

248.1987

Chicago Tribune cont.

As he speaks, the tall, handsome senator, who carries himself with the grace of the fine athlete he once was, usually clutches a pen in his right hand. It's the only visible reminder of the injuries that almost killed him, left him paralyzed for a time and permanently cost him the use of his right arm and much of the feeling in his left hand. He clenches the pen to discourage people from gripping his right hand, which is easily hurt. He tells audiences about going into politics and serving as Russell County attorney, about approving welfare checks for struggling farmers including his grandparents. He talks of compassion and helping others begin to climb the ladder of success. He talks of optimism because "if I weren't an optimist I wouldn't be standing here right now." He talks of competence and leadership and sensitivity, the qualities he says Americans will be looking for in 1988. "I have been tested in many, many ways in my lifetime," Dole says. "I've made

"There was this feeling that you've got to open up," he said. "Everybody said you've got to let people know what you're really about, where you're from, what do you really know about life."  
"I don't recall doing it in 1976 at all," said Dole, who was former President Gerald Ford's running mate that year. "In the Senate races, you always wondered if maybe it was a weakness, not a strength."

The senator, who has been criticized for not articulating a "vision" for his candidacy, plans to use the occasion of his formal announcement this autumn to spell out where he wants to take America and "why I'm doing what I'm doing." In the meantime he equates "opening up" about himself with his hopes to opening up the Republican Party.

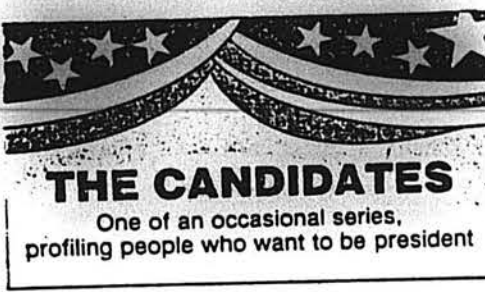
"If people think you've had a few problems in your own lifetime, they are more likely to listen," Dole said. "Otherwise they think 'Oh, that's just another politician up there.'"

"But you've got to be very careful, not self-serving and not looking for sympathy," he said. "There is a way to tie it all together. I've been harping about broadening the base of the party, and I can get up there and say it with conviction. I've lived it as far as bringing in the disabled and working people, good average Americans."

His working-class background and what he calls the "war thing" strikes responsive chords with nearly everybody, black or brown or young or old or whatever," Dole said.

Dole's colleagues and old friends, such as Russ Townsley, the editor of the Russell News-Record, are fascinated by his new willingness to talk about himself and especially about the "war thing."

"I had a feeling he was avoiding it," said Townsley, who has known Dole since 1947. "I think he has taken a long time to release whatever it was inside that was keeping him from recognizing he was injured."



it the old-fashioned way. I've worked at it and I've earned it."  
Flying back to Washington after the speech in Mobile to the Fraternal Order of Police convention, Dole discussed why, after all his years in politics, he has decided to talk about himself.

Elizabeth Dole said in an interview last year that her husband did not talk about his war experience unless he was asked. In fact, she said, she knew him for two years before she heard the whole story of how he was shot, lay for hours on the battlefield, then struggled for years to recover. "I had no idea," she said.

The use of his background in his speeches also points to a difference between Dole and Vice President George Bush, the front-runner for the Republican nomination who was born with an entire set of silver spoons in his mouth.

Indeed, when he talks about that difference, there is a hint of a poor prairie boy's resentment of scions of rich, Eastern establishment families.

"Maybe he can try to dig up a log cabin somewhere," Dole says of Bush.

In addition, the "opening up" of Bob Dole is aimed at helping soften the edges of his reputation as a rough political gut-fighter who has been called a "hatchet man," and who other candidates

Continued on page 2

Chicago Tribune cont.

His dominance was noted in the current edition of "Politics in America," a political almanac put out by Congressional Quarterly. "It is against his performance and ability to use power that Senate leaders in the foreseeable future will be judged," the book said of Dole's stint as majority leader.

But political graveyards are littered with the bones of successful senators who tried to be president. It's not enough for Dole to convince people he's a good guy. He also needs money and organization, two things Bush has a lot of.

So far, Dole has raised about \$5 million; Bush has about \$10 million. The vice president also has an organization run by many of the same strategists who ran the Reagan campaigns of 1980 and 1984. They are especially strong in the South, where the nomination could be virtually decided in 20 primaries and caucuses, including 14 all held the same day—next March 8.

"We're still playing catch-up," Dole said. "But I feel pretty good about it."

Most political polls place Dole behind Bush but well within striking distance.

Dole's strategy is to win or come in a close second in the Iowa caucuses, first of the nation's presidential caucuses. He also needs to finish strong in New Hampshire primaries and then stay close to Bush in the so-called Super Tuesday contests March 8, where Bush's money and organization give him an apparent advantage.

Dole is spending much of August traveling in Super Tuesday states and working to improve his organization and fundraising. Part of his strategy appears to be to stay close to Bush, so if the vice president falters, Dole will be the logical candidate.

A key to Dole's strategy is to emphasize his image as a strong leader, while intimating that Bush may not be that strong of a leader.

He ran through the list of issues that he feels will be important in the campaign—the deficit, trade, agriculture and judicial appointments, among others.

"I think I could make a difference," he said.

Chicago Tribune cont.

Continued from first Tempo page strategists accuse of having a "mean streak."

Although he has been a powerful and admired prince of the Senate for several years, Dole's dark side and what it could do to his presidential campaign are subjects of speculation whenever political gossips get together in this long, hot summer.

That's partly because there is a sense that Bush is a fragile front-runner and could stumble. If that should happen, current reasoning goes, Dole, with an image as a strong but compassionate leader, would have a good chance of winning not only the Republican nomination but also the 1988 election because he could appeal to Democrats and independents.

But then, speculation turns to whether Dole might self-destruct. Observers point back to the 1976 campaign and the debate with Walter Mondale, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, when Dole referred to the wars in this century as "Democrat wars," apparently revealing a bitterness that worried many voters.

There are other memories from that campaign of Dole weeping in an emotional homcoming on the Russell County Courthouse steps when he came home with President Ford after the Republican convention, of his calling opponent Jimmy Carter "a Southern-fried McGovern," of his tough tactics somehow costing Republicans the election.

Actually, the Republican ticket came from 30 points behind to almost win. And Ford's pardon of President Richard Nixon after he resigned from office because of the Watergate scandal, plus Ford's image as something of a bumbler, did not help. But to this day there are Republicans and Democrats who think the loss was Dole's fault.

Dole's standard reply about 1976 is "I was supposed to go for the jugular and I did—my own."

Speculation about 1988 also focuses on what is perceived to be other facets of his darker side: his inability to delegate authority, and his treatment of his staff.

"He has always had a problem of wanting to do everything himself," said a Republican Party official. "And I hear his organization is not coming together. But he's still got a lot of time."

As for his staff, stories keep circulating about Dole being a hard, demanding boss who does not forgive mistakes and has trouble keeping quality employees. But many members of his Senate staff have been with him for years and show an affection and loyalty

Roderick DeArment, who was Dole's chief of staff when he was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and majority leader, said most stories about Dole's staff problems are a "myth."

"He's a hard-working guy, and he expects people who work for him to work hard, but he is not a guy who is personally abusive," said DeArment, now a Washington lawyer who plans to work in the Dole campaign. Speaking of the Finance Committee staff, he said: "They didn't come in as Dole loyalists, but they went out as Dole loyalists." He said that "virtually every one" of the former staff members wants to work on the campaign.

Many "bad" Dole stories go back to 1960s and '70s, when he was a hungry, highly partisan congressman and young senator.

But after his first marriage ended in divorce in 1972, he married Elizabeth Hanford, a North Carolinian who is a Harvard Law School graduate and currently is the U.S. secretary of transportation.

Whether Elizabeth Dole was responsible for smoothing her husband's rougher edges or whether time and success mellowed the man, the Bob Dole of the 1980s seems different.

The wit that can flash at both opponents and himself with equal speed is still there, though the presidential candidate seems to be making an effort to watch his tongue. "People don't want Jack Benny for president," he once told a reporter.

A black-cloud look still can descend over his face, signaling a storm that can be scary, but most colleagues seem to regard Dole as tough, not mean.

And Dole still seems to do or say some things only to gain political or tactical edge. A case in point is his espousal of several issues dear to the hearts of conservatives but which appear to run counter to his other views.

For instance, critics cite his championing of antigovernment guerrillas in Mozambique who are supported by conservatives for their anti-Marxist stand but are thought to be associated with South Africa and are not officially condoned by the Reagan administration.

"He sees Mozambique as a little button he can hit for the Right," said Christopher Matthews, who was a speech writer for President Carter and a top aide to former House Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D., Mass.)

But Matthews is the author of a newspaper column that has come close to endorsing Dole for president. Citing Dole's wit, as well as his courage, Matthews wrote: "We could use a laugh in this campaign. We could also use a hero."

When Republicans won control of the Senate in the 1980 Reagan landslide, Dole came into his own. He became chairman of the Finance Committee and helped pass legislation in 1981 cutting taxes. But then he muscled through bills in 1982 and 1984 that closed loopholes and raised taxes in an effort to deal with the soaring federal budget deficit. He also played a key role in extending the Voting Rights Act and battling out an ailing Social Security system.

At the end of 1985, his Republican colleagues chose him to be majority leader, succeeding retiring Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee, who is now White House chief of staff. Although his party lost control of the Senate in the 1986 elections, Dole's tenure as leader has been praised by colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

"He is clearly a very competent leader," said Sen. Thad Cochran of Mississippi, a member of the Republican leadership. "He's very assertive and not shy about getting into battle."

"He's very partisan, but he's very effective," said Sen. George Mitchell of Maine, a member of the Democratic leadership. "He's a very tough guy, but you have to be tough to be president."  
"You can make a deal with him and go over the cliff with it," said Democratic Sen. Alan Dixon of Illinois. He added that he wasn't sure how Dole did it, but he found it "interesting" the way Dole could distance himself from the Reagan administration on some issues at the same time he was being an effective leader for the White House in the Senate.

When Dole was majority leader, he seemed to be everywhere, whether on network news or giving a tour of the Capitol to the Afghanistan's turbaned guerrillas. This year, however, he has purposely tried to let the new majority leader, Robert Byrd of West Virginia, have his day in the sun, a gesture said to be appreciated by the proud Democrat. But every day, senators and staff members from both parties slip and refer to Dole as the majority leader.



Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, who is the secretary of transportation. Some credit her with smoothing his rough edges.

Chicago Tribune cont.

Robert Joseph Dole

- Birthdate: July 22, 1923.
- Birthplace: Russell, Kan.
- Family: Wife, Elizabeth; daughter, Robin, from first marriage
- Education: Attended University of Kansas, 1941-43. Received bachelor's and law degrees, 1952, Washburn University in Topeka, Kan.
- Military experience: Army, 1943-48. Dole was wounded twice and decorated twice as an infantry platoon leader in Italy during World War II. His injuries cost him a kidney and the use of his right arm.
- Job experience: Senate minority leader, 1967-present; Senate majority leader, 1985-86; candidate for Republican presidential nomination, 1980; Republican nominee for vice president, 1976; U.S. Senate, 1969-present; U.S. House, 1961-69; Russell County (Kan.) attorney, 1953-61; Kansas House, 1951-53.
- Political strengths: Mastery of the inside workings of the government; approach to law-making that is both innovative and pragmatic; ability (though not always utilized) to go beyond partisan appeal; sharp wit; his wife, Secretary of Transportation, Elizabeth Dole.
- Political weaknesses: Reputation as a partisan hatchet man; tendency to take on too many projects and delegate too few tasks; perception that he is a loner.
- Leading fundraisers: Dave Owen, a Kansas City businessman, is a long-time Dole supporter; Joe Fogg, of Morgan Stanley, is to be national finance director of the campaign; 28-year-old Kirk Cribbenburg, former executive director of Dole's political action committee Campaign America, is to be the campaign's treasurer.
- Leading advisers: Robert Elsworth, political director for Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign and former U.S. ambassador to NATO, is to be campaign chairman; Robert Lighthizer, Washington lawyer and former Senate Finance Committee chief of staff, is to be campaign vice-chairman; William Lacy, former assistant to President Reagan for political affairs and former political director of the Republican National Committee, is to be chief operating officer of the campaign. Conservative strategists David Keene, John Sears and Donald Devine are to serve as consultants to the campaign.



Dole frequently clenches a pen to discourage people from gripping his easily-hurt right

Chicago Tribune Graphic. Sources: Almanac of American Politics, Congressional