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THE DOLES (continued from 169)

There's absolutely no friction. She's his greatest fan, and he looks on her with adoration. I said to him once, "When a guy like you has been divorced and is living alone, he's a sitting duck for a bad marriage. It's just pure luck that you met Elizabeth." He said, "I know; God was taking care of me when Elizabeth came into my office."

Elizabeth Dole herself says that "it seems obvious how we relate to each other, and all through the years people have seen how strong a marriage ours is. Of course, we both do have lives that require independence. But, my word, we married when we were both well into our careers and independent, and that's part of what makes the marriage mesh so well. We understand that requirement in each other's careers and we're very supportive of each other's efforts in our jobs, and that only enriches the marriage. Both of us love the challenge of what we're doing. And when we're together, there's so much to share."

In separate interviews, each is fast to lavish praise on the other. Bob Dole respects his wife for her heart, mind, and religious conviction. "Elizabeth's very bright and articulate. She's very disciplined. She has a lot of faith. She's just a good person. She's very sensitive to people's feelings. And she really gets wrapped up in the Church and Bible study—gets on her knees now and then." She calls Bob Dole a very compassionate man, often moved to tears by the physical handicaps of others. She recalls the emotion he felt when he encountered a group of young children, totally paralyzed except for their eyes, waiting for him outside a building where he was to speak. She said he came home that night inspired to start the Dole Foundation for the Handicapped. She laughs at his jokes and lionizes him for being the kind of husband who never fails to insist on the safety of her transportation. "What kind of plane is she flying in? Does it have two engines? Are there two pilots?" He does that kind of checking even when he's tied up with such demanding responsibilities.

They cope with physical separation by talking frequently on the phone. And when both are in town and he's working late and she's through early, she'll occasionally have dinner with Bob Dole in the Senate dining room. During the week, they sometimes meet for dinner at Mr. K's or at their favorite spot, the Jockey Club in the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, where, says Maître d' Martin Garbisu, the Doles sit in the first booth to the right of the door, dine on fresh fish and a glass of wine. "They're like lovers, very quiet and reserved. They seem very happy."

They refresh their relationship with short getaways—mostly to her Florida condominium in Bal Harbour, where they relax and dine out with friends. In Florida, the Doles socialize with a heavily Democratic group, including Robert Strauss, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; House Majority Leader Tip O'Neill; and House Ways and Means chairman Dan Rostenkowski. "We were kidding that if anyone got a picture of that group, we'd all be finished," quips Dole.

And in spite of their fully booked calendars, both Doles, whenever they're in Washington, faithfully attend the 11:00 A.M. service every Sunday at the Foundry Methodist Church, where, in October 1983, Elizabeth delivered a sermon on her philosophy of service to others and the spiritual growth she had recently experienced, bearing witness that the "ego-centered" fast track from Harvard to White House to Cabinet had given her power but an empty soul. "My life was threatened with spiritual starvation. . . . My career became of paramount importance. I worked hard to move up the ladder, to excel, to achieve. I became a need achiever and a perfectionist to boot. . . . I tried to control everything in my life, surround every difficulty, foresee every problem, realize every opportunity—and that's pretty tough on family and on fellow workers." She said her life was no longer a source of genuine satisfaction without prayer.

When Elizabeth Dole was offered the Cabinet position, she turned for guidance to her minister, Dr. Ed Bauman, rather than to political advisors. "I wanted to make sure that what I was doing was not for my own aggrandizement but for the service of others and for the Lord." She says she realized, after considerable soul-searching, that she would take the post. "God has given us the privilege to perform. . . . The thing that really drives me is that at the end of my life I don't want to look back and find that God gave me role and my opportunity to someone else because I failed to perform."

The Doles have no children. "It's something that we always felt: If it happened, wonderful," says Elizabeth, "and if it didn't, we'd feel very blessed with the opportunity to do some things that can make a difference for a lot of children." And she feels close to her husband's daughter, Robin, who says Elizabeth Dole has been a wonderful friend. "I even brought her flowers on Mother's Day. I'm fortunate to have two mothers I adore." Elizabeth has also developed a warm friendship with her husband's ex-wife. "Phyllis told me one time if I ever ran for office, she would be my campaign manager. That would be really interesting."

Elizabeth Dole dodges any questions about her political aspirations, but many describe her as a hotter political property than her husband. "Her future is brighter than his," says Al Hunt, Washington bureau chief of *The Wall Street Journal*. "I think almost everyone who knows them in politics suspects that Elizabeth would be a better candidate, that she'd hold up better. She could be a Vice Presidential candidate in '88 or run for President in '92, and she'd only be fifty-five."

Yet while some see the two in a race for the Presidential brass ring, the Doles themselves claim that what's taken for competition is really cooperation. In fact, many insiders see Robert Dole as his wife's political angel, although both the Secretary and the Senator deny it. "There's no question in my mind she'd never be where she is without his pushing," says one political fund-raiser. "The Reagan transition team was not going to put her anywhere. Dole said he wanted to see her in the Cabinet. Tempers flared. They gave her the public-liaison position. Bob made a play again when the Cabinet job came open and she wanted it badly." Others testify that Bob Dole had also advanced his wife's name for Secretary of Education, for the Supreme Court, and for U.N. Ambassador. One friend jokes that the Senator is so ambitious for his wife, he's probably already made a deal for her to be the next Vice President if his own Presidential aspirations fizzle.

Senator Dole confesses to coaching his wife on some matters. "I think my political judgment is pretty good, and she does, too. She's pretty much her own person, but I think the difference is I've been around politics much longer than she has. She was thrown into all this in 1976 with the Ford-Dole Presidential campaign. I think she's catching up very quickly." When she ran into opposition from Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania on her plans to sell Conrail, Bob playfully reminded her that Specter was fuming because Conrail is headquartered in Philadelphia. When he watched her discussing Conrail on the *Today* show one morning, he told her bluntly that her answers were too long. "I just told her if I were asked about Conrail, I'd simply say, 'There's no reason for the government to own a railroad.'"

Elizabeth Dole says there is actually little time to discuss business at home, "because it's important to have an oasis," but she will call her husband at the office to get or give advice. "She called me last week when I was kidding on the *Today* show about Amtrak. I gave the old line that publicly she wants to eliminate it, but she keeps waking in her sleep saying, 'Amtrak. Amtrak.' She told me to stop joking about it."

Some observers see the cooperation more hand-in-glove than the Doles admit. Take the Senator's commitment to modify the tax on heavy trucks. The Transportation Secretary testified in favor of an administration position that could, in the view of many, be compromised to fit the Senator's. Then, too,

she made a political appearance for Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, who also happened to receive a campaign contribution from Bob Dole's political action committee.

While there is no evidence of anything improper, there is evidence that the Doles are concentrating on building an impressive list of IOUs for whichever of them may end up in the White House. For now, the game plan is that Bob Dole, circumstances permitting, will run first and that his wife will be by his side. "I would want to be a part of it. I'd want to help him in any way I could," she says. If he loses, he will help her try for any office she wants.

Could he handle it if his campaign faltered and his wife ended up as veep? "Oh sure. Without any problem at all. I don't mind. I think it would be great if it happened to her. I don't see any conflict there. As long as I'm a candidate and we go out there together and we do all we can to make it happen. If it doesn't, then I've had my shot, and if she were to move ahead, I'd be very proud."

The Majority Leader does not even shrink at the thought of becoming the first U.S. First Gentleman. "Well, I don't know how Mr. Thatcher does it, but as long as she doesn't leave me in the Falklands or something . . ."

The Dole Foundation lends a hand by Robert H. Ruffner

Bob Dole knows how to get things done. Advisor to Presidents, friend of the famous and influential, the powerful Republican senator from Kansas doesn't flinch at difficult responsibilities. He doesn't forget his past, either. Raised in Russell, Kansas, a small town in the heart of America, Bob Dole remembers with warmth and gratitude his hometown's welcome to him when he returned from World War II as a disabled veteran. He has long played a leading role in the US government in disability issues. But he wanted to do more, and he found the way to do it: He has started the Dole Foundation, a private, nonprofit organization with the sole purpose of aiding the economic independence of people with disabilities.

The Dole Foundation couldn't have timed its birth better. During the 1970's, the percentage of people with disabilities out of the labor force rose. Today, nearly 60 percent of all disabled adults neither work nor seek work. This is costing billions in government and private payments and health supports, and untold agonies in personal grief and isolation.

Senator Dole recognizes that assisting disabled people to economic independence in our society is economically and socially sound. He knows that new approaches are desperately needed.

Senator Dole has set out to repay his community — and his country — for the support that he has received by demonstrating that disabled people can actively contribute to our nation's welfare in an unlimited variety of ways.

The Dole Foundation funds quality local programs throughout the country that directly assist disabled people to become self-sufficient. The grants the foundation makes go to expanding existing job training programs, starting up new organizations and services that seek new initiatives and approaches in small business and self-employment, and to policy research and evaluation of specific employment-related problems.

One of the new foundation's first grants went to New York City's National Theatre Workshop of the Handicapped (NTWH), a job training program founded and directed by Rick Curry, a Jesuit brother. The \$20,000 Dole Foundation grant is the largest single donation that NTWH has received to date. The workshop plans to use the grant to initiate a new program to teach theater techniques to young people with speech and language difficulties.

The workshop's present 40 aspiring actors, directors and playwrights are all disabled, as is Brother Curry. He started the workshop in 1977 after he was turned away from theater auditions because he is missing an arm. Today, Brother Curry believes that there is a real future for disabled people in the theater. "A few years ago we were trying to persuade the industry to at least give the disabled a chance to audition. Now we're getting lots of calls."



The Dole Foundation grant to NTWH did more than support a new theater training program for a new group of students. It triggered national publicity about the workshop, which in turn is likely to attract more support for its programs. Bob Dole knows a thing or two about the value of positive publicity.

The Dole Foundation is in the forefront of a new trend. Several new foundations have been formed in the past couple of years to deal with one or another aspect of disability. Many of these new foundations have been formed by disabled people and their families who recognize, along with Senator Dole, that exciting and innovative ways must be sought to overcome the lingering, enormous problems facing disabled people. Last year, some 241 private foundations gave an estimated \$25 million to support programs and services affecting disabled people.

Americans with disabilities should have the right and the opportunity to function independently and creatively in our society, rather than be segregated from it," Senator Dole commented recently. "America must continue at the forefront among nations in efforts to expand participation of disabled persons in all aspects of community and national life."

Senator Dole is doing his part through his leadership, his example and the Dole Foundation. His actions represent a fine American tradition: that of lending a hand to help each other over the rough spots.

(For more information about the Dole Foundation, you can write to them at 220 Eye Street NE, Washington, DC 20002.)

Nation

With His Wit About Him

As Congress returns, Dole has some delicate dancing to do

Bob Dole likes nothing better than salt-tonguing his conversation with wily barbs, often aimed at Bob Dole. He even pokes fun at his presidential ambitions, which are complicated by the fact that this year he will frequently find himself at odds with Ronald Reagan or congressional Republicans or both over issues like tax reform and the budget. "I've been trying to keep one foot in 1988," he noted as he relaxed on a plane trip from his native Kansas last week. "Or one toe maybe. I may not have a foot in it."

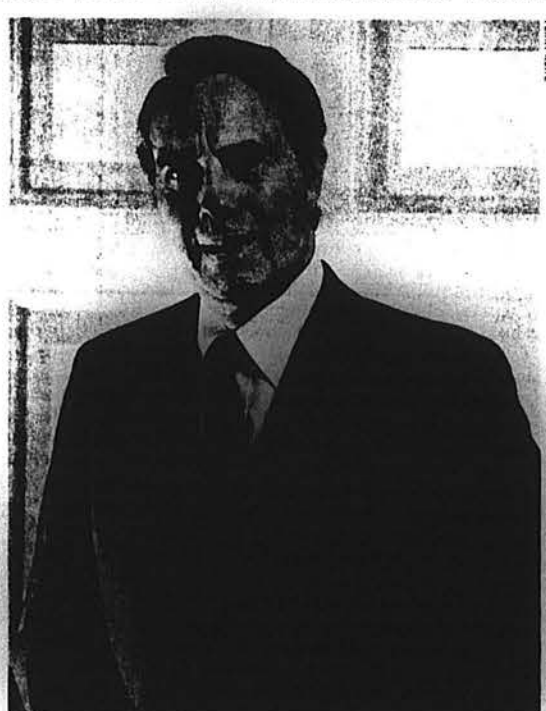
With his full-throttle metabolism, the acerbic Senate majority leader seems energized by confrontation, and he is braced for a good dose of it once Congress returns this week. Reagan will be pushing the Senate to overhaul the tax-reform plan passed by the House last year and to make difficult new cuts in domestic spending. Most Senate Republicans feel that tangle with tax reform is less important than tackling the budget, as Dole well knows, addressing that mess requires military cuts and tax increases that will raise Reagan's ire. How Dole handles his task as ringmaster of this cantankerous session could determine whether the Republicans hold the Senate this fall and whether he can achieve the statesmanlike stature necessary for a credible candidacy in 1988.

Howard Baker, Dole's gentlemanly predecessor as Republican leader, was a master at putting a soothing arm on colleagues' shoulders to achieve cloakroom compromises. In 1984 he decided to retire from the battle to position himself better for 1988. Dole, while philosophically similar, has an altogether different temperament that keeps him in the midst of the fray. Driven by his own strong ideas, he is more prone than Baker to do battle rather than seek consensus when disputes erupt. "Howard," Dole concedes, "was a bit more careful than I am in saying, 'Now boys, what can we do to work this out.'"

In his own defense, Dole points out that he was able to stitch together a number of compromises last year. The most significant was a new five-year farm bill, for which Dole led the tortuous negotiations. It was a triumph for him when Reagan signed the measure last month. Last spring, however, Dole was denied a larger victory. Courageously, he rammed through the Senate a politically risky anti-deficit package, including a deferral of

Social Security increases. But Reagan reneged on the deal, leaving Dole and other Senate Republicans dangling.

Dole's foremost challenge this session will be pulling Congress and the White House together on a fiscal 1987 budget that will whack some \$60 billion from the deficit and thus avoid the automatic cuts of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings mea-



The majority leader: at odds with both Reagan and Congress
Serving as ringmaster in a cantankerous Senate session.

sure. Addressing the American Farm Bureau Federation in Atlanta last week, he advocated economies across the board, sparing neither social programs nor Reagan's sacred defense buildup. He has also been prodding the White House, which distrusts Dole because of his skepticism about supply-side tax cuts, to be more realistic. Though he insists he will no longer lead the crusade for additional taxes ("I'm going to let someone else take the beating"), Dole clearly wants to change Reagan's mind. "Now I may be at odds with the White House," he says, "but it's pretty hard for us in Congress if we're told that defense is off limits. Social Security is off limits, you can't increase revenues."

Dole now has a bold fiscal plan up his sleeve. He discussed it in a private meeting earlier this month with White House

Chief of Staff Donald Regan. "I mentioned a big, giant package," he said last week. It would combine budget cuts and some additional revenue derived from amending the House-passed deficit-reform plan. How did that idea go over? "I didn't get many people applauding," Dole admitted. Some Senate Republicans have been talking quietly about a plan called "20-20-20," which would take \$20 billion from defense, another \$20 billion from domestic programs and provide \$20 billion in additional revenue. Last week one White House aide insisted that Reagan will not even discuss the scheme. Nonetheless, Dole envisions a summit this spring at which congressional leaders and the President's men would work toward a broad tax and budget compromise.

With scant competition in his Senate race this year (his only opponent, Representative Dan Glickman, pulled out this month, conceding that Dole did "an extraordinarily creative job" in passing the farm bill), Dole has spent the past few weeks adding to his Senate campaign kitty. He cheerfully reminds donors that the money can be used for "other federal races down the road, if anything comes to mind." But in order to win the big prize, he acknowledges, he must plant in the public's mind an impression broader than that of "Mr. Austerity." He must also erase lingering traces of a harsh image created in his 1976 campaign as Gerald Ford's acid-tongued, conservative running mate. Dole has long since repented, observing once that he erred in "going for the jugular—my own."

While Dole is still a conservative by any reasonable definition, his party has moved rightward, depositing him in its center. Although he subscribes to many items on the New Right's agenda, such as constitutional amendments for school prayer and against abortion, "they don't me for not being aggressive enough," Dole says.

"The biggest difficulty Dole faces is being majority leader," says Reagan's pollster Richard Wirthlin, who has also done surveys for Dole. "There are constraints on his time. He can't dodge taking strong positions on issues. He's right in the cross hairs." Dole disagrees, at least for now. "If I have a chance," he said, "it's because I've been majority leader." Yet when pressed, Dole acknowledges that if his presidential prospects pick up by the end of this session, he might consider giving up the leadership to devote more time to the quest. "I don't think you make that kind of judgment before you know you're a real player in the other arena," he said. "I should know that by the end of the year."

—By Laurence L. Barrett