taking his case to the people from the White House, being the President, and I am doing what I can to help out in the field, but I think it has been very effective."

However, when he was pressed on the question, he said that he thought that Mr. Ford would take to the hustings earnest after the expected early adjournment of Congress.

# Dole on this quoting Carter

By Bill Neikirk

Chicago Tribune Press Service

DALLAS — Sen. Robert Dole (R., Kan.) first waded up the crowd with his well-honed wit, and then caulked Jimmy Carter flip-flop time.

Carter needs at least three debates, Dole says, to explain each of his positions on each issue. He says it is hard to follow Carter around the country "because Carter never stands in one place very long."

Then Dole pulls out note cards and recites examples of perceived contradictions in stands taken by Democratic nominee. The tactic delights Republican audiences, but some strategists are beginning to feel a little uneasy about the flip-flop time.

They fear it could turn into a flap if Dole goes far.

In a weekend trip into Texas and Arkansas, Dole showed signs of succumbing to the temptation of presenting Carter's views with greatly blurred focus.

IN DALLAS, DOLE said, "I don't believe we ought to break up the oil companies, as Mr. Carter does. Actually, Carter has favored only limited divestiture of the major oil companies, unlike many of his Democratic colleagues."

Carter favors breaking off the wholesale and retailing phases of the industry, but not exploration, extraction, refining, and distribution.

On this point Dole cited two contradictory statements by Carter—one in January in which Carter said he favored some restrictions on ownership and another in April in which he said he was the only Democrat who didn't favor divestiture of the oil companies.

In May in a Fortune interview, Carter spelled out what he meant precisely and has stuck to that view.

IN A SPEECH in Hot Springs, Ark., Dole brought up the question of grain embargoes again and said a section of the Democratic-sponsored Humphrey-Hawkins bill would permit the government to restrict grain exports if it was proved that the sales would be inflationary.

"What does that mean?" he asked. "Does that mean that [AFL-CIO President] George Meany would have to approve it before it's sold?"

Dole did not mention that when President Ford embargoed grain sales to the Soviet Union, he did so under heavy pressure from Meany. Meany in fact was consulted on that decision.

In Austin, Tex., Dole claimed that Carter's reorganization plan for the Georgia state government actually caused an increase in the number of state employees from 34,000 to 39,000, an increase of more than 14 percent.

CARTER HAS NEVER claimed that his reorganization plan would reduce federal employment. He has said government would be more efficient, but not necessarily smaller. Also, it is extremely doubtful whether federal employment could grow that much, barring a national emergency.

Federal employment is now not much higher than it was in the 1960s. It is state and local governments that have grown rapidly.

In Hot Springs, Dole said President Ford was against the common situs picketing bill, which would have greatly expanded picketing rights of workers on construction projects, while Carter was for it. But Dole did not point out that former Labor Secretary John Dunlop had extracted a promise from Ford to sign the bill, then resigned when the President himself reversed his position.

Dole denied he is stretching matters, saying he does not want to let Carter get by with presenting an incomplete picture.

In the southern states at least, the sharp-witted Dole gets his greatest response when he recalls Carter's stand on amnesty and pardon of draft evaders. Carter favors pardon, but not amnesty, on the grounds that pardon implies guilt.

Dole says he has looked up the definition in the dictionary.

# FORD AIDES EXPECT DOLE CASE TO FADE

## Say Controversy Over an Alleged Illegal Contribution From Gulf Will Soon 'Blow Over'

By **NICHOLAS M. HORROCK**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7—Several of President Ford's key political advisers said today they believe the controversy over whether Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, accepted illegal political contributions from the Gulf Oil Corporation will soon "blow over," as one of them put it.

These advisers, who asked not to be quoted by name, said that an assessment of the "damage" by the White House had concluded that the matter would soon pass from headlines and news broadcasts.

One of the advisers, however, said he felt the White House inquiry on Mr. Dole prior to his selection as Mr. Ford's running mate had been hurried and incomplete and did not include all the facts on the Gulf incident.

### Aide Disputes Charges

Edward Schmults, the Presidential counsel who conducted the review of Mr. Dole, strongly disputed this. In a telephone interview, he called such an evaluation a "serious mistake." He said he had discussed the allegations about Mr. Dole and Gulf Oil with the Senator prior to the Republican convention and was satisfied that the charges were "not true."

Mr. Dole's name has arisen in two matters involving Gulf Oil. In January 1976 Claude Wild, Jr., a longtime Gulf Oil vice president and lobbyist here, told a Federal grand jury that he made an illegal political contribution of \$5,000 to \$6,000 to Mr. Dole through one of the Senator's aides in 1973, according to sources familiar with the investigations.

Mr. Wild refused to comment on this testimony. But yesterday he said he had given Mr. Dole \$2,000 from a legal Gulf Good Government Fund in 1970 to pass on to other political candidates. Mr. Wild said he was confident that Mr. Dole had made the contributions because one of the recipients wrote Mr. Wild thanking him for the money sent via Mr. Dole.

### Dole Denies Receiving Money

Mr. Dole, the junior Senator from Kansas, has denied receiving any money at any time either from Gulf or from Mr. Wild. He said he voluntarily went before a Federal grand jury on March 8 here and testified to that.

If Mr. Dole had accepted the 1973 contribution and failed to report it, the transaction would raise questions about possible violations of the Federal elections law and tax laws.

If Mr. Dole accepted legal Gulf contributions to pass onto other Republican candidates in 1970, the transaction would raise the question of whether he should have registered as a political committee with a treasurer collecting money on behalf of the candidates.

### Last-Minute Decision

One of Mr. Ford's advisers said that the White House did not conduct an effective inquiry into Mr. Dole's background before his nomination because the decision on a running mate was made by Mr. Ford at the last minute and Mr. Dole had been considered one of the least likely persons to be chosen.

"I don't think he received five percent of the scrutiny that was given Baker's background," the source said, referring to Senator Howard H. Baker, Republican of Tennessee.

He said he believed that some of Mr. Dole's credentials were checked after the nomination. Another political adviser said he had conducted a personal inquiry about Mr. Dole among political figures and found his credentials to be in good

5/10/76

WASHINGTON, D.C.

POST SEP 7 1976

M - 534,400

S - 736,527

## Former Aide to Dole Can't Recall Getting \$5,000 From Gulf Oil in '73

By Bob Woodward

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Bob Dole's former administrative assistant said yesterday that he has no recollection of receiving \$5,000 in cash from the Gulf Oil Corp.'s chief lobbyist in 1973.

William A. Kats, Dole's former chief assistant, said, however, he told a federal grand jury this year he could not rule out the possibility that \$5,000 was given to him by Claude C. Wild Jr., Gulf's former chief lobbyist.

"I just don't recall it," Kats said. "I have no recollection and that was my testimony... yes, I know Wild and can only say for sure that he was in our office once."

Reliable sources mean-

while confirmed a report in The New York Times that Wild had testified before a grand jury investigating illegal corporate political contributions that he gave \$5,000 to Kats in 1973 for Dole's 1974 re-election campaign.

These sources said that Wild and the Watergate special prosecutor's office, which is still investigating the Gulf contributions, have no evidence showing that Dole, now the Republican vice presidential candidate, personally received any of the alleged contribution of \$5,000. Dole has denied accepting any illegal contributions from Gulf.

Wild testified about the contribution earlier this year under a grant of limited immunity from prosecu-

tion. He named four congressmen and four senators or their chief assistants as recipients of the Gulf money.

Wild was acquitted this July of making an illegal \$5,000 corporate contribution to the re-election campaign of Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii). Inouye's administrative assistant at first denied but later acknowledged receiving the \$5,000.

Wild was acquitted because the judge in the case determined that the \$5,000—apparently given before July, 1973—did not fall within the three-year statute of limitations on prosecution of illegal corporate contributions.

See KATS, A5, Col. 1

## Dole Ex-Aide Can't Recall Gift

KATS, From A1

The \$5,000 allegedly given to Kats also would presumably fall outside the statute of limitations. Nonetheless, according to court papers, prosecutors are investigating the possibility of bringing tax law charges, which have a six-year statute of limitations, in the Gulf case.

In response to reporters' questions yesterday, Dole denied taking any illegal contributions from Gulf Oil.

"I haven't been accused of doing anything. I haven't done anything," Dole said, noting that he had voluntarily appeared before a grand jury earlier this year in the investigation. Referring to the Gulf allegation, he said, "I didn't get any money. I didn't transfer any money."

He said that all cash contributions from a single dollar on up were reported in his 1974 campaign and he can find no listing of any amount from Gulf.

Dole raised about \$1 million for his 1974 re-election campaign. To clear up a deficit from the campaign, Dole said, in addition to funds from other contributors he received \$100 as a legal personal donation from Wild.

Dole added that he told President Ford about the allegation of the \$5,000

Gulf contribution before being selected as Mr. Ford's running mate last month.

A White House spokesman confirmed that the President was fully aware of the allegation, adding that "after conversations with Sen. Dole, the White House was satisfied he had no involvement."

Dole yesterday said that Kats "has great integrity." Kats served as Dole's chief congressional assistant from 1960 when Dole was first elected to Congress to 1974 when Kats, who is now 68, retired.

Kats said yesterday that he discussed the matter with Dole earlier this year in order to ensure that the campaign records were checked thoroughly.

"It would be easy to remember \$5,000," Kats said. "But I don't. Wild claims he made it and that he made it to me. I just don't remember."

With a reputation as a shrewd lobbyist, Wild has been playing a cat-and-mouse game with the prosecutors for more than a year, simultaneously keeping himself out of jail and protecting the names of many of the

candidates who received cash dispensed from a \$5.4 million Gulf campaign slush fund.

The Watergate prosecutor's office is continuing its investigation into the Gulf donation, focusing on \$170,000 given in 1973 to members of the House or Senate, according to the sources.

Dole also said yesterday that the prosecutor's office was inquiring into \$2,000 that he might have received in 1970 from Gulf. But Dole denied any knowledge of the \$2,000 and said that the prosecutors had a check stub with just a last name on it that might be either "Dole" or "Dale."

DOLE ON GULF OIL: "... as he (Wild) looked at it and couldn't find the records and if he had made as many transactions as it would indicate around Washington, he may have some difficulty just picking out one out of the blue and saying, 'Oh, yes, I did that,' but he has indicated he did check his records, that there was no contribution made and it wasn't a contribution if it had been made, it was a transfer of funds but that did not happen and I just say that I accept his apology. It was unfortunate. I am willing to have my campaign records looked at."

MEET THE PRESS 9/12/76

DOLE ON GULF OIL ISSUE: "I think the only way it (Gulf Oil Issue) might be resolved would be from some statement from the prosecutor. I don't suggest that would happen... I did not receive money from Mr. Wild in 1973. He knows it. I know it. If the prosecutor is leaking information, or someone in the Washington Post or The New York Times is dreaming up, I can't control that (sic). Then he is asked if he would ask the prosecutor to release his testimony and that of Katz, his former assistant, and he answers, "I could ask the prosecutor -- I assume we could ask that. I understand the prosecutor has been contacted. He indicates there are no leaks coming from his office."

MEET THE PRESS 9/12/76

DOLE ON PRESS/PRIVACY: "I'd forgotten how tough the press was. I just haven't had that intense scrutiny before. This is different. It's an adult game we're in."

TIME, 9/20/76

DICK MOE  
(attach to Dole memo)

HONORARIAMS RECEIVED BY SENATOR DOLE FROM MILK GROUPS

1968: None Listed

1969: None Listed

1970: August 14, 1970, Southern Regional Milk Producers, Inc.,  
Speech, \$1,000; September 5, 1970, National Associated Milk  
Producers, Inc., Speech, \$1,500

1971: None Listed

1972: September 30, 1972, Committee for Thorough Agricultural  
Political Education, Speech, \$2,500

1973: November 28, 1972 (honorarium received in 1973), National  
Milk Producers, Speech, \$1,500; April 4, 1973, National  
Cheese Institute, Speech, \$1,000

1974: None Listed

1975: None Listed

#### DOLE--CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

Dole was among seven members of the Sen. Finance Committee whose contributions from oil lobbyists have been published by Common Cause. Contributions to Dole were listed as \$80,773 . Dole said he did not know whether the amount was correct, but said his oil contributors were only a small percentage of more than \$1 million that had gone into his campaign for re-election last fall. In face, he said he was surprised he hadn't gotten more.

Capitol-Journal, 3-12-75

# Two Return Dairymen's Donations

219124  
By Austin C. Wehrwein  
Special to The Washington Post

ST. PAUL, Feb. 8 — Democratic Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota and Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) have returned political donations of \$5,000 and \$15,000, respectively, to dairy cooperatives whose contributions to the Nixon re-election campaign have been under investigation by the Senate Watergate committee, spokesmen for both men said today.

It is understood here that they are the only two major political figures who are listed in a report as having refunded such contributions from the Associated Milk Producers, Inc., political wing. That report is now on file with the secretary of the Senate in Washington.

Two of Dole's refunds were made Thursday.

The "HHH Committee," set up to help Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) pay off a debt of about \$300,000 from his 1972 presidential primary campaigns, received \$1,750 on Sept. 20, 1973, from the big San Antonio-based cooperative's Committee for Thorough Agricultural Political Education—the same AMPI outfit that gave to Dole and Anderson.

In Washington, Neal Peterson, a lawyer handling the HHH Committee, said he didn't know what the contributing committee was when the money came in and that it hadn't been returned.

In St. Paul, Ted Smebakken, the governor's press secretary, said the manager of the governor's "personal political fund" returned on Nov. 16, 1973, the \$5,000 contribution which the AMPI committee had made to that fund on Sept. 1, 1973. Smebakken said it was returned "because there was a cloud over AMPI."

Smebakken said that nobody in the governor's office had been questioned by anybody connected with the Senate Watergate committee. The governor was in Detroit and unavailable for comment.

In Washington, staffers in Senator Dole's office said a total of \$15,000 came from AMPI and two other dairy cooperatives. The reason Dole gave for the refunds was that the Justice Department has anti-trust actions pending against the co-ops, although a member of his staff said the Watergate investigation had an "influence" on the decision.

According to Dole's Washington office, the Kansas senator and former Republican national chairman got \$6,000 from the Agricultural and Dairy Educational Political Trust, political arm of Mid-America Dairymen of Springfield, Mo., on Sept. 24, 1973, and returned it on Thursday, Feb. 7.

Also, his office said, Dole got \$3,000 from the Special Political Agricultural Community Education Committee of Dairymen, Inc., of Louisville, Ky., on Oct. 11, 1973, and returned it on Thursday.

Also, his office said he got \$6,000 from the AMPI Committee for Thorough Agricultural Political Education on Oct. 11, 1973, returning it on Oct. 26, 1973.

The donation to Minnesota Gov. Anderson was made Sept. 1, 1973, a day after he spoke to an AMPI convention in Minneapolis.

# Dole Hits Democrats, Admits Full ITT Pledge

*W Comp. funds W Star 3/10/72*

The chairman of the Republican National Committee, Sen. Robert Dole, today opened a counterattack against charges of improprieties in connection with the financing of this year's GOP convention, alleging that an arrangement between the Democratic party and American Telephone & Telegraph Co. may be "in violation of the law."

At the same time, Dole, a

Kansas Republican, acknowledged that the host committee for the 1972 Republican National Convention in San Diego originally received a guarantee of \$400,000 from the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.

Throughout the past two weeks of the growing ITT controversy, both GOP officials and company representatives have insisted that the corpora-

tion's pledge was for only \$100,000 with an additional \$100,000 available if needed by the host committee, but only on a matching basis with other contributions.

At a press conference scheduled by the Republicans, Dole was highly critical of the fact the Democratic National Committee has owed approximately \$1.5 million to the American

Telephone & Telegraph Co. for the past four years.

Dole said a federal statute prohibiting corporate contributions to campaigns for federal office apparently was being violated by the continuation of that debt and by the telephone company's agreement to provide service to the Democrats at their national convention in July.

"This is a very substantial contribution to the Democratic National Committee from one single corporation," Dole said. "It would appear that AT&T is in violation of the law."

A spokesman for Democratic Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien scoffed at Dole's charges. "It is very obvious the Republican national chairman is attempting to divert public attention from a major scandal that is reaching right into the White House," he said.

The spokesman said O'Brien would respond at greater length later today.

Dole said he had no knowledge of the fact that the Republican National Committee carried an unpaid bill from AT&T amounting to approximately \$189,000 from November 1968 through November 1971. That debt was disclosed in the party's public financial reports.

## Wouldn't See Lobbyist

The GOP chairman repeatedly rebuffed attempts to question him about the ITT controversy, insisting that it was a matter solely between the San Diego host committee, the nominal recipient of the money, and the corporation.

At one point, however, he said: "There was never \$400,000 pledged. It was a guarantee" on the part of ITT to provide up to that amount if the San Diego host committee was unable to raise the full \$600,000 it promised the Republican party in return for being selected as the site for the GOP convention.

*(over)*

The senator also said that some time earlier this year Mrs. Dita Davis Beard, the ITT lobbyist at the center of the controversy, attempted to see him "but I wouldn't see her . . . (because) I thought it best not to."

Dole said he had no idea of what Mrs. Beard wanted to discuss on that occasion. He declined to specify why he made the decision not to meet with her.

Asked if the dispute involving the San Diego civic committee had embarrassed his party, Dole said: "I don't

think they've embarrassed us at all."

Commenting on the Democratic situation, Dole said: "Carrying a \$1.5 million debt for four years and then consenting to increase the size of the debt with no assurance of repayment must be considered at the very least a loan, if not an outright gift and surely 'something of value' as defined by statute."

"The deal unjustly discriminates against all of us who pay our bills on time or find our phone service cut off," he added.

The Kansas Republican called for public hearings to investigate the alleged agreement because, he said, the public is entitled to know whether AT&T views its arrangement with the Democratic party "as a risk—or a possible investment."

Dole said the agreement between AT&T and the Democrats provides that the political party "simply will put up 20 percent of the estimated \$100,000 the phone service at the Democratic Convention will cost.

"This means," Dole said, "that the Democratic National Committee is being advanced

some \$30,000 by AT&T added to the \$1.5 million that AT&T is forgetting and maybe forgetting."

On Capitol Hill, meantime, former Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell denied that either he or President Nixon was involved in the settlement of the ITT antitrust cases.

Nixon's name was drawn into the testimony yesterday before the Judiciary Committee on the circumstances surrounding the Justice Department settlement of the huge merger case with ITT.

Mitchell, who left his Justice post last week to become Nixon's re-election campaign manager, was slated to testify after columnist Jack Anderson and Anderson's colleague, Bill Hume. There was a possibility he would appear before the committee today, but it seemed more likely he would not testify until Monday.

It was Anderson's columns on the case that touched off the controversy.

He revealed an ITT memo that linked settlement of the antitrust case by the Justice Department — when the case presumably had been headed for court disposition — and the corporation's offer to help finance the Republican National Convention.

At yesterday's hearing,

Hume quoted Mrs. Beard, the ITT lobbyist, as saying she had been told of Nixon's order to Mitchell to "make a reasonable settlement" in the ITT antitrust cases.

That allegation, first advanced late last month, provoked a flurry of excitement at yesterday's hearing because the quotations in question never appeared in the version of the column printed in Washington.

Hume said the link to Nixon came from a Feb. 24 interview at the home of Mrs. Beard.

Mrs. Beard currently is recuperating from a heart ailment in a Denver hospital. Doctors there said yesterday that she suffered a recurrence of chest pains and some heart irregularity on Wednesday. She is expected to testify before the hearings are concluded, but Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss., Judiciary Committee chairman, indicated yesterday that he is willing to wait until her condition has improved further.

Eastland said today that the president of the Medical Society in Denver is to appoint the city's two leading heart surgeons to examine Mrs. Beard to determine if she can testify.

In his testimony, Hume re-

counted what he said was Mrs. Beard's version of a meeting between herself and Mitchell, at a party last May 1 in the Kentucky governor's mansion following the running of the Kentucky Derby.

Hume offered this account of the interview with Mrs. Beard:

Mrs. Beard: "The attorney general said the White House — even the President — called to say, 'lay off ITT.'"

Hume: "The President said that?"

Mrs. Beard: "Well, it was more like, 'Make a reasonable settlement,' or something like that."

Mitchell promptly issued a statement vigorously denying participation in such an exchange:

"The testimony attributing statements to me involving the President is totally false and without foundation. I categorically deny that I ever had any such conversation or that I ever made any such statement anywhere or at any time.

"The President has never, repeat never, made any request to me, directly or indirectly, concerning the settlement of the ITT (antitrust) case and I took no part in that settlement."

# Dole's health records still not released

Chicago Sun-Times

WASHINGTON—Nearly a month after nomination to the No. 2 spot on the Republican ticket, Robert Dole still has not authorized release of his health records, despite repeated press requests for them.

As far as is generally known, there is nothing wrong with the 53-year-old Kansas senator except for disabilities resulting from combat wounds suffered in Italy in World War II.

But of the four candidates on the major party tickets, Dole alone has refused a public accounting of his medical condition. His spokesmen have not even divulged the identity of his doctor, if he has one.

In February, Medical World News, magazine ran detailed health reports of all persons who were prepared to run for president. Both President Ford and Jimmy Carter were depicted by their doctors as men in excellent health for their ages.

Immediately after his nomination for the vice-presidency in July, Sen. Walter Mondale's personal physician, Dr. Milton Hurwitz of St. Paul, provided a report showing the 48-year-old Minnesota senator to be in fine shape with only a tendency to high blood pressure, controlled by medication.

(13)  
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Told Dick about  
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# Dole assails amnesty while Dem team rests

8

By United Press International  
Jimmy Carter and his running mate took a break from the presidential campaign trail Saturday, but President Ford got in some low-key campaigning at the White House, and Bob Dole said the Republicans are overtaking Carter in the South.

Dole, the GOP vice presidential candidate, did the only serious stumping of the day. He told veterans he would rather spend too much than too little for defense, planned strategy with Ford and flew to New Jersey for a speech to Jaycees and a visit to a state fair.

At the Woodbridge Mall in New Jersey, Dole got the most enthusiastic public reception yet of his campaign from 15,000 cheering shoppers. Then he addressed the Jaycees and participated in the New Jersey State Fair at East Brunswick.

Dole said his travels, plagued with "hit-and-run scheduling," have been given direction and will concentrate on small towns and rural America. Aides said he will go today to Ohio and then to Orlando and Panama City, Fla.

All the candidates except Ford planned to hit the road today, appearing in cities from the Midwest to the Northeast just four days before the first of three scheduled Carter-Ford debates.

The outlook for a national telecast of the debate Thursday was clouded by a dispute between the sponsoring League of Women Voters and network executives.

Representatives of the three commercial networks and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) met with league officials in Washington Saturday. Officials of the commercial networks said they did not know if they would televise the debates if the league did not remove restrictions on TV coverage and stop screening panelists named to question the candidates.

steamboat next weekend, had no plans to devote time Saturday or today to preparing for his first debate with Carter.

Emerging from his White House strategy session, Dole told reporters the Republicans are gaining in the South and Carter's southern support is "very soft."

Carter, taking a break from the campaign after traveling 7,200 miles in the past five days, donned blue jeans and work boots shortly after dawn to weigh-in tons of freshly harvested peanuts at his warehouse in Plains, Ga.

Carter planned to skip his normal attendance at church today, flying instead to campaign in St. Louis and Kansas City before starting a whistle-stop train trip Monday from New York to Pittsburgh.

Democratic vice presidential candidate Walter Mondale spent a quiet day at home in Washington Saturday. He planned to set out today for a Democratic state committee family day outing in an amusement park at Providence, R.I., and a visit to New York before stopping for the night in Lewiston, Maine.

9/19/76  
S. Paul  
P. Press

Rich  
SKIP

PBS said it would televise the debates.

Dole, at the White House to visit Ford, told reporters, "I would hope television would cover the debates. It would certainly reduce the impact if we didn't have television coverage."

Carter said in Georgia the debates "will be very important, but told reporters he did not think they would "dominate the final judgment of the American people."

Maintaining his determination to project a presidential image, Ford stayed at the White House but used the naming of the new commissioner of education to push his theme of "bloc grant," direct federal aid to local school systems.

Press Secretary Ron Nessen said Ford, who intends to invade the South on a Mississippi River

Bill - Below are listed interviews that appeared on Dole in current periodicals for 1976.

Let me know what you would like done on cosponsors prior to 93rd Congress. There is no publication that segregates sponsored bills from cosponsored bills by author. Record index is still your best bet -  
Cathy

TIME  
August 30, 1976

1 OF 4 TM /JNL 1976- 8-30 : 30: 1 4/WGT 11/LIN  
NO FICHE INT/TOM 1202424/IDN

VICE PRES CANDIDATE ROBERT DOLE DISCUSSES PRES FORD, GOP AND UPCOMING CAMPAIGN PRIOR TO HIS NOMINATION, INT; PREDICTS GOP PRES VICTORY BUT STRESSES NEED FOR PARTY TO CONCENTRATE ON HR AND SEN RACES AS WELL; ASSERTS FORD MUST RUN AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN; CRITICIZES FORD'S PLAN TO SPEND POST CONVENTION WEEK IN VAIL, COLO, RATHER THAN CAMPAIGNING; CALLS ON FORD TO BE ASSERTIVE AND TAKE CHARGE OF HIS CAMPAIGN EVEN IF ORGANIZERS ARE OFFENDED; CALLS JIMMY CARTER SENSITIVE TO PERSONAL CRITICISM AND VULNERABLE ON HIS INDEFINITE STANDS ON ISSUES; SEES FARM VOTES UNSURE IN FACE OF FALLING PRICES; SUGGESTS GOP TAKE MORE SYMPATHETIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS (L)

2 OF 4 NWK/JNL 1976- 8-30 : 36: 2 4/WGT 9/LIN  
NO FICHE INT/TOM PHO/US 1202405/IDN

NEWSWEEK  
Aug. 30, 1976

REPUB VICE PRES NOMINEE ROBERT DOLE DISCUSSES HIS SELECTION AS PRES FORD'S RUNNING MATE AND ASSESSES UPCOMING CAMPAIGN, INT; CALLS CARTER VULNERABLE ON SOME ISSUES AND IN SOME FARM STATES; NOTES CARTER'S INCONSISTENT STANDS ON ISSUES SUCH AS RIGHT TO WORK LAW; SUGGESTS HE WAS CHOSEN BECAUSE HE CAN PROVIDE BRIDGE TO REAGAN SUPPORTERS AND TO MOST STATE GOP CHMN; SUPPORTS HIS VOTES FOR VIETNAM WAR AND SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS OF CLEMENT HAYNSWORTH AND G HARROLD CARSWELL; ASSERTS ALL GOP FACTIONS CAN FIND FAVOR WITH GOP TICKET; PHOTOS (L)

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~~PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C  
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1 OF 4 FM /JNL 1976- 8-30 : 30: 1 4/WGT 11/LIN  
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VICE PRES CANDIDATE ROBERT DOLE DISCUSSES PRES FORD, GOP AND UPCOMING CAMPAIGN PRIOR TO HIS NOMINATION, INT; PREDICTS GOP PRES VICTORY BUT STRESSES NEED FOR PARTY TO CONCENTRATE ON HR AND SEN RACES AS WELL; ASSERTS FORD MUST RUN AGGRESSIVE  
~~CAMPAIGN; CRITICIZES FORD'S PLAN TO SPEND POST CONVENTION WEEK IN VAIL, COLO, RATHER THAN CAMPAIGNING; CALLS ON FORD TO BE ASSERTIVE AND TAKE CHARGE OF HIS CAMPAIGN EVEN IF ORGANIZERS ARE OFFENDED; CALLS JIMMY CARTER SENSITIVE TO PERSONAL CRITICISM AND VULNERABLE ON HIS INDEFINITE STANDS ON ISSUES; SEES FARM VOTES UNSURE IN FACE OF FALLING PRICES; SUGGESTS GOP TAKE MORE SYMPATHETIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS (L)

*Time 1976  
Aug 30, 1976*

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REPUB VICE PRES NOMINEE ROBERT DOLE DISCUSSES HIS SELECTION AS PRES FORD'S RUNNING MATE AND ASSESSES UPCOMING CAMPAIGN, INT; CALLS CARTER VULNERABLE ON SOME ISSUES AND IN SOME FARM STATES; NOTES CARTER'S INCONSISTENT STANDS ON ISSUES SUCH AS RIGHT TO WORK LAW; SUGGESTS HE WAS CHOSEN BECAUSE HE CAN PROVIDE BRIDGE TO REAGAN SUPPORTERS AND TO MOST STATE GOP CHMN; SUPPORTS HIS VOTES FOR VIETNAM WAR AND SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS OF CLEMENT HAYNSWORTH AND G HARROLD CARSWELL; ASSERTS ALL GOP FACTIONS CAN FIND FAVOR WITH GOP TICKET; PHOTOS (L)

*Newspaper  
Aug. 30 76*

3 OF 4 USN/JNL 1976- 8-30 : 19: 1 4/WGT 10/LIN  
NO FICHE INT/TOM PHO/ILS 1201239/IDN

REPUB VICE PRES NOMINEE ROBERT DOLE MAPS OUT PARTY CAMPAIGN STRATEGY, INT; SAYS THRUST WILL BE TO POINT UP JIMMY CARTER'S CONTRADICTIONS ON ISSUES; ADDS OTHER APPROACHES WILL BE 'DOUBLE-BARRELED' ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC CONG AND ALERTING PEOPLE TO CARTER'S LIBERALISM; SEES FORD-DOLE TICKET STRENGTHS AS HONESTY, HEALTHY ECONOMY, PASSAGE OF STRONG NATL DEFENSE LEGIS AND HIGH EMPLOYMENT; ASSERTS TICKET WILL NOT BACK DOWN FROM WATERGATE ISSUE AND BELIEVES PUBLIC NOW UNDERSTANDS FORD'S PARDON OF PRES NIXON WAS IN NATL INTEREST; SAYS GOP WILL MEND ITS DIVISIONS AND SUPPORT FORD TICKET; PHOTOS (L)

*U.S.  
News + World  
Report  
Aug. 30*

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(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION  
4 OF 4 NYT/JNL 1976- 8-22 : 28: 4 4/WGT 4/LIN  
234-4-22 INT/TOM PHO/ILS 1196282/IDN

PHYLLIS BUZICK, DIVORCED FROM REPUB VICE PRES NOMINEE ROBERT J DOLE 4 YRS AGO, CALLS HIM 'WORKAHOLIC,' INT; SAYS HE WOULD MAKE GOOD PRES; SEES HIS POL PHILOSOPHY CLOSE TO THAT OF RONALD REAGAN; HER POR (M)

*August 22,  
1976*

\*\*\* END OF DISPLAY \*\*\*

# White House Confirms *my Daily News* Job Offer to Connally

By JEFFREY ANTEVIL  
Of The News Washington Bureau

Vail, Colo., Aug. 23—The White House confirmed today that President Ford had offered "a possible role" in his campaign to John B. Connally—reportedly the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee—but Connally did not take the job.

The disclosure that Ford had sought the former Treasury secretary's active involvement in his presidential campaign—after ruling him out as a possible running mate because of Connally's associations with the scandals of the Nixon administration—came from Press Secretary Ron Nessen.

Connally, who was tried and acquitted last year on charges arising from the milk fund scandal, has indicated that Ford asked him to replace Mary Louise Smith as Republican national chairman but that he refused the offer. Connally denied, however, that he based his refusal on the belief that Ford had no hope of winning the election.

(In Houston, Connally said Monday that Ford "could lose" to Jimmy Carter in November.

But in an interview with United Press International, he predicted that Ford would overcome that Democratic nominee's edge in the polls and win.)

Ford's offer reportedly came at a private meeting between the two men in Kansas City last Thursday night, before the President telephoned Mrs. Smith to ask her to remain as chairman.

Nessen told reporters, "It's fair to say that the President discussed with Connally in Kansas City a possible role for him in the campaign, including a possible role in the Republican National Committee. But the fact that the President asked Mrs. Smith to stay on indicates how the matter was resolved."

**Calls it "Private"**

Pressed for more details of the discussion between Ford and Connally, Nessen declined on the ground that "it was a private meeting."

He indicated that the question of some other formal role for Connally in the Ford campaign will be answered later this week when the official campaign organization is announced. The announcement is expected to follow a series of strategy meetings between Ford and his top advisers, here in the Rocky Mountains, where the President is combining work and relaxation.

Two organizational decisions have been made already—to retain Mrs. Smith at the national committee and Rogers C. B. Morton as chairman of the President's election committee. But Nessen noted that other top posts remained to be filled.

The first of the planning sessions was convened today by White House chief of staff Richard Cheney, without the President's participation.

Nessen said Ford would join his aides every morning for the rest of the week.

Nessen cautioned, however, that there would not be any announcement of a Ford over-all campaign plan as a result of these gatherings. "We're just not going to stand up and announce our strategy in public," he said.

Responding to a magazine article in which Ford's running mate, Sen. Robert Dole, was quoted as saying that the Presi-



John B. Connally  
He bows out

dent was wasting vital time by going to Vail after his nomination, Nessen said, "There's going to be a lot of work done here this week, as Dole will find out when he gets here."

Dole, who made his comment on Ford's plans before the President picked him last Thursday to complete the GOP ticket, is scheduled to arrive here Wednesday to join the strategy meetings.

## Dole Welcomes Liberals To 'Big Tent' of the GOP

Washington, Aug. 23 (AP)—Sen. Robert Dole (Kan.), Republican vice presidential nominee, said today that he agrees with Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) that party moderates and liberals should be given an active role in the campaign.

Following a briefing by Ford administration officials on national security and foreign affairs, Dole told a news conference that he had spoken to Mathias and had urged his participation in the campaign.

"I told him that I agreed with him," Dole said. "We've got to get everybody into the campaign. We have a big tent and we're trying to broaden it."

Dole added that he had extended the same appeal to Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), both liberal.

The first face-to-face confrontation between Dole and Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, was all smiles and friendliness today.

Dole, being congratulated by colleagues. On the Senate floor, saw Mondale enter the chamber and took a few steps toward him with an extended hand. The two shook hands, exchanged friendly words and Mondale moved on.

*Rep Ford*

# Dole, Stumping in Texas, Avoids Fight for Control of State G.O.P.

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., Sept. 11—Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, went before the sharply divided delegates to the Republican state convention here today and determinedly avoided becoming embroiled in the bitter intraparty struggle.

Without mentioning the battle for control of the state party machinery between those who supported the unsuccessful efforts of Ronald Reagan, the former Governor of California, to wrest the nomination from President Ford and those who remained loyal to the incumbent, Mr. Dole concentrated on trying to convince the more than 1,600 delegates that, whatever their personal differences, they could not afford a Democratic victory in November.

### 'Carter's Platform' Scored

As he has elsewhere on his visit to this heavily Democratic state, which the 53-year-old Kansan believes the Republicans "must win" in November, Mr. Dole proclaimed to the cheers of his partisan audience that victory by Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Presidential nominee, could lead to runaway inflation as the result of spending programs pledged in that party's platform.

"The Democrat platform—Carter's handwritten platform, by the way—calls for spending programs that, at a conservative estimate, would cost the taxpayers in excess of \$100 billion in addition to the existing deficit which a free-spending Democrat Congress has already provided for us," Mr. Dole said.

Contending that Mr. Ford "with patience and wisdom and the veto power" has cut the rate of inflation in half in two years, the Senator accused Mr. Carter of "buying the votes of those who are looking for giveaway programs."

"But he's buying it with your money, with your spending power," Mr. Dole continued, "and, of course, it hits the poor, the orking man and woman, those on fixed incomes the hardest."

He added that "if you're going to spend \$100 billion, you have to take in \$100 billion, and the way you do that is by increasing taxes."

Later, the Senator stressed—as he always does in the South—on the liberalism of Mr. Carter's running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota.

Recalling that Mr. Carter has said his views are "compatible" with those of Senator Mondale, Mr. Dole cautioned his listeners about the Democratic Presidential nominee:

"Don't you believe for one moment that he's a conservative. He doesn't have a conservative thought in his body."

Senator Dole predicted to the assembled Texans that they would not "see much of Senator Mondale in the Southwest."

### Calls Mondale 'Mr. Busing'

"They won't bring 'Mr. Busing' to the South," he said. "They won't bring the man who wanted to increase this year's deficit by \$9 billion to the South. They won't bring the man who consistently votes to slash the defense budget to the South."

# Dole Vows GOP Battle in South

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

DARLINGTON, S.C., Sept. 6—Republican vice presidential nominee Bob Dole vowed today to make the South a "battleground" for the presidential race and then got "run over" by Jimmy Carter at the Southern 500 stock car race.

While the estimated 60,000 or more racing fans gave Dole a polite welcome mixed with some boos, the crowd roared with applause minutes later for the Southerner the Democrats chose as their presidential nominee.

Meanwhile, Dole, who has criticized Carter for taking an investment tax credit in 1975 while advocating tax reform, released a financial statement showing that he and his wife paid \$28,333 or 26.3 per cent, in federal income taxes last year on combined gross earnings of \$107,945. The statement showed no special tax credits.

In a statement issued last week, Carter said he paid federal income taxes of \$17,484 last year, or 12.8 per cent of his gross income of \$136,138. President Ford has reported paying \$94,568 in federal income taxes on income of \$251,911, or 37.5 per cent. Ac-

ording to the Associated Press, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, Carter's running mate, paid roughly \$17,000 in federal income tax in 1975 on income of about \$64,000, or 26.6 per cent. Mondale has listed his and his wife's total assets in 1975 at \$123,311, total liabilities at \$45,950, and estimated net worth at \$77,361.

The Doles' financial statement also listed a combined net worth of \$736,552 for Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, a member of the Federal Trade Commission who last week announced that she is taking a leave of absence for the campaign.

According to the statement, Dole, who has served in Congress since 1960, has an excess of assets over liabilities of \$198,149, while his wife's financial worth is \$538,403, including \$209,334 from a blind trust established when she entered federal service in 1970 and \$181,341 from life insurance policies taken out by her parents. No further details on the trust were disclosed.

At an airport rally shortly after he arrived here, Dole denied that the Republicans are writing off the South in the election and suggested that Carter was taking it for granted as he headed

northward from his campaign kickoff earlier today in Warm Springs Ga.

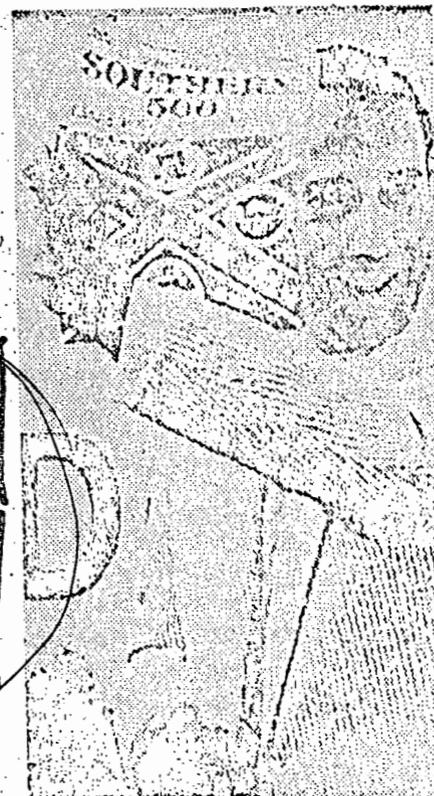
"They're leaving the South and we're starting in the South. That's the difference," Dole said.

But Dole was sharpest in his criticism of Mondale, suggesting the Minnesotan will avoid the South in the campaign because of what he called his "very, very liberal voting record" in the Senate.

As the crowd of about 150 cheered, Dole said: "They don't want to bring 'Mr. Busing' to the South. They don't want to bring the man who wants to cut the defense budget year after year after year. They don't want to bring the man down who wants to raise spending by about \$9 billion."

It was Carter, the Georgian, rather than Mondale who came to the stock car race, and the crowd, with Confederate flags waving here and there atop the campers and pickup trucks parked in the raceway infield, seemed to overflow with regional pride.

Carter and Dole crossed paths briefly and exchanged pleasantries before joining in the ceremonial ride around the track before the race—Carter in the lead car and Dole five cars behind.



SEN. BOB DOLE

... never been to as important a race

Both gave brief speeches, with Carter noting that he'd been a stock car race fan for 25 years while Dole said he'd never been to a race as important as Darlington's 500.

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Tells Voters He's Not Such a Bad Guy

# Dole Trying to Shed 'Hatchet Man' Im

By Martha Angle

Washington Star Staff Writer

TOPEKA, Kans. — Sen. Robert Dole returned to his home state today still trying to shed the "hatchet man" image which has marked his political career here and in Washington.

On his first major campaign trip as the GOP vice-presidential candidate, the Kansas Republican is going to almost painful lengths to show he's a nice fellow who intends to remain on the high ground of issues rather than stooping to personal attacks.

At stop after stop this week, Dole has insisted he is "not campaigning against any person," and that he harbors no ill will towards Democrats Jimmy Carter and Walter F. Mondale.

"I don't have any quarrel with Gov. Carter. I think perhaps he's a very fine person. But I have a right, a duty and an obligation to talk about the issues," Dole said Wednesday in Macon, Ga., Carter's backyard.

Mondale, his Democratic counterpart, "is a friend of mine who just has a bad philosophy," Dole told a Spartanburg, S.C., audience yesterday.

"THIS IS A GREAT big country. We can have differing views and still not be disagreeable," he said at yet another gathering yesterday in Salisbury, N.C., the hometown of his wife, Elizabeth Hanford Dole.

There is more than a touch of

defensiveness in Dole's constant disclaimers of personal hostility towards his political opponents.

The GOP candidate was genuinely surprised and perturbed by the emphasis on his skill as a political "hit man" which permeated profiles written by him after President Ford tapped him as a running mate in Kansas City last month.

Acutely conscious that this year of love and brotherhood is not a propitious season for "heavies," Dole is determined to prove his reputation as a partisan attack artist is grossly exaggerated.

Nonetheless, he cannot quite suppress a certain waspish tone when he speaks of Carter.

"I'm referred to as a slashing attacker while he's out cutting us up daily," Dole complained at his very first stop in Atlanta this week. "But I'm not going to be personal" he added hastily. "There's been some talk that I was going to be a hatchet man," he said in Charlotte, N.C. "I'm not here to chop down anything. I'm not here to cut anybody up. We are going to talk about the record."

**DURING THE SAME** Charlotte appearance, Dole regaled a friendly GOP audience with an account of his fateful August 19th telephone call from President Ford inviting him to join the national ticket.

He recalled how he and his wife tried to duck questions from reporters as they left their hotel room to

drive to Ford headquarters at the Crown Center Hotel for the big announcement.

"We didn't lie about it," Dole said. "We just didn't answer fully — sort of a Jimmy Carter statement."

Several times on this trip, Dole has come close to suggesting that Carter is a puppet of AFL-CIO President George L. Meany, but he has always pulled his punch just before it landed.

"I don't want to suggest anything that might be misconstrued," he said last night in Spartanburg, "but the labor leaders do have great influence."

Dole has been trying his best, during two days in the deep South, to persuade his audiences they should vote their conservative convictions rather than their chauvanistic pride.

"You may have a geographic neighbor in Mr. Carter — and I hope you'll still have him after the election — but I'm a philosophic neighbor, and that's what counts," he said last night in Spartanburg.

**"DO YOU WANT** increased government spending? Do you want George Meany running the country? Do you want a bigger bureaucracy?" he asked, as the crowd of 500 roared "No!"

"Well then, you don't want Jimmy Carter, do you?" Dole asked, beaming as the "No!" bounced back.

# Carter slips hand, Dole tells plans

From Wire Service

Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter revealed some of his foreign policy views and Republican vice presidential nominee Sen. Robert Dole outlined campaign strategy Sunday.

Carter's published remarks came as he embarked on a campaign trip to California while President Ford rested in Vail, Colo., taking a few days of vacation before starting his battle with the Democratic candidate.

Carter's planned a campaign swing, which includes a fund raising dinner and speeches in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle and Des Moines, will be his last stop since winning the nomination at the Democratic National Convention last month.

Carter pledged to never become

militarily involved in another country's affairs unless the United States was directly threatened.

In one of his most explicit foreign affairs statements yet, Carter also said if elected he would be "much tougher" than Presidents Ford or Nixon in negotiating with Russia and that there would be "substantial differences" between his own foreign policy and theirs.

Carter also said he is opposed to granting foreign supersonic aircraft such as the Bell-Boeing Concorde the right to operate to the United States.

Interviewed in Plains, La., by Pierre Salinger, the late President Kennedy's press secretary who now works for the French weekly L'Express, Carter said he favors close political and economic ties among the countries of Western Europe and does not regard the

increase in the political strength of Western Europe's Communist parties as "a catastrophe or a cause for the destruction of the Atlantic Alliance."

Ford campaign officials have said Ford was taking time off on advice from his physicians, who recommended a rest after the GOP National Convention in Kansas City last week.

But Ford's running mate, Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, was quoted by Time magazine in this week's edition as saying just hours before Ford selected him as his running mate that the vacation was ill-advised.

"With eight weeks to go, he has to be very aggressive," Dole was quoted as saying. "I don't know how you can do much else but to 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 per cent of it down the drain."

Dole, who is scheduled to go to Vail on Wednesday to start planning strategy with Ford, said in his Time interview that he felt Carter's running mate, Sen. Walter Mondale of Minn., was a very

pragmatic politician and that Carter is, too, and "a mass of contradictions."

Mondale was in Hibbing, Minn., vacationing. He commented over the weekend that the Ford-Dole team is essentially representative of the Nixon-Ford administration and said Mondale would be a legitimate campaign issue because Ford was one of Nixon's "last defenders."

"He has been true to the Nixon principles in all economic and social policies since he became president," Mondale said.

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Dole / Misc



ROBERT AND ELIZABETH DOLE  
Campaigning in Atlanta yesterday

—Associated Press

# Dole's Southern Strategy: A Cuddle

By Martha Angle  
Washington Star Staff Writer

SALISBURY, N.C. — Sen. Robert Dole has a Southern strategy that can cuddle — and he's not bashful about using her.

On his first campaign swing through Dixie, the GOP vice-presidential candidate has enlisted his new wife, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, to establish his own credentials as a "good ole boy" in Jimmy Carter country.

"I've been through a lot of tough campaigns before, but she was about the toughest. That's why I'm really not so apprehensive about Carter," Dole told a crowd of 300 at a Charlotte, N.C., reception last night as he draped an affectionate arm around his wife.

"Liddy" Dole, a lawyer and member of the Federal Trade Commission, is a native of this town of 23,000 — and her husband just came along for the ride this morning as Salisbury turned out to welcome its favorite daughter.

The Kansas senator, who went through a messy divorce almost three years before his second marriage, is obviously grateful to claim some special link to the South.

EVEN THOUGH Carter is the odds-on favorite here, the GOP cannot afford to slight an area which has given it a new lease on life in recent national elections.

And Dole, with some help from his wife, is doing his best to persuade the South that Republicans still care.

"We have a nationwide strategy. We are not writing off a single state. We're here to win the South," he said yesterday as he flew to Georgia and North Carolina.

Dole had two principal objectives as he stumped the Confederacy. He wanted to prove he and President Ford are not conceding anything to Carter, but he also wanted to heal the lingering wounds from the bitter primary fight between Ford and Ronald Reagan, the sentimental favorite of Southern Republicans.

"I imagine some of you were for Reagan, some were for Ford and none of you had ever heard of me," he told North Carolina Republicans in Charlotte last night.

"But now we're all together," Dole added, vowing to do his part to defeat the Carter-Mondale ticket and its "very, very liberal philosophy."

INDEED, THERE were signs that

Southern Republicans are recovering from their internecine wars.

"I was never against President Ford. I was for Ronald Reagan," said Forrest Sawyer, GOP chairman of Cherokee County, Ga.

Sawyer, a Reagan delegate to last month's Republican Convention, is now actively campaigning for the Ford-Dole ticket.

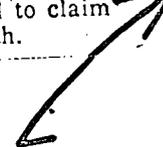
He insisted Carter no longer looks like a shoo-in in the South, not even in his home state of Georgia.

"The people of Georgia are basically conservative. That liberal Democratic platform turns them off," he said.

Neither Sawyer nor other Georgians who turned out to greet Dole in Macon yesterday were seriously predicting that Carter will lose his home state. But they said it may be closer than many people expect.

"I know there's a lot of Carter support out there that simply isn't being vocalized," said Roy Simkins, of Augusta, Ga.

"EVEN THOUGH I'm convinced I couldn't be elected statewide again, there's local pride to consider. You just don't know how deep that flood runs."



# Sen. Dole Using Free Mail for ABM

By Drew Pearson  
and Jack Anderson

The question of just how far a Senator can go in using his free mailing privileges has been raised by an ABM propaganda campaign by Sen. Bob Dole, the handsome Kansas Republican.

Bob is gung-ho for the anti-ballistic missile system. His fellow Republican from Kansas, Jim Pearson, is equally against. Pearson has been subjected to intense pressure from the Nixon Administration to change his vote, including a warning from a Wichita airplane manufacturer that Pentagon orders would be cut off unless Pearson votes right.

In contrast, Sen. Dole has been sending out literature for the ABM in which he solicits funds on behalf of the "American Security Council."

Furthermore, Sen. Dole has been mailing this literature outside the state of Kansas. The use of the free franking privilege to raise funds would appear to be unethical, possibly illegal, though the law is not clear. Certainly widespread propaganda use of the franking privilege outside a Senator's state raises some questions.

Last year the Post Office tried to collect postage from Sens. Robert Griffin of Michigan and Charles Percy of Illinois, both Republicans, for what it considered flagrant

misuse of the franking privilege. Griffin immediately claimed he was being persecuted and put up such a squawk that the Post Office finally dropped the matter, saying that it was up to the individual Senator to interpret the law for himself.

What Sen. Dole has been doing is mailing tearsheets of a full-page ad published by the American Security Council with an appeal for contributions from \$10 up to \$1000 to put across the ABM system.

In other words, Sen. Dole is not only voting for the ABM but is spending other people's money to collect more money to fight for the ABM. And he's doing it outside the state of Kansas.

## Humanity vs. Moon

On the eve of the big shoot for the moon, Rep. Charles Joelson, the New Jersey Democrat, read a poem he composed illustrating "our warped schedule of priorities at a time of despair in our cities."

The poem, entitled "The Challenge," which Joelson said did not detract from his "hope and prayer for the success of the moon voyage," goes like this:

"There is more challenge in each square block of city slum  
Than all the galaxy.  
Between brother and brother, more awful distance.  
Than the long boulevard of lonely space.

"It will be written that in 1969, primitive man canned himself

And catapulted through the void,

While hunger, hate and sickness stalked his earth.

Choosing not to try for Heaven, just the moon.

"The old gnarled black man, sitting in the seamy summer

Seventh Street amidst the broken glass,

Is wiser than the scientists at Houston.

He knows what vistas cry to be explored."

## Air Routes and Politics

President Nixon, who seldom reads the newspapers, is reported to have read with pleasure the full-page ads boosting the ABM system which he is now trying to get okayed by the Senate.

The sponsors of one full-page ad, "Citizens Committee for Peace with Security," include such friends of Mr. Nixon's as Elmer Bobst, head of Warner-Lambert and the man who got Mr. Nixon placed with the law firm of Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander and Mitchell in New York.

Also on the list are John W. Bricker, former candidate for Vice President; John M. Olin, former treasurer of the Republican National Committee; Admiral Lewis Strauss; Richard M. Scaife, a member of

the Mellon family of Pittsburgh; and John W. Hanes, former Under Secretary of the Treasury and racing stable owner, who dined with Mr. Nixon recently to promote continued tax write-offs for racing stables.

But Mr. Nixon may not have read one interesting name on the list—Robert F. Six, head of Continental Airlines.

Last week Mr. Nixon put the nix on Six. He reversed a firm Civil Aeronautics Board recommendation that Continental Airlines be given the trans-Pacific route to Australia. Instead, Mr. Nixon decreed that the route go to Eastern Airlines, controlled by the Rockefeller family.

Bob Six, former husband of Ethel Merman, star of "Call Me Madam" and "Annie Get Your Gun," is an old golfing partner of the late President Eisenhower and most of his life has been a strong Republican. However, during the Johnson Administration he hired Pierre Salinger, JFK's press secretary, as his PR man, which gave the impression that Six was a Democrat.

Whether this nixed him with Mr. Nixon, or whether the Rockefellers' influence did the nixing is not known. At any rate, Six's contribution to the ABM made no difference. The President ruled out Continental Airlines in favor of Eastern.

7/10/71

Would Reverse NLRB:

## GOP Chairman's Bill Aims Blow at Labor

Sen. Robert J. Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has introduced a bill amending the National Labor Relations Act that would hamstring unions and strengthen anti-labor employers.

It would legalize "Boulwarism"—the take-it-or-leave-it substitute for collective bargaining condemned by both the National Labor Relations Board and the Supreme Court.

In a broad range of other areas, it would revoke labor board and court decisions upholding union positions. And it would freeze into law those decisions that have gone against unions.

Following are key provisions of the Dole bill:

- Unions would be prohibited from bargaining to improve pensions and benefits for retired workers. The NLRB has held that unions can bargain for retired workers, a federal appellate court ruled to the contrary, and the issue is expected to be decided by the Supreme Court.

- Employers would not be required to furnish information to unions for use in collective bargaining, such as data on incentive rates and time studies. The NLRB and the courts have said that such information must be furnished unless compiling it would be excessively burdensome in relation to its value in negotiations.

- An employer's withdrawal of an offer made at the bargaining table could no longer be considered a sign of bad faith in negotiations.

- The labor board would be barred from imposing any monetary penalty other than back pay. The effect of this would be to overturn an appellate court decision upholding the power of the NLRB to order an employer to make good losses to workers and their union resulting from his "frivolous" refusal to bargain.

- Employers would no longer be required to bargain with a union before contracting out work normally done by union members. This would reverse a Supreme Court decision requiring bargaining on the issue.

- After the expiration date of a contract, an employer would be free to change the conditions of employment unilaterally without further bargaining. At present, he may act on his own only after bargaining to an impasse.

As for the "Boulwarism" issue, Dole told the Senate that recent NLRB decisions are unfair to employers.

"Suppose an employer puts his best possible offer on the table at the beginning of negotiations," Dole said. "Suppose he decides he does not want to play games, does not want to spend a lot of time jockeying back and forth, and wants to get on with the operation of his business."

In such cases, Dole complained, the NLRB "has found this practice to constitute 'an adamant refusal and an uncompromising attitude.'"

His bill, Dole told the Senate, would make it clear that such an employer would not be compelled to change his tactics.

# Dole Attacks Carter on Pardon for Draft Evaders

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, Aug. 25—Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, took Jimmy Carter to task today before the American Legion's national convention here for having promised "a blanket pardon" to all Vietnam draft evaders.

When Mr. Carter, the Democratic Presidential nominee, in an otherwise well-received speech, was booed by the legionnaires yesterday, Mr. Dole received a loud, standing ovation from them when he declared:

"Let there be no confusion as to President Ford's position on this issue. It is unequivocal, and applies equally to draft evaders and deserters, no blanket pardon, no blanket amnesty, no blanket clemency."

Mr. Carter had told the convention:

"I do not favor a blanket amnesty, but for those who violated Selective Service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon."

"To me, there is a difference. Amnesty means that what you did was right. A pardon means that what you did, right or wrong, is forgiven. So pardon, yes; amnesty, no."

Mr. Dole, a decorated severely wounded World War II Army captain who is a member of American Legion Post 89 in Russell, Kan., recited Mr. Carter's remarks, but did not name him.

Having said that a speaker, "whatever he was," yesterday had "provided his own definitions" for amnesty and pardon, Mr. Dole said that he had checked Webster's New World Dictionary and found that it "makes no such distinction."

"It defines 'amnesty' as 'a general pardon,'" he said.

In replying to Mr. Carter, a former navy officer who also is a member of the legion, Mr. Dole said:

## President's Offer Recalled

Today, we have those who would signal weakness and generate strife by declaring that those who served this nation in her armed forces deserve no greater consideration than those who turned their backs and scurried away.

President Ford extended the hand of mercy to those who fled America when she needed their service. He offered them a chance to earn clemency, and I say earn clemency, by proving their right to resume their place in this nation. The offer was extended to draft evaders and deserters alike, on a case-by-case basis. Some accepted. Some 19,000. Some refused. Some 80,000 or 90,000. As far

as I know, the effort is finished."

That drew some of the loudest applause from 4,000 to 5,000 legionnaires and their wives, about half the audience Mr. Carter had in the coliseum yesterday.

At a news conference following a breakfast meeting with local Republican leaders, Mr. Dole was asked how President Ford could reconcile his pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon and decline to pardon draft evaders.

"I think you go to the case-by-case basis," the Senator said, suggesting that Mr. Nixon's pardon had been handled in that manner.

"At the time I thought it was a premature decision," Mr. Dole said, "but it did get Watergate behind us."

In his Legion speech Mr. Dole recalled that four wars in this century had been fought under Democratic Presidents.

"We know that wars become self-justifying once they've begun," he said, "but the harsh light of history reveals that they rarely begin for reasons that are self-justifying, but rather because of weakness,

wishful thinking and bad leadership."

Then sounding what may well be a theme of the Ford-Dole campaign this fall, he said:

"No one hates war more than those who have had to fight. And none have a greater right to insist upon leadership that understands how to prevent war, to protect liberty and to preserve peace, than those who have had to fight."

"I say to you, and the record shows, that we have such leadership in the White House, and I believe the American people will keep it there."

## Defense Cuts Attacked

Attacking the Democrats as a party that would allow the defense posture of the country to grow weaker, Senator Dole said:

"Yet on any day in the Congress, you can hear representatives of our people condemn this nation's efforts to remain strong—to keep the power that keeps the peace."

"They tell us what we need to reduce our defense budget even further, while increasing spending even more for well-intentioned, but ill-conceived,

domestic programs. Certainly our cities need help, certainly we cannot turn a deaf ear to the poor and the needy. The question is not whether we should act, but how."

Mr. Dole argued, however, that the Republicans were not unaware of the needs of people, saying:

"There are those today who say we care nothing for the people. There are those who say we spend too much on planes and tanks and warships and troops, and not enough on people. They say we are callous. They say we are indifferent."

"And I say I would rather spend a million dollars, or a billion dollars, to preserve peace, than to expend a single human life to pursue war."

This brought loud applause from the legionnaires.

"We must be clear in distinguishing between being as strong as we have to be, or as we want to be, and instead of determining how weak we can afford to be."

At the morning news conference, Mr. Dole was asked about a report in The New York Times that he had declared as campaign expenditures in his 1974 Senate race in Kansas funds that were spent to attack his opponent on the abortion issue. Recently, he has said that he had disavowed several advertisements that were run on that issue, saying that they were sponsored by right-to-life groups without his knowledge.

"I didn't claim them as a campaign contribution, I did disavow them," he said. "Some of the pro-life groups who thought they were helping us, I guess ran some very heavy

## Amnesty and Pardon Differ in Legal Use

Although amnesty and pardon are often used interchangeably, the two words have different legal meanings. In common usage, though, this distinction is sometimes blurred.

Amnesty is generally addressed to large groups of persons with respect to matters of conscience or political offenses. According to a series of 18th-century Supreme Court cases, amnesty is the "abolition and forgetfulness of the offense." It is usually invoked by an act of a legislature.

An executive pardon terminates punishment for an individual, without obliterating his guilt.

In his speech Monday before the American Legion national convention, Jimmy Carter said: "Amnesty means what you did was right. A pardon means that what you did, right or wrong, is forgiven. So pardon, yes, amnesty, no."

it nearly cost us the election at the time."

He said that the decision to list expenditures for these advertisements as part of his campaign spending must have been made by a subordinate who was accounting for the funds.

"Some of the pro-life groups showed some very bad judgment," he said.

Mr. Dole later flew to Des Moines to attend the Iowa State Fair there tonight and tomorrow, once again following in the footsteps of Mr. Carter. The campaign will be later tomorrow

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# New G.O.P. Chairman

Robert Joseph Dole



## Considered a tough in-fighter

(Senator Dole, left, with predecessor, Rogers C. B. Morton)

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—

For the two years that he has been in the Senate, Robert J. Dole of Kansas has made a point to ride shotgun for the Nixon Administration. Invariably, if a Kennedy or a Muskie or a Fulbright rises on the Senate floor to criticize the Administration, Mr.

Man  
in the  
News

Dole is on his feet, too, sometimes needing, sometimes droll, but always defending President Nixon's interests.

"There are so many Democrats who want to be President, and I get tired of seeing them browbeating President Nixon," Senator Dole said recently. "So when I see Muskie and the others giving the President a hard time, I stand up, too. That's just the way I am."

In the past, his self-appointed role as the Administration's bodyguard was largely unofficial—accounted for, the 47-year-old freshman Senator said, by the fact that "I'm on the floor a lot while the senior Senators are tied up in committees."

Now with his appointment as Republican National Chairman, there will be no doubt that when the Kansas Senator speaks he will not only be defending the White House but also representing it. The transition should not prove at all difficult.

### His Main Interest

"As far as I know, the Senator has no hobbies," one of his aides said. "What he's most interested in is getting other Republicans elected, and that's the way he spends his spare time."

Senator Dole can remember no instances when he has opposed the President on significant legislation. In the skirmishing in the Senate over Vietnam policy, the Supreme Court nominations, the supersonic transport and the antiballistic missile system, he has advocated the Administration's position with a fervor seldom matched in gentlemanly Senate debates.

This partisan fervor, the biting sarcasm he sometimes uses in debates and his disdain of the Senatorial courtesies have won him the reputation of being a tough in-fighter. And his lean appearance — 6 feet 2, about 175 pounds — and his coal-black hair and sideburns to the bottom of his ears—add to this impression.

Senator William B. Saxbe of Ohio, the one Republican who has publicly expressed his distaste for Senator Dole, called him a "hatchet man" who was so antagonistic that he "couldn't sell beer on a troop ship."

But other Senators, even those who disapprove of his partisan politics and his brusque public manner, say that in private he is witty and charming.

Robert Joseph Dole was born July 22, 1923, in Russell,

Kan., the son of the manager of a grain elevator. He left the University of Kansas to enter the Army in 1942, and in the last days of World War II, while leading an infantry platoon through Italy, he was critically wounded. His right shoulder was shattered and vertebrae were cracked by an explosive shell.

Mr. Dole spent the next 39 months in Army hospitals. He had lost forever the use of his right arm but slowly regained use of his left, though he still has so little feeling in his fingers that he cannot button his shirt without a mirror.

While hospitalized, Mr. Dole met and married Phyllis Holden. She took notes for him and wrote the answers he dictated to examination questions as he obtained his undergraduate degree at the University of Arizona and his law degree from Washburn University in Topeka, Kan. Later, Mr. Dole taught himself to write with his left hand.

The Doles have one daughter, Robin, who is now 16.

In 1951, when 28 years old and still in law school, he was elected to the Kansas Legislature. Two years later, he became the prosecuting attorney in Russell County, a post he held for nine years until he was elected to the House of Representatives to serve a 52-county wheatlands district in Western Kansas.

In four terms as a Representative, Mr. Dole was a backbencher, serving diligently on the Agriculture Committee, solidifying his political base in Kansas and rarely showing the aggressiveness that has marked his days in the Senate.

### Conservative Line

In the House, he seldom strayed from the straight conservative line. Nearly every year he was awarded the annual plaque given by the American for Constitutional Action to the most conservative Congressman, and one colleague described his political views as "somewhere to the right of Genghis Khan."

Nevertheless, he has voted for every significant piece of civil rights legislation since he has been in Congress. "Some of my conservative friends don't agree with me," Mr. Dole said, "but I've never equated liberalism with civil rights. The true conservative wants to remove the shackles from the oppressed."

He said that he had seen the President privately only once, right after the November elections, when he talked with him about the national chairmanship. In a group, he said, he has met with the President perhaps 15 times.

But there is a personal touch that makes Senator Dole feel proud. Whenever they meet, the Senator said, the President always remembers to hold out his left hand.

# Auto lobbyist says he used golfing friendship with Ford

By Saul Friedland  
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — An auto industry lobbyist acknowledged yesterday that he and U.S. Steel Vice President William Whyte have used their golfing friendship with President Ford to talk with the president about legislation and government policies affecting their companies.

Rod Markley, a Ford Motor Co. vice president for government relations, said: "My relationship with the President goes back many years and has been based more on personal friendship than my position as a lobbyist."

White House press secretary Ron Nessen made a similar statement yesterday about Whyte after it was disclosed that Ford, as a member of Congress and House Republican leader, had been Whyte's guest at the plush Pine Valley Golf Club, about two miles from Clementon, N. J., and at a club lodge, owned by U.S. Steel.

The disclosure and Markley's friendship with Ford underscore the President's close association with a number of industrialists and business lobbyists who seek contracts, legislation and bureaucratic decisions favorable to their clients and companies.

When Whyte, Markley and Ford last went golfing on Sept. 4 at Burning Tree Country Club in Bethesda, Md., a Washington suburb, they were joined — as they often are — by a former congressman, John Byrnes of Wisconsin, now a Washington attorney who represents industrial clients on tax matters pending in Congress and the Treasury Department.

Byrnes, before he retired from the House in 1973, was the ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee and often joined with the Chairman then, Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, in short-circuit tax-reform efforts.

Byrnes and Whyte are members of Ford's "kitchen cabinet," a group of friends who have been meeting occasionally since he took over the presidency and advising him on administration policy and political matters.

Another member of the exclusive group is Bryce Harlow, a former White House aide in the administrations of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard M. Nixon and the Washington lobbyist for Procter & Gamble.

Markley said in an interview that he had never paid Ford's fees when they played golf at Burning Tree or other country clubs.

On occasion, first when Ford was a congressman, then vice president and since he's been President, Markley said, he has given him "my views on legislation and other problems in government affecting the Ford Motor Co. and the auto industry."

Markley added: "He has himself

raised questions, such as how are things going on the Clean Air Act, and I've gone to him to solicit his help."

Ford's views on the Clean Air Act, now before Congress, generally have coincided with those of the auto industry. The president supported the manufacturers' requests for a five-year moratorium on strict emission standards.

Similarly, the President vetoed legislation to promote development of electric-powered vehicles, although Congress overrode him. And he has generally opposed actions of Congress and the Environmental Protection Agency in putting pressure on the steel industry to combat pollution, on the grounds that environmental restrictions were costly and hindering economic recovery.

Markley agreed that Ford has sided with industry, but he suggested that Ford's conservatism and friendly attitude toward business were more responsible for his positions than his friendship with lobbyists.

Ford met Markley and Whyte soon after coming to Washington as a congressman 27 years ago.

Of the President's relationship with Whyte, Nessen told reporters that Ford "feels Bill Whyte is a personal friend who asked him to go up and play golf." Nessen said the President has been Whyte's guest twice — "in 1964 and about five years ago" — at the plush Pine Valley Golf Club. There was some confusion about how frequently Ford played at the club.

Whyte told United Press International that Ford "frequently" had been his guest on golfing vacations between 1964 and 1971.

Whyte, however, told the New York Daily News that Ford had been his guest at the club once in 1964 and once in 1971, for weekends of "golfing, eating and sleeping." The News quoted Whyte as saying the bills were paid by U. S. Steel.

Pine Valley's manager, Edward S. Magee Jr., recalls "several" Ford visits, the last one about four years ago. He said the expenses, including green fees and caddy fees, were usually billed to Whyte and that Ford stayed at a lodge on the club grounds owned by U. S. Steel.

Magee said he remembered Ford but paid little attention to his visits because "we have congressmen here all the time."

A code of ethics adopted by the House in 1968 forbids any member from accepting a "gift of substantial value" from anyone having a "direct interest" in legislation before Congress.

In another development, the Wall Street Journal reported that cam-

paign records of two Republican organizations in Kent County, Michigan, Ford's home county, were being investigated by Watergate Special Prosecutor Charles Ruff. Ruff is also reportedly probing the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association of New York, which gave \$5,000 to Ford's 1972 congressional campaign.

The Journal story hinted that the investigation "may involve" Ford's past campaigns.

Nessen said Ford "doesn't know what if anything the special prosecutor is doing. No Ford campaign records have been subpoenaed. There has been no contact."

## Allegations About Ford Said 'Serious'

By Bob Woodward  
and Carl Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writers

The Watergate special prosecutor is investigating what an authoritative government source said yesterday are "serious" and "significant" allegations that Gerald R. Ford, while a Michigan congressman, illegally diverted campaign contributions to personal or improper political use.

A Washington grand jury under the direction of Watergate Prosecutor Charles Ruff began a formal investigation into the matter late last month. Despite the reported seriousness of the allegations, government sources said yesterday that investigators have drawn no conclusions about the Presi-

dent's involvement in the episodes now under examination.

Special Prosecutor Ruff, as previously reported, has subpoenaed the records of three local Republican committees in Mr. Ford's former congressional district. In addition, at least eight former local officials of the committees have been interviewed by the FBI.

Ruff has refused to comment on the reports but said last week that any subpoenas issued by his office would be served under the auspices of the regular Washington grand jury under his control.

FBI agents have pointedly asked some former Michigan Republican officials if Mr. Ford received cash or

other funds from money that two maritime unions gave to the local Kent County committees. Kent County makes up the bulk of Mr. Ford's old 5th Congressional District.

The campaign officials said in interviews this weekend that they knew of no such payments to Mr. Ford, other than routine reimbursement to him for such campaign expenses as travel.

Stephen C. Brandsdorfer, counsel for the local Republican committees in Kent County, said yesterday the committees' records for the period under investigation—1964 to 1974—support these assertions.

An official of one of the maritime unions, the Marine Engineers Benefi-

See PROBE, A13, Col. 1

### PROBE, From A1

cial Association, said yesterday that several thousand dollars in campaign contributions were given to the Kent Republican committees every election year, specifically at the request of Mr. Ford.

White House and Kent County Republican officials have sought to discount the importance of news reports on the investigation. They have speculated that the probe is designed to embarrass Mr. Ford in the midst of the presidential campaign.

Persons who know Ruff well describe the special prosecutor as an extremely cautious lawyer—"very bright, very bipartisan, and very careful," in the words of one lawyer. "Knowing how careful he is," said another, "I can't imagine that, under these circumstances, he'd proceed without very good reason."

One informed source said yesterday that Ruff has provided limited infor-

mation about the case to Attorney General Edward H. Levi.

Meanwhile, Justice Department lawyers expressed doubt that the President would be notified by the special prosecutor of details about the investigation, even if Mr. Ford were the target of the grand jury's probe.

The FBI agents' questions have focused on contributions to the Kent committees from the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the Seafarers International Union.

Marine Engineers President Jesse M. Calhoun confirmed last week that his union's records have been subpoenaed. Like White House and Kent Republican officials, he expressed bafflement at the investigation.

Philip Carlip, the Seafarers' chief lobbyist at the House of Representatives for more than 20 years, resigned last month. His friends said it had nothing to do with the current investigation.

Carlip, reportedly a very effective lobbyist, once was involved in arranging large campaign contributions to House members over the years.

Most of the details about the special prosecutor's investigation come from current and former Republican officials in Kent County.

Thomas C. Bloodgood Jr., Kent County GOP finance chairman in 1969-70, said that in his FBI interview he described how \$4,500 from the two maritime unions made its way to the local committee.

According to Bloodgood, the unions gave the money to Mr. Ford in 1970. "He [Mr. Ford] called me from Washington and said he had these contributions and he didn't need them."

"He said that he would either endorse them or they [the unions] would send them direct. They were coming to the committee here and would be available for anything the Kent

County Republican Committee needed."

Bloodgood said that the \$4,500 was put in the general Republican account and spent on various campaigns, perhaps including Mr. Ford's.

Concerning his FBI interview on Friday, Bloodgood said the agents "asked if any of this money from the unions or any cash to the committee was laundered and turned over to Jerry. I said absolutely not."

Bloodgood said that Mr. Ford forwarded the \$4,500 to the Kent local committee because "Jerry didn't need to spend much on his campaigns because he was assured of re-election."

Mr. Ford's campaign contribution records show that it was not at all uncommon for him to transfer funds from his own re-election committees to the county committees or other Republican candidates throughout the country.

In 1972, more than \$15,000 went

from Mr. Ford's campaign committees to other candidates, according to records on file at the Federal Election Commission.

If such transfers were properly reported—as they apparently were—there would be no violation of the law.

Paul Goebel, the Kent Republican finance chairman in 1971-72, said the FBI asked him "if the money from the unions was converted to cash and given to the Ford campaign or to the individual [Mr. Ford]."

Goebel said he told the FBI, "There was no cash conversion. They then asked about check payments and yes, there was one from the committee to Ford—a small amount of about \$50 for travel."

Others interviewed by the FBI include Peter Cook, the finance chairman in 1965, Harold Garter (1973-74) and Eliot Serafin, another former finance chairman.

Brandsdorfer, the local Republican counsel, said that he has been sitting in on the FBI interviews with former Kent officials. He declined to talk about the interviews other than to confirm that the agents' questions were very broad and to say "the investigation has been very thorough."

"To my knowledge there is nothing in the records or known by the former officials interviewed in my presence to support allegations" that Mr. Ford took any money improperly, he said.

Brandsdorfer said that the committee records show where every dollar came from and how it was spent.

### 2 Killed, 1 Injured In Leap From Window

NEW YORK, Sept. 26 (UPI)—Two members of a Queens family were killed and a third was critically injured when they jumped from their fourth floor apartment this morning, police reported.

8

A LOOK AT THE DOLE VOTING RECORD

FOR STAFF ONLY