

But as the Presidential race heats up, voters may want to take a closer look at the private lives of these public people.

After 20 years of marriage, the Doles have become one of the most smoothly oiled political machines in either party. He has risen to become Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate and the current GOP front-runner for the Presidential nomination. She has held two Cabinet posts—Secretary of Transportation under President Reagan and Secretary of Labor under President Bush. As the current president of the American Red Cross, she has put her personal stamp on that organization, whose \$1.8 billion annual budget and 1.5 million volunteers make it the largest humanitarian operation in the world.

The Doles are popular figures in the nation's capital. Though Bob Dole has often come across on TV as a brooding, caustic politician, he is in fact widely admired by both his Democratic and Republican colleagues.

For her part, Elizabeth Dole, who invariably makes every list of the most-admired women in America, receives about 6000 requests for speeches a year. Nonetheless, only a year ago, many political observers were saying that Dole was too old and too old-fashioned to win his party's nomination for the Presidency. Indeed, he has reached for the political brass ring two times before—in 1980 and 1988—and lost each time.

Furthermore, savvy political handicappers point out that Dole, who has been in Congress for 34 years, is viewed with skepticism by a public that is fed up with political insiders. That he is regarded by both Republicans and Democrats as a politician's politician—someone who is ready to give a little to get a little—may turn out to be his biggest obstacle. "Dole's a man who understands the art of compromise, a real deal-maker," a Washington observer explained. "The trouble with that is he leaves people wondering if he stands for anything." His recent lurch to the right on such issues as gun control and contributions from gay Republicans only reinforces this reputation.

arm partially paralyzed and lent, some say, a jagged edge to his personality. He and Phyllis have a daughter, Robin, now 40. When Dole began dating Elizabeth Hanford, she was an ambitious Harvard Law School graduate who was approaching 40 and had not married. "He used to come down to North Carolina to visit with my parents fairly often," she recalled, "and one morning he went down to the kitchen where Mother was fixing breakfast. He had a towel over his shoulder, and he said, 'Mrs. Hanford, I think you ought to see my problem.' And it was his ear injuries. And Mother said, 'Bob, that's not a problem. That's a badge of honor.'"

A fervent Christian, Elizabeth combined a desire to tend to the needs of others with a longing for a career in public service. In September 1976, 10 months after she and Senator Dole were married, she temporarily left her post at the Federal Trade Commission to campaign with her husband, who was on the Republican ticket as Gerald Ford's running mate.

Friends say that Elizabeth Dole's Southern-belle exterior conceals a tough, orderly mind and that it is she who has been instrumental in pushing her husband toward the White House. They note that after the Republican debacle in 1976, she

risers, they divide up the household chores. After the Senator makes the bed, he and Leader, the Doles' 12-year-old miniature schnauzer, are chauffeured to the Capitol in a government car. Mrs. Dole drives herself to work in the family's 1987 Chevrolet Celebrity. Once at their offices, they fax each other their jam-packed schedules, so they can keep track of one another's whereabouts.

Each is on the road 100 days or more a year. When they haven't seen each other

for a long stretch of time, the Senator, normally a reticent Midwesterner, wires flowers to Elizabeth along with a little note. Her presents to him are of a more practical nature. She bought him a rowing machine, which they keep in their small extra bedroom along with a Stairmaster. In their master bedroom, there is a treadmill, which they take turns using at night while they watch their favorite TV programs, such as *Murder, She Wrote*, or movies like *City Slickers*—never, presumably, R-rated films.

The Doles are health-conscious. In the last four years, they have undergone major operations—he for prostate cancer and she for a blocked carotid artery. Both received clean bills of health during recent medical checkups.

Though they are on the A-list of every hostess in Washington, the Doles rarely go out at night. They prefer to stay home and order takeout from the Chinese restaurant in the Watergate complex. "If it doesn't involve more than one ingredient," she said, "Bob's willing to cook it. Like boiling a hot dog or something. He's not into gourmet dishes. I enjoy fixing a good meal for him on those nights when the Senate is not in session."

On weekends, she sometimes accompanies him on campaign stops, although she has studiously avoided the appearance of becoming too deeply involved in the campaign, because the Red Cross is a nonpartisan organization.

In 1979 and again in 1987, Mrs. Dole was criticized by some for resigning from high-profile government posts in order to help her husband campaign. She still



Above: Bob and Elizabeth Dole on their wedding day, Dec. 6, 1975.



Left: As president of the American Red Cross, Mrs. Dole visits victims of Hurricane Andrew in Florida in 1992.



Right: The Senator exercises on his treadmill at home.

studied videotapes of Bob's prickly campaign appearances and set out to soften his reputation as the party's hatchet man.

When I met with the Senator in his chambers on Capitol Hill, I asked about the stories that his wife has tried to transform him into a kinder, gentler politician.

"She tells me to smile more," he replied. "Her mother tells me to smile more. A lot of people tell me to smile more. I'm trying to learn how to do that. But, you know, it's a tough job up here—talking about life-and-death issues or war and peace—and sometimes there's nothing worth smiling about. I think you're pretty much who you are, and it's pretty hard to say, well, tomorrow you're going to be different."

The Doles are highly disciplined people who put in 12- to 14-hour days. Early

First of all, I admire who she is," said Senator Dole about his wife. "I mean, her discipline, her attitude, her morality, what she has done in her lifetime."

believes those critics were wrong.

"I don't feel that it was a matter of sacrificing my career," she said. "It's really a matter of adjustments. It wasn't something I had to do. It was something I chose to do. And I think that's what women have been fighting for—the right to make our own decisions about what's best for ourselves and our families."

"Running for the Presidency is a big, big undertaking," Senator Dole added. "The last time we did it, it all ended in New Hampshire. It's pfff, like that. But you get over it. This is a tough business

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THE DOLES/continued

we're in. And today it's more and more demanding. You figure you've got to raise \$25 million in a year, and you raise it in \$1000 donations at a time. It's got to be a team effort." If her husband wins the nomination, Mrs. Dole presumably will again join him full-time on the campaign trail.

She is an extremely effective public speaker, and the Senator welcomes her help. He is known as one of the earliest male supporters of equal opportunity for women in politics. "Politics is no longer just a man's world," he said. "It's opened up. You don't look at the man or the woman, you look at their philosophy. What would they do if they got elected?"

"What is it about your wife that you admire the most?" I asked.

"Well," he said, "first of all, probably who she is. I mean, her discipline, her attitude, her morality and what she has done in her lifetime. And then, of course, her government service. And in addition, obviously, she's been a very active campaigner in Presidential races—not just mine, but on behalf of Presidents Reagan and Bush. She's well known across the country. And I kid a lot about it. They say, 'Are you going to run?' And I say, 'No, I think it's Elizabeth's turn.'"

"What would your reaction be if your wife someday were elected President?" "I told her, 'Just give me a car and a driver, and I'll be happy,'" he replied with his typical deadpan wit. "I won't try to make any policy."

Mrs. Dole is adept at participating in this running joke. Once, her husband was asked at a public event if being married to a powerful woman ever made him feel emasculated. "Hold it, cupcake," she interrupted. "I'll take that one."

What role would she play if her husband were elected President? She has positioned herself as the polar opposite of the feminist Hillary Rodham Clinton. "Hillary Clinton is a smart lady in a tough spot," she said. "I usually don't agree with her views on issues, but I think she has the courage of her convictions. But does everyone from this point on need to do what Hillary Clinton has done? No, I don't see that as a precedent. I think each successive First Spouse will decide what is the right role. And that's the way it should be. The role should fit the person."

Some friends have suggested that, if her husband becomes President, Elizabeth Dole should stay on at the Red Cross and become the first First Lady with a real career outside the White House. But knowledgeable sources say that probably would not be possible, given political sensitivities.

"With public service, it's not a question of a particular job or even winning an election," Mrs. Dole said. "It's a question of making a positive difference for people. What's important to Bob and me is that we feel a sense of mission. It's the mission that drives you forward. You don't ever have to think about it once it becomes a part of you."

Dole attacks 'Polarizer' Phil Gramm

The Associated Press
COLUMBIA, S.C. — Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole accused rival Phil Gramm of grandstanding for suggesting that Dole was too willing to sacrifice Republican conservative ideals in compromising with Democrats.

"He's a polarizer. Phil the Polarizer," he's called," Dole, the front-runner for the GOP presidential nomination, told reporters Saturday at his South Carolina headquarters. "There's a limit to how much you can grandstand."

Dole made the comments after a speech to the South Carolina Federation of Republican Women.

Sen. Gramm, R-Texas, had talked to the organization Friday night.

The name-calling marked a departure from Dole's pledge earlier this year to refrain from getting drawn into a war of words with Gramm or other rivals. In previous bids for the White House, the Kansas senator had been criticized for his acid tongue and was said to be taking a kinder and gentler approach this time around.

Dole said Saturday that his experience as Senate leader, including his ability to control the "different egos," provides invaluable experience for the White House.

While opponents pile up the bills, Dole campaign rakes in the cash

By Richard Kell
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Campaign debt is creeping up on a number of Republican presidential hopefuls as front-runner Bob Dole becomes the first GOP contender to top the \$20 million mark in contributions.

Dole, the Senate majority leader, was raising \$1 million at a New York fund-raiser Monday night, pushing his total for the year above \$20 million. Reflecting the financial prowess of a front-runner, Dole had \$7 million cash on hand at the end of September, dwarfing a debt of \$700,000, according to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission.

Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, who hovers at 5 percent or less in the

polls, reported cash on hand of just \$121,000 and a debt of \$600,000.

Specter aides said the moderate Republican would remain in the presidential race, and hoped to turn around his lackluster fund-raising performance with a direct mail campaign concentrating largely on Jews and abortion-rights supporters.

Specter is a Jewish moderate who stands at odds with the anti-abortion conservatives dominating the GOP field.

He is not the only Republican running a debt.

California Gov. Pete Wilson dropped out of the race last month, in part because his debt had ballooned to more than \$1 million.

"The real problem here is people who aren't considered front-runners, the guys who aren't expected to last,

these are the guys that are going to have to watch their debt very carefully," said Herbert Alexander, a campaign finance expert at the University of Southern California. "This is going to keep them running at low levels, which makes it tougher to raise money."

Campaign spending reports issued Monday by the campaigns and the FEC showed other candidates carrying debt as well.

Texas Sen. Phil Gramm's debt was \$732,000, compared with the \$4.7 million in cash that Gramm had on Sept. 30.

His debt figure could well increase: Gramm has been spending more than \$4 million in each of the last three quarters, and his fund-raising pace has slipped.

Conservative commentator Pat Buchanan raised \$2.1 million between July and September, besting Gramm by about \$50,000 during the period, and owed \$336,000.

Former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander had \$1.2 million in remaining cash as of Sept. 30, and a debt of \$344,000.

Indiana Sen. Dick Lugar was in roughly the same predicament as Specter, with \$386,000 in cash on hand and debts of \$462,000.

Millionaire publishing heir Steve Forbes, meanwhile, had a debt of more than \$4 million — all of which Forbes himself loaned the campaign.

Debt can be particularly troublesome for cash-starved campaigns, since many banks won't make loans unless campaigns agree to make repayment as soon as federally subsidized campaign funds arrive.

Those checks will be issued in January, when few campaigns will want to spend money on anything other than TV advertising and campaigning in the leadup to the first primaries and caucuses in February.

"If they get matching funds, and the first thing they have to do is pay off a debt to a bank, that just leaves them less cash with which to get out in front of voters at a time when they most need to do so," USC's Alexander said.

Dole: Rejecting gays' money a mistake

Los Angeles Times/Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Weeks after he returned a campaign contribution from a group of gay Republicans, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole on Tuesday called the action a mistake and blamed it on his campaign staff.

"I think if they had consulted me they wouldn't have done that," the presidential candidate said. "I just didn't agree with what happened" when the \$1,000 check from the Log Cabin Republicans, a group of gay and lesbian Republicans, was sent back in August.

Dole made the comments in a Capitol Hill meeting with Ohio reporters.

Until Tuesday, Dole had repeatedly defended the decision to return the contribution.

Tuesday, however, Dole said, "My view is, (just) because you accept money from them, you don't agree with their agenda."

Dole was asked Tuesday if he would solicit the Log Cabin Republicans again and said no. "I don't want to open it all up again," he said. "It's all over."

Tuesday night, his campaign spokesman, Nelson Warfield, called the incident "one of the most over-hyped stories of the year."

David Greer, spokesman for the Log Cabin group, which claims 10,000 members, said another contribution "would be a long time coming. Bob

Dole has been good on our issues, but he's trying to be on all sides of the question."

Just as Dole on Tuesday blamed the rejection decision on a lack of consultation with him, so Warfield back in August blamed "some members of the finance team" operating on their own.

Dole's decision drew widespread criticism in August, including a stinging letter from Rep. Steve Gunderson, R-Wis., an early endorser of Dole's candidacy and an acknowledged homosexual.

Gunderson said Tuesday that Dole

had called him when the letter arrived to tell him, "My campaign made a mistake. I should have accepted the contribution and said it's a thank you for my work on the Ryan White (AIDS research) bill, and it would have been over."

Gunderson said he accepted Dole's word and believed the decision to return the \$1,000 "was not a slam on the Log Cabin Republicans but a strategic decision by his staff. They looked at the \$1,000 and they thought of all the grief they would get from Pat Buchanan and decided it wasn't worth it."

Dole plays up his reliable image in New Hampshire

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
The New York Times

MANCHESTER, N.H. — The 75 people gathered at Scott and Michelle Flegal's tidy, three-bedroom house here had quaffed white wine, munched on hors d'oeuvres and donned Bob Dole buttons.

Now, they listened to the candidate tell them why he thought he would be the Republican presidential nominee.

"It's because people have confidence in Bob Dole," he said, using his trademark third-person reference. "They know I'm not going to take you over the edge. I'm a stabilizing force. I'm not a polarizer. "You have to work with people in this business. Yes, with Democrats, yes, with independents and, yes, with Republicans. The American people want us to get things done; get things done."

For a party whose modern icon, Ronald Reagan, was a larger-than-



File photo
With his reassuring presence, Bob Dole is popular in New Hampshire.

life invigorating leader and for an electorate that pundits and polls

say yearns to be excited and inspired, Dole is providing a different image: steady, solid, almost boring, less a blazing star than a persistent day-in-day-out performer.

"I'm the Cal Ripkin of American politics," Dole said during a campaign stop in Manchester last week. "I never miss a game."

So far, it is working. While much of the country has been fixated on speculation about Colin Powell, the retired general, and whether he will jump into the Republican contest, Dole has quietly amassed a formidable lead in fund-raising, organization, endorsements and voter support over the Republicans already in the race. A poll released this week by WMUR, a local television station, showed that 35 percent of the 463 likely Republican voters surveyed in New Hampshire favored Dole, far ahead of his closest rival, Patrick J. Buchanan, who

was supported by 9 percent.

At the moment, the Dole campaign is so confident of the candidate's position as front-runner, that its strategy is to concentrate less on the other Republican contenders, and more on President Clinton.

Yet, even as he has built his big lead, there are some troubling signs for Dole. Recent national polls show him running behind Clinton in a two-man race and behind both the president and Powell in a three-way contest.

And 31 percent of the respondents in the WMUR poll said that if Powell were in the race they would vote for him.

Some Republican strategists say that Dole's commanding lead over other Republicans is less a measure of his popularity, and more the result of the party's sense that Dole's time has come.

With more than a year to go be-