ROBERT J. DOLE
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview with

MIKE GLASSNER

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Interviewer

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Williams: This is an oral history interview for the Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics at the University of Kansas, with Mike Glassner. We are in the Washington, D.C. law offices of Alston & Bird. Today is Tuesday, March 11, 2008. I'm Brien Williams.

Mike, let's start with a little bit of your Kansas roots and background.

Glassner: Sure. I came to live in Kansas in 1972 when I was eight years old, and moved there to live with my oldest sister and her husband—my brother and I both did that—on a farm outside of Peabody, Kansas, which is in South Central Kansas, northeast of Wichita about fifty miles. So I grew up in rural Kansas in the seventies and attended the University of Kansas. I graduated in 1985.

Williams: Before your graduation, you were probably aware of Senator Dole quite a bit.

Glassner: Yes, as a matter of fact, I was. I actually became aware of him, I think, in 1974. I was relatively young. I was eleven years old, I think, when he was running for his reelection to the Senate for a second term, and the county I lived in, Marion County, was a very Republican area, so I recall very clearly a lot of Dole materials and signs. I also remember some of the TV spots that were run at that time. That was really what sparked my interest in politics, was that '74 race. As a matter of fact, I and some of my cronies became somewhat well known for doing a lot of bumper sticker raids for Dole for Senate in parking lots of football games and so forth, not necessarily authorized. So I became a Dole campaign activist at eleven years old in Marion County.

Williams: And never looked back.

Glassner: Never looked back. [laughs]

Williams: You weren't in the dirty tricks—

Glassner: No, no, this was all good, clean fun. In that county at that time it was pretty much all Republican, so I think Dole ran very strongly in Marion County at that time, so there didn't seem to be too much backlash from our shenanigans.

Williams: Of course, that campaign was famous for having come one year after *Roe v. Wade* and the abortion issue popping up in a fairly dramatic way.

Glassner: Yes, it certainly was. As a matter of fact, there's one ad in particular that I know has been somewhat lionized since then, but I do recall seeing it on television as a young man, where it was a Dr. Bill Roy was his opponent and there was an advertisement of a girl—I think it was a girl on a swing in a park was one shot, and then another one was an empty swing, which was implying that if Dr. Roy had his way, she wouldn't have been born. So it was really hard-hitting politics, and I think that was really the first time that anti-abortion had been used widely as sort of a campaign issue in a Senate race. So I think it was quite remarkable as far as science goes. That was a major turning point, I think.

Williams: I guess for an eleven-year-old it was also a certain amount of sex education, right?

Glassner: That's true. [laughs] I knew very little then. I don't know that much more now, but it did make an impression on me as a young person, that politics could be a very tough business. I think a lot of the campaign at that time was also run on the radio. Living in the country, we'd listen to the radio quite a bit. TV, not so much. I can also recall a lot of hard-hitting radio ads that even at that tender age hearing about that campaign, so I know it was very tough. I think they won by one-tenth of 1 percent, as I recall. So it was a very tough campaign, but I recall it rather clearly.

Williams: So at what point did you and the senator then actually meet?

Glassner: I had some ambition from then on to try to figure out some way that I could meet Senator Dole or work for him in some capacity, but my family, then we were very poor and not particularly political, so I really had no connections to Senator Dole or the political scene at all at that time, but I had ambitions to do so. So I later went to the University of Kansas and I was a political science major. In my senior year there at K.U.

I had the opportunity to take an internship in Senator Dole's office in Topeka, Kansas, one of his Senate field offices. So one of my friends had been an intern there, and he helped me become his successor. So I was able to get an internship there in the spring of 1985, January, I think, till May, which was my final semester in college.

In January of that year, Kansas Day occurred in Topeka, which is the annual Republican Party convention, and one of the traditions of Kansas Day that Senator Dole, at least, had had for many years was to have a receiving line where he stood and people could walk through and shake his hand. So I was in his office there, and I got in the line and I shook his hand. I recall very clearly, I told him that I was an intern for him in the Kansas office, and he responded, "Well, you should come to Washington and work for me," which I took very seriously. I don't know if he did when he said it, but I took him literally. So that's what I did later that year.

Williams: Just before we make that move to Washington, tell me a little bit about his field office. What was that like?

Glassner: That was a very interesting place to work, because you're sort of on the front lines for dealing with the constituents and whatever their day-to-day problems may be. My job as an intern was to answer the phones, which means you really can't hide from the demands of the constituents and the voters, and you're expected to provide customer service, if you will, to them. So that was probably one of the best ways to learn about how public service really works, because you're sort of there expected to give responses to people that are maybe angry or maybe upset, or may not be, but they're expecting you to help them out in some way. So it was really a great experience to learn about how constituent service is supposed to work. You know, years later I became his state director, so I was at the other end of the spectrum on the state offices. I found later that that experience of having done that made me much more attuned to what was expected from an elected official from their constituents. So it was very useful.

Williams: How did the liaison between the field office and the Washington office work?

Glassner: There are two main roles of the field offices. One was to register citizens' positions on particular issues that were going on at the time, so, for example, people would call in and say, "I'm against this tax increase," or for that bill, and you're expected to take a tally of the people that were calling in to express their opinions on particular issues. So that was one part. And then second was helping people with problems they were having with the government, primarily with getting their Social Security check or their subsidy check or what have you, try to chase down checks for people. So I always felt the first function was by far the more interesting, and it was also my understanding that Senator Dole always kept himself abreast of what the tallies were that he was getting on calls from field offices for particular issues. So I always felt like that was seemingly mundane, but a fairly important job because it was one of the ways that the senator became informed of what his constituents were thinking about his positions on particular issues. So that also made me feel rather important. I don't know if it's true or not, but I thought he was paying attention to what I was doing, in a way, even though I was the lowest guy on the totem pole.

Williams: And your information was moving up through the state office or did it go directly to Washington?

Glassner: No, we reported directly to the AA in Washington, who I think was Mike Pettit at the time, and presumably he was paying attention to what the numbers were, and then he was passing that along to the senator himself.

Williams: You were in that office for how long?

Glassner: Six months, I think.

Williams: Did Dole drop by ever or often?

Glassner: Yes, he came to the office a couple of times. I don't think he spent a great deal of time in the offices, because that wasn't really that beneficial. He would come there if there was time in his schedule to make phone calls or what-have-you. I think that might

have happened a couple of times. Subsequent to that January Kansas Day when I saw him, I think I probably saw him on a couple of other occasions as well during that period, a relatively brief period.

Williams: So did you call him up and say, "I'm coming to Washington"? How did that work?

Glassner: Well, not exactly that way. My brother had been longtime friends with another person who had had a long association with Senator Dole, a guy named Bill Taggart. My brother had actually dated one of the Taggart twins, one of his daughters at K.U. during that same era when I was there. So Judy Kay Brown, who was the director of the Topeka office, put me in touch with Bill Taggart, and she arranged for me a stay in the Taggart home when I came to Washington, which was something that a long line of Dole people coming from Kansas to Washington had done, so I was another one of the "Taggart stepchildren." So I bought a one-way ticket in June, I guess, to Washington, and Taggart picked me up at the airport and I went and stayed at his home, with the intent of getting a job in the senator's Senate office on the Hill, was my goal, which I never achieved, but I did make it to Washington.

I actually didn't start working for Senator Dole again until the following January of 1986, but I was in Washington for that intervening period, working for another senator on the Hill in the mail room, the lowest form of political life on the Hill. [laughs] It was a very difficult job.

Williams: Then what were the terms and how did you come on board with the Dole team?

Glassner: Well, it became clear there really wasn't a Senate job that I was either going to get or was qualified for, so at the same time, Dole for Senate '86, which was his political committee, had an office in Alexandria, Virginia, and another friend of Taggart, a guy named Kirk Clinkenbeard, who had been a longtime advisor to Senator Dole and been a fundraiser, was running that operation, Dole for Senate, 1986. So it turned out that Clinkenbeard needed an assistant, someone to help him with the fundraising, and so

Taggart somehow talked Clinkenbeard into hiring me in January of 1986. So I was back home for the holidays and he called me and offered me a job to start working for him in '86, I think it was.

Williams: That was here in Washington?

Glassner: Yes, in Alexandria, Virginia, in Old Town. So I came back and I was very excited that I'd finally gotten my big break, so I started working for "Clink" in January of that year.

Williams: That was short-term, because that was all related to the '86 reelection.

Glassner: It was. The job was relatively short-term, I thought. It turned out to last for the next fifteen years, but it was supposed to be just a short period of time then. The job changed considerably, too, once it started. I worked for just a few months helping Clink do his fundraising for the reelection campaign, but it turned out in March of that year, for some reason Senator Dole needed somebody who could travel with him when he did his campaigning on the weekends, which he, at that time, had been the Senate Majority Leader for a year, and so he was in great demand to appear for other senators and candidates at all levels, which he could only do over the weekends because he was running the Senate in the meantime. So he needed somebody that was available to travel with him on roughly Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Mondays, mostly weekends.

So I was young and unattached and was from Kansas, so I was seemingly qualified enough to go on a trial trip to Michigan, which I did with him and Clink one weekend, as I recall. We went to the thumb area of Michigan for a county fundraiser. So that was my first trip with Senator Dole, was in March of that year.

Williams: In anticipation of that trip, you were probably fairly nervous.

Glassner: I was nervous. That was the second time, I think, I'd been on an airplane--the first time was to go to Washington to move here--so this was the second time, and this was not any airplane; it was a private jet, which I'd never been close to or near to at any

time. So that made me nervous. Thirdly, I had no clothes, because I was a pauper and had come to Washington without any means of support and still didn't have any, for that matter. So I was able to scrape together enough money to buy a suit and a tie, so that I would be presentable for this trip to Michigan. So once I got all that together, and a pair of shoes, so once I'd gotten myself pulled together and found out where the airport was, and showed up on time, I was able to go on that trip.

Williams: Tell me how that trip went.

Glassner: It was very interesting, because it went very well. When you're in one of those small airplanes and there was just three people, you can't hide your personality, and you pretty much known within a short—it's like being locked in a closet with someone. You know within a relatively short period of time whether you're going to have a rapport with them or if you're going to not. So it was very interesting that even our age difference was significant and our station in life was radically—there was a big gulf, that we were able to have a very good relationship seemingly from the beginning, from that first plane trip, and we hit it off quite well. Clink told me a few tricks on what he liked and didn't like when he was campaigning. I watched closely and learned a few things. I think the first trip went very well. It was very interesting for me to be somewhere other than Kansas and with my boyhood hero, so I think it went fairly well. I was asked to go back the next week and subsequent weeks and months and years, so I think it went pretty well the first time.

Williams: So you just grew into that job right from that Michigan trip onward?

Glassner: From that point onward. Right. So he needed somebody who could have the ability to go help with logistics and political follow-up. Even at that time I was a one-man band, so I had to deal with the media, so I became sort of a jack-of-all-trades and had to deal with whatever, anything that would occur, that would come at that point. I always thought it was sort of an interesting dynamic, too, because when he was in Washington, he had the Senate majority staff and he had his personal staff and he had basically scores of staff people around, yet on Fridays when it was time to leave town for

the next three or our days, it was just me. So it was quite an interesting scenario where you went from this huge infrastructure when he was in Washington, to just one twenty-two-year-old guy from Peabody when he left. But not that all those people weren't there, but they weren't in the room like they had been in Washington. So it became sort of a very interesting dynamic, I thought. It was a lot of responsibility. I mean, looking back, it seems like an incredible amount of responsibility for a young sort of untested person, but again, we had a very good, close rapport, such that it wasn't really uncomfortable for either of us from the beginning and still isn't to this day.

Williams: Do you recall some of the advice that Clink gave you?

Glassner: Yes, it was always to be on time and know the schedule very well, know where you were going and how long it was going to take to be there, whether it was to be on a jet flight or on a drive time, or the time you're supposed to be at an event. There was always a well-printed-out schedule, and he recommended that I try to essentially memorize it before I would go on any trip, because, as he explained, and it was factually true, that Senator Dole certainly had and he knew every detail what was expected for the trip, how long the flight would be and how long the drive would be and what were the circumstances of the speech, and that he knew all that, so when I was asked a question, I was certainly expected to know that as well as a staff guy. So I tried to make it my business to memorize and learn as much as I could about the logistical details of a trip as much as I could before we left on one. So that was a very important aspect to that.

A lot of the job, too, in addition to that, was sort of being alert to whatever the political circumstances of the appearance were, who the candidate was, what he was running for, and as much political intelligence as you could try to amass before you would leave on a trip, so you could appear as if you're at least knowledgeable in some way about what it is you were doing that weekend.

Another important aspect was that considering Senator Dole's disability, there were some things that he could and could not do as a result of that, and so a large part of the job was compensating for that, certain things you would need to do to compensate for that, some of which were significant, some were insignificant, but to do it in such a way that it wasn't really readily apparent to outsiders, so it didn't look like he needed

somebody to help him do things, that I was just another guy that was there or maybe a security guy or whatever, some other role than that, yet that was one of the primary roles. So a lot of the tips he gave me were how to help him with certain things that he couldn't do physically as well.

Williams: Did the senator himself say to you, "Young man, I want you for this, this, and this," or did you sort of grow into the job with Clink's advice?

Glassner: Yes, with Clink's advice and others that had been around him for a lot of years. No, he never really made it clear what he did and didn't want me to do, but I tried to be as observant as I possibly could be, although that was a long time ago, but in the early years of doing that, he might have asked me to do some things, like open a Coke bottle, which wouldn't necessarily occur to me that he couldn't do. But I think that the majority of it was sort of just observing and growing into the job and paying attention to what he could and couldn't do and then trying to help compensate for the things that he would let me help him with, which wasn't everything. Some things he didn't want help with, but clearly they were difficult, and other things he would let me. I mean, it really just depended on what the situation was and who was around and if it was in public or private.

Williams: Would you mind talking a little bit about what he could and couldn't do? Because a lot of people don't understand the extent of his disabilities and the challenges that he met on a daily basis.

Glassner: Yes. I think I can describe the extent of his disabilities. During the wartime, the injuries he sustained were primarily to the right side of his body, so the most obvious disability was his very limited use of his right arm. He also had very little hearing in his right ear as a result of those same injuries, and that's probably less known. What I used to do was try to think about—I'd walk into a room in any given scenario and try to think about what it is that I could or couldn't do if I only had one arm. So probably one of the primary things that became obvious to me is that he basically can't carry anything, because if he were to carry anything, he would have to do it with his left arm and then he

wouldn't be able to shake hands, which was his main job when we were on the campaign trail. That's a function that people expect you to do whenever they see you, is shake your hand, in the political life. So I realized very early that he basically couldn't hold anything, so if there was a briefing book or if there was a drink or if somebody handed him something, or he had his coat that he had taken off that he couldn't hold, so that was really one of the main functions, was to keep that left hand free, so to try to pay attention to everything that he was—or in any scenario in a given circumstance that would require that, I would sort of take over and naturally take it away from him. So that would extend to a variety of those things, a few I just listed.

I would also try to take care to speak into his left ear to make it easier for him to hear me and understand what I was trying to say to him. And a number of other functions. Probably the primary ones are autographs. People always wanted an autograph from him, and along with him I helped with tens of thousands of autographs, I'm sure, but if you think about trying to sign an autograph with one hand, it's virtually impossible, because typically you hold whatever the piece of paper is with one hand and sign it with the other, which is not possible in his case. So I always carried a little black notebook around, which I did from that first trip on, until today if I'm ever with him, which is rarely, but if I am, if that's part of what I'm supposed to be doing, so that I would hold it like this [demonstrates], and whatever he was signing would go down and I would hold that down, and then he would sign it. So I would always stay sort of on his right side, and that was one of the main functions, was the signing of the autograph, to which there was just hundreds of thousands over the years that had to be done. That also serves a helpful function, too, because if I was standing to his right, I was able to prevent people from grabbing his right arm or his right hand, which I think caused him discomfort. So if you're sort of in the way, they can't do that. So I would always try to stand on that side, always find a reason to stand on that side and keep people from doing that.

Probably one of the other major functions, if you think about it, is eating food. So, eating food, if you think about it, with one hand is fairly difficult, particularly if it's a piece of meat. So that's another thing that I always paid attention to and always was preemptive about going to a maître d' or go to the kitchen or go to whoever was serving the dinner, if it was a private home, and ask them to cut up his meat in little pieces before

they brought it out to the table so it wasn't even apparent that that was required for him to do. So, that was probably a couple of examples of the main things in that piece of the job that I always tried to pay attention to.

Williams: What about dressing or taking a coat off and things of this nature?

Glassner: That was always something that he was able to do on his own entirely, so I never really had to help him get dressed or undressed at all. Now, I think it was exceedingly difficult for him and I think it took a long time for him to do it, but I think that early on in his recovery from his wounds, my presumption always was that's something he wanted to do himself and he wanted to be able to do it himself and didn't need help doing it. The way that he would arrange his clothing, too, made him able to do it by himself. So that's something I never really had to help with and never did. I think it took him over an hour to get dressed, where it would take you and I ten minutes, but he did it himself and didn't want help, and I never did.

Williams: You've described your job on Friday through Monday. The rest of the week you were doing what?

Glassner: Well, it depends on what area you're talking about, because I traveled from that first trip in 1986, I went on to travel with him all the way through the end of his '96 presidential campaign more or less continuously, though there were some periods there that I didn't do it. So it really depended on the scale of the campaign operation that was under way at the time. For example, in '86 it was he and I going out to campaign for people for the most part. Sometimes there would be somebody else with us. On the other hand, in the general election in 1996, we had two or three 737s and twenty-five-car motorcades and hundreds of support staff that was required to keep a general election candidate going. So what I did in the time in between those trips was really a function of the campaign scenario we were in, so for the most part, in between the trips I would help plan the next one and I was always involved in the fundraising, too, because that was one of the vital parts of whatever enterprise we were undertaking, be it Dole '86 and then Dole for President in '88, which followed fairly closely on the heels of the '86 campaign,

so what you'd mentioned before, that it was going to be a short-term job, it sort of folded right in, turned into a presidential primary campaign. So a lot of the work I did in between the trips then was helping devise the next trip and helped with the fundraising operation in between those two trips. So for that period, '86, '87, '88, was primarily just driven by the logistical plans for the campaign trips that he was doing.

Williams: Your office was where?

Glassner: In Alexandria. That was in '86 and '87. Then in '88, Dole for President '88 had an office in downtown Washington here on L Street. It was a much larger operation for the primary campaign, and that was in '87 and '88.

Williams: So during that period, you never had an office on the Hill?

Glassner: I never had an office on the Hill. As a matter of fact, for all these years, for the total of fifteen years that I've worked for him, I never worked on the Hill. I was always in the campaign operations and/or as a consultant. I did work on the Senate staff for a period of about three years, but that was in Kansas. I was the state director.

Williams: What years was that?

Glassner: The '88 campaign ended when George [H.W.] Bush won the primaries, and I stayed on and worked for Campaign America, which was his Political Action Committee, during the balance of the '88 campaign and into '89. Then the summer of '89, I moved back to Kansas and I took over as state director of his field offices, which I did until 1992. Then in '92 I became the manager of Dole for Senate '92, which was his final Senate race. That lasted until his reelection in '92, and then I went back and did Campaign America again, and through the '94 cycle and then it became clear he was going to run again, so I came back to Washington for the '95-'96 campaign. So I sort of went back and forth, depending on the campaigns that were going on.

Williams: But when you were out there, that was always as state director for that period?

Glassner: That was as state director, although that was a fairly long period of time, three years, and I always had sort of a political eye also, because I always presumed my job going there in '89 was to get him ready to sort of heighten the political activity that he was engaged in in the state, in preparation for his '92 reelection. So in my view, that was sort of a lead-in to working on the '92 campaign, which is not atypical. And also on the Senate staff, the way the Senate rules were at the time—I believe they still are—you can have one person who can handle political funds on your Senate staff, and so I had that designation. So I spent a lot of that time also involved in fundraising while I was the state director.

Williams: Did you have people that you worked with on a regular basis in either the Leader's office or his personal office?

Glassner: Yes, I did. Because I had been here for the '88 presidential campaign, I'd gotten to know his Senate staff quite well, so Sheila Burke is somebody that I had worked with, and Jo-Anne [L.] Coe, very closely during that '88 cycle, who were on his Senate staff, and Joyce McCluney was there and Walt Riker was there. So I had become quite familiar with his Senate staff because of my role as his personal aide during the '88 campaign, so when I went back to Kansas, I tried to maintain those relationships as much as I could. I think even at that time I reported in to Mike Pettit, who was in the Washington office, I think as the AA. Then there was another guy, Jim Hooley, who was his AA for a short period of time in the early nineties. So, yes, because I'd had the experience back in Washington, I'd felt like I had good access to the Washington staff when I was in Kansas.

Williams: I imagine there would be a fair amount of scheduling and discussion of itineraries and that kind of stuff.

Glassner: There was, yes.

Williams: Who were you mainly having those discussions with?

Glassner: The way that they had it set up then was that when he was in Kansas—well, there was really two different groups. So when he was in Kansas, Judy Kay Brown, who I'd worked for when I was an intern, wrote his Kansas schedules for when he was in Kansas, so I would work with her on those. But at the same time I also traveled with him on much of his national campaigning, still on the weekends. Even though I was in Kansas, I would go back to Washington and travel with him for various periods during that time also, on my free time. I think Jo-Anne was doing a lot of the scheduling in that interim period after he had run the first time, before he ran the second time for president.

Williams: So who became his right-hand person when you were unavailable?

Glassner: There was another guy, named Dean [Burridge?], who worked for him on the Hill, who did some traveling with him, I think, when I wasn't available. I think there were sort of two or three different people who kind of filled in when I was out in Kansas during that period. A lot of it I did. If it was an extended trip, I would come back and I would meet him and go on long—if there was any kind of a major trip or if he wanted me to go. But I think there was sort of a revolving cast of other people who went during that period.

Williams: Did anyone ever express resentment that you had this incredible access to him?

Glassner: Not to me. It might have been. It was sort of a job that everybody understood had to be done, and I think that the staff also knew that the more experience you had at it, that probably the better you were and the easier it would be on everyone. So I never really felt any kind of resentment or negativity with the staff for the role I had, just because after I did it for a year or two, I became sort of a standard part of the operation, so I can't really recall if there was any kind of resentment of that type. I always tried to be sort of a fair broker, because I was the only person who was really an eyewitness to what was going on for half the week of his life. I always tried to be good about reporting back to whoever might be interested about the various parts, though, about what had

occurred. So I like to think that I had a good working relationship with all the different people who were more senior to me about things they needed to know about what might have occurred during those days when we were out of Washington. So I don't really recall any kind of resentment or negativity, although I might have forgotten it, but I don't remember.

Williams: What was it like to be with him on these trips?

Glassner: A lot of it was very—it really depends on what different sort of segment of that time, because it was over a significant period of time. It's interesting, in looking back, I joined his staff as an intern in the same month that he was elected Senate Majority Leader, so by the time I showed up, he already had a very long career in Congress, and I sort of showed up for what became the apex of his political career, if you will. Although he'd run for president in '80, that was short-lived. Of course, he had been on the vice presidential ticket before that. But '85 was sort of the beginning of his prominence as a national political figure that went on for over a decade to follow that.

I couldn't believe what I had dreamed that I hoped I would do when I was eleven had actually come true. That was the main thing, you know, having had no money or connections to anybody, that it actually occurred. So that was probably the most dominant thought I had. The other part I really enjoyed was being able to go to all different parts of the country and meeting people in every part of the country. Like I had mentioned, I'd really never been outside of Kansas much when I came here to work for him in '85. I started traveling for him in January of '86, and by the summer of '88 I had been to fifty states with him in a period of like two years, many of them several times. So I think that was probably one of the most exciting parts about it, was being able to see the country in its totality.

As a matter of fact, after that, I went back—this was in '88, even before we did it all again in '96, and even to a more extreme degree, as far as the traveling goes, and looked at a map and discovered that not only had I been to every state, but I'd been to every major city and ever major town in every—I think every city above 50,000 population in the United States, and many of them underneath that. So just the complexity of being able to travel to all these places in itself was sort of mind-boggling,

that I'd had the opportunity to do that after being sort of the local guy in Marion County, to be exposed to that degree was incredible. Also at various times during that period I got to travel with him overseas, so I think I went to forty different countries overseas with him, too, during that time. So the exposure I got to global politics and to even local—the Iowa Caucus—was kind of a great breadth of American politics. I don't know, I'm sure there's others that have had an experience like mine, although I don't know if there's very many who had done it with one person. I don't think it's unusual for political operatives, if you will, to work at various levels in the political system, but I don't know if anybody had ever had the opportunity to go from being an intern and having been nowhere, to having been to fifty states and thirty countries and involved in races from as local as city council to being offstage with the presidential nominee at the convention. So, sort of the breadth of the experience and having done it with just one person, I think, was probably the most remarkable part about the whole thing.

Williams: How did you balance being a fundraiser with being this traveling companion?

Glassner: Well, you know, much of what we did was fundraising, and that's always been the driving force in politics. You can't pay for anything unless you raise the money, so I think a lot of it was probably the influence of how I started working for Clinkenbeard, raising the money for the '86 Senate race. So I didn't think it was necessarily a conflict. I mean, that was really just one part of it, being involved with the political fundraising part, but my experience in the campaigns had been—not to denigrate what anybody else does in campaigns, volunteers or any other type or people that do the scheduling or logistics or policy, but it had always been my experience in witnessing campaigns at all levels, that it was primarily the people that raised the money that got the most respect and seemed to me to be the most important people that were involved. I mean, that's sort of a cynical view of the process, I know, but that's sort of the impression I had got, being involved in it. So I always thought that that was a very important part of at least the campaign process, and I thought it was vital to be associated with that, and I thought that would serve me well in my career, and it has. I'm still involved in fundraising now for presidential campaigns, only as a volunteer. But it always has been sort of across all this

time that had been the one thing that all the political activity had in common was that it had to be paid for. So I didn't really see it as a conflict.

Williams: What I thought is that when you flew into a town and were accompanying the senator, he would be talking to and you would be interacting with people that you had been on the phone with earlier in the week or last month or whatever.

Glassner: Yes, that's true.

Williams: And wouldn't that divert you from this sort of careful attention you had to pay to him? You were both a salesman and a part of—

Glassner: Not really, because taking care of him I always knew was my main job, and that's always what I was mostly focused on, and everything else was really sort of secondary to that, particularly those times when I was the only one there. Now, as time went by, the traveling party grew and shrunk at various times, depending on the campaign cycle we were in. No, that never was that much of a conflict, and I always tried to keep that as my primary focus and it served me well during all those years, was to really keep him as my primary thing that I had to keep focused on. It wasn't that hard to do over time.

The thing about Senator Dole, the thing that was most remarkable about him that I always tried to copy in how I behaved when I was with him, was that he really never differentiated between a guy that might have been a billionaire and the guy that was the chef in the kitchen, and he always sort of viewed everybody as equal, as it were, as far as he was concerned. So I never saw him treat anybody with more or less respect than the next guy, regardless of their station in life or what their role was relative to what we were trying to get done. So I always found that if I tried to mimic his behavior in that way, that I could serve both he and I well, and I think it did. That's really what I tried to do.

Williams: So, briefly, how would you describe your modus operandi as a fundraiser for Senator Dole?

Glassner: Well, I don't know. "Fundraiser" is kind of a general term. That's just really what the organizations that I was working for was primarily supposed to be doing. When we were traveling, I didn't solicit money from people, for example. I would help the central operation arrange fundraising events and make suggestions about how they stage them. But when I was with him, I never asked anybody for money. That wasn't really the role.

Williams: I was really thinking when you weren't traveling.

Glassner: Really just helping people plan them and providing a lot of logistical support about how they really should run, from what the format might be and what the order of the speakers might be, and what is and isn't appropriate as far as access the media might have to them or not have to them. So a lot of my role during that period in between was really advising as to the logistics of the events themselves, rather than soliciting of the funds, which in most part was really done by local either consultants or volunteers, depending on what city we were going to. So as far as actively soliciting funds and asking people for money, I really didn't do that, although I did collect the money. That was one of my primary jobs, and when we were at events, I would oftentimes be the recipient of the funds, so I always carried around envelopes full of checks with me, and I would bring them back. I would count them and make sure they were what they were supposed to be, and give them back to the Washington office.

Williams: I read somewhere that you became a bit of a problem for the visual media, because—

Glassner: Oh yes.

Williams: —you always sort of the Zelig, the guy in the picture all the time. Talk about that a little bit.

Glassner: [laughs] I gained somewhat of a reputation with the media for doing that. That was sort of a function of my role. I think I described earlier that a lot of my job was

to sort of protect his right side, and so in a lot of situations, particularly before we had—you know, in the '96 campaign, for a period we had Secret Service coverage. So during that period it was a lot easier to control sort of the crush of the press and of people around him, because the Secret Service was really doing that. But for the many, many years leading up to that time when we didn't have security at all, I sort of had to do that, too. The press, when they go into their feeding frenzy, tend to get fairly aggressive and will basically close in on you, and in particular if there's a crisis going on, they'll basically surround you and almost crush you. So that was sort of one of my roles I got, was standing next to him, basically fighting them off to keep them from smashing up against him. So I think a lot of the press maybe didn't understand why I was standing there, but I was always standing there and I wasn't ever going to move, so one of the nicknames I picked up, I think it was during the '88 campaign, was "Damian," because I was always sort of the evil guy that was standing in front of their camera when they didn't want me to. [laughs]

As a matter of fact, I also came up with sort of a slogan I used on cameramen who had complained about me being in their way, and I would say to them, "Well, if I'm in your shot, then you're out of position." They always assumed it was me that was out of position, but I always explained to them it was them. So it became sort of a running joke, even with my family. My grandmother, who was alive during the '88 campaign, used to watch a lot of television and I was always on there, because anytime he was on and it wasn't like in a staged speech, well, there I would be, standing there next to him. So kind of the joke within the family would be, "Who's that guy that's always with Mike on television?" [laughs] So it kind of became a bit of a joke, but it really was part of my job that I had to do, and there really wasn't an option for me not to stand there and be in the shot or be next to him, because it was something that had to be done. I just happened to be the guy doing it, I think, and for over such a long period of time. In other words, if there would have been a cast of ten different people standing there, it probably wouldn't have been as noticeable, but for years it was just me.

Williams: So you were sort of the offensive tackle in terms of physical things.

Glassner: Right.

Williams: What about fending off and protecting the senator from questions from the press?

Glassner: You know, I really didn't play that role too much. What I always found was more effective was to find some surrogate to do it for me, so in almost every scenario we would be campaigning for somebody else, and that somebody else, a Senate candidate or Congressional candidate or somebody else always had a press person around, and that press person was really the one who had the relationship with the local media, depending on where we were. So I would always dragoon that person to be the bad guy, because, again, it's not something Senator Dole ever said to me, but I never thought it was my role to cut off the local media and to sort of tell them what to do, because I was just another guy that was passing through town, some guy from Washington, right? So I sort of worked out a system over the years to talk the local person into sort of doing that job for me, and saying, "Sorry, no more questions," or, "This will be the last question." I think that worked a lot better for the senator and for me, because I wasn't some bad guy that was sort of shutting them down; it was always the local guy that helped do that.

That technique is something I picked up and basically used in almost every scenario. I always was the bad guy enough already, because I was sort of the guy that had to tell people no when they wanted him to do something else that wasn't possible to do, based on our schedule, or a meeting that somebody wanted him to take that we didn't have time to do, or something that he didn't want to do and I would have to tell people no. So I always tried to minimize the amount of no's I had to give out in the course of the day by getting other people to say no for me. So that was something I learned how to do over the years, to try to maintain my own paycheck. [laughs] Getting somebody who would say no to the press or "last question," was just one of those various roles that I tried to drag other people into doing for me.

Williams: Just generally and briefly, how would you describe Senator Dole's relationship with the press?

Glassner: It's good and bad, depending on who they were. I always thought he did much better with the local press, who typically asked a lot easier questions, weren't necessarily tuned into the hardball political fight of the day that was going on in Washington and wouldn't necessarily attack him on some vote he had done that week, when we went out in the states. Again, sort of the press pack morphed over time from one guy in Oskaloosa, Iowa, to two hundred guys at a press conference in New Hampshire shouting questions. Again, there was a very wide range of scenarios that came in. I always thought he viewed them as a necessary part of his job, that he had to speak to them. I always thought he very much enjoyed doing interviews, and rare was the situation where he would not do one. I think he understood that it was a significant part of the job that he had to do.

I think the primary value, if not the major value or the primary value, he had to candidates whom we would come in and campaign for was his ability to track media, so if he came to town and Candidate X was standing next to him, all the press in town would show up for a press conference, which otherwise wouldn't happen for this guy, which would result in an invaluable amount of free media for this candidate. So that was really one of the major pieces of leverage that he would bring to candidates for the Senate or Congress, that they couldn't otherwise get, was this vast attention to the media, particularly during the time he was the Majority Leader, which was the whole time I was around, with the exception of the end of the '96 campaign. So I think that he understood that that was one of his major roles, was attracting this media pack and trying to be as accommodating to them as he possibly could be, considering the circumstances.

Over time there were a lot of incidents that weren't that happy, and bad things had happened with the media, just like there are with any candidate, but I think for the most part it was a very positive-type relationship that he had with them. But again, they had different levels of access to him, depending on what was going on. For example, during the general election of '96, we would have fifty of them would be in the back of the plane, and one of the general rules is that if you're available to one of them, you have to be available to all of them, which wasn't really possible, given the scenario of the plane, although John McCain has tried to do that, try to sort of break that rule. But I think his relationship with the media was very good, and I think that you'll find that the people that covered him regularly during that era really came to admire the guy, because he's

obviously an American hero and a great statesman and great legislative leader. So that was widely recognized at the time by everybody. So there was very little hostility that I ever encountered with the media, except for when they would get like I sort of described before, at certain times they would become physically aggressive and trying to get their shot or their story, and that was really the only times we ever had problems. But I was usually there to sort of elbow them out of the way.

Williams: My guess would be that he was more comfortable in controlled situations, either sitting down in the studio or something like that, rather than the kind of rabble thing with—

Glassner: Yes, that's true, for the most part. That's probably true. Particularly when he was running for president during those two periods, trying to juggle the two arguably—well, definitely full-time roles of being a candidate for president and being the Majority Leader of the Senate, were almost impossible to do both at the same time, and to try to bifurcate those was also impossible because they're totally intertwined, one, because he was the other, arguably. So I think that's probably right, that in the setting where he was in the studio and it was more controlled, he was probably better. But on the other hand, we did thousands and thousands of press conferences in hotels and airport lounges that were much more unstructured with that, but I never saw him lose his cool in any of those circumstances, and rarely became angry dealing with the media.

The interesting part about when you do a lot of your work outside of Washington, which is what we did together all those years, is that people in Washington really don't see it because it's all local media, so really the only media they see here is driven largely by the national press, which is either in the Senate or down in one of the studios downtown, so for years and years and years, in thousands and thousands of press conferences were all out in the states with the local media, which all, for the most part, are very composed and the people behave very well, and there was never much of a conflict at all. He performed exceedingly well because, for the most part, they're much less aggressive, is what I found.

Williams: Let's go through the campaigns here just a bit for some outstanding memories that you have. That first one, the '86, which was the Kansas reelection campaign for the Senate, what do you remember about that?

Glassner: The '86 campaign was not really heavy lifting. It was true of the '92 campaign as well, but he by far had the most money and was very much the favorite to be reelected, and I think it was a pretty good Republican year in the country. So the amount of time we spent in Kansas during that period was probably minimal, although we did some pretty significant campaigning in the major media markets. But the '86 campaign, I started in March of '86, so it was a fairly short period of time that I was involved in that campaign, but it was pretty light lifting.

The one thing that he did every year, or on campaign years when he was a candidate, and probably the thing I remember the most was the Kansas State Fair, where they staged a debate between the candidates, which they do for the state Senate and for governor, and they may do for other races. But I sort of remember the State Fair as being that year and subsequent years something we did every year for that entire twelve-year period, at least, that he was in office, that I did this, as being a sort of very fun thing for me, because I had gone to the State Fair as a young boy all the way through the seventies until I started working for him. So to be there under the circumstances where I worked for Bob Dole, that was sort of a big home-state thing, was a great experience for me personally, very exciting. He performed very well in the debate that fall in Hutchinson, the State Fair. So that was probably one of the more remarkable parts about the '86 campaign, but I was really just getting started then, and he had just been elected Senate Majority Leader the previous year, and he was trying to retain his majority, so the vast majority of our campaigning was done in other states other than Kansas in '86.

Williams: So there were no long night drives from Point A to Point B?

Glassner: Not really in that race, no, no, not that I really recall. That was really relatively short. The one thing about Senator Dole was he was always very cognizant of his schedule and always paid a great deal of attention to the details of the schedule. For a guy that never wore a watch, he had a great sense of what time it was and what time it

was and what time he was supposed to be somewhere and if he was late or not, even though he, as far as I knew, never knew exactly what time it was. But over the years had developed this highly attuned sense of the logistics of time that it took to execute a campaign day.

So I think one of the more remarkable things about '86 and subsequent years is that we would campaign in three or four states a day, was not atypical during that period. If you have your own airplane, you can do that. You can do multiple stops, and if you hit the right time zones right, you can hit a lot of media markets in a given day, and we did a lot of that. So one thing he was very well attuned to was there weren't long drives in any of his campaign days, and it was really unusual to have a drive of any length, because we were always careful to structure things such that that wasn't possible. Particularly in Kansas, there's airstrips almost everywhere, and almost every county has one of their own. If you're determined not to drive, you can fly almost everywhere, and we did. So there was a great deal of flying involved. But the '86 campaign, I really at this moment don't recall any particularly noteworthy thing, only because it was a rather limited campaign within Kansas that year.

Williams: On this matter of time, so many politicians are sort of famous for never being anywhere on time.

Glassner: Right.

Williams: It bothered him if he weren't on time, is that correct?

Glassner: Oh, yes. He was always very well attuned to that. I think that might be one of the major contributions I made over time to the campaign organizations, is that I could help advise whoever was writing the schedule exactly how much time something took for him to do or to fly somewhere or drive somewhere. After I'd been in all these states repeatedly for a number of years, I sort of had a pretty good sense of where all the airports were and where all the cities were. So I think I had a pretty good—that's one of the main things I could help them do.

So, no, he was extremely well attuned, unlike—I mean, jumping forward to the ’96 campaign, that was sort of one of the main points of pride that we had with the [William J.] Clinton campaign. Clinton was always on “Clinton time,” they called it, and he was perpetually late, an hour or two hours late for stuff. We always made it a point not to be, and that was always due to Senator Dole’s interest and his leadership in that matter, that he was very determined that he would stay on time, and for the most part, I think we did very well with doing that. Something he had said repeatedly over the years, that he didn’t think it was fair that people should wait to see him, because a lot of people did go through a considerable amount of effort to get to an event that he was at, and he always thought it wasn’t right to make them wait, when if he was late, it was a form of dishonesty to them. So that was something he was very, very well attuned to and we always tried to work on.

Williams: I want to get some details on a couple of the other campaigns, but we need to change tape.

[Begin Tape 2]

Williams: We’ve just finished up with the ’86 campaign, and before we go to ’88 and ’96, let’s talk just briefly about the ’92 reelection campaign. Any striking memories from that?

Glassner: One of the things that I really recall about the ’92 campaign that I found was quite remarkable, that Senator Dole made it clear early on that one of his goals in the period leading up to the ’92 campaign was to visit every county, which is no easy thing in Kansas, 105 counties, and many of them are not easy to get to. I had been his state director, so a lot of the years leading up to ’92 we tried to—so the idea was in calendar year ’91 and ’92, to try to visit every county, which is a fairly significant undertaking in a limited period of time. He was still the Senate Majority Leader, of course, at the time, so he had great demands, but he was determined that this was something he wanted to do leading up to his reelection. So a lot of my time then was spent driving around particularly in western Kansas, so I went out and organized the logistics and a lot of the

turnout for county Town Hall meetings in all the counties, particularly in western Kansas, during that period. That was a lot of driving in western Kansas from county seat to county seat, just preparing for the meetings and finding all the locations and finding the route from one county to the next county, and finding hotels. So it was sort of a macro exercise in what we had done in the '88 presidential campaign, but it was in the State of Kansas.

That was probably the most remarkable part about the '92 campaign, is that like a freshman senator or somebody who was running uphill battle for the campaign and took it very seriously and was not taking his reelection for granted at all, but he did not have a well-known or well-financed opponent at any time during that campaign, he was determined to sort of run like he was behind, and he did, and we did go to every county and had a Town Hall meeting in every county, so that was a really very strenuous undertaking that a lot of people, I don't think, really knew was going on, but he was determined to do it, and we were able to do it during that period. It was sort of remarkable to me that this guy who by that time had been in Congress and the Senate for thirty-two years, I guess, wasn't taking anything for granted even in his home state, and was determined to do it properly and go and meet with as many voters as he possibly could, even though he didn't have to, but he thought it was the right thing to do, and that's what we did. So that was a very grueling undertaking, but it got done with the help of a lot of people who worked hard. That was sort of the most remarkable part about that campaign.

The other thing that I thought was quite interesting is that he also participated in a number of debates in the state during that reelection campaign with people who, under normal circumstances, would have no business—there were a couple of other candidates, neither of whom got many votes at all and were not remarkable particularly, but were candidates for the Senate, but got to sit at the same dais as the Senate Majority Leader and debate the issues, which I thought, he didn't have to do any of that. He could have said, "I'm not doing any debates," and it wouldn't have made any difference, but he did do it. I think there were half a dozen of them that he did in various markets in Kansas. So, again, that was sort of another thing that impressed me, that the guy was serious about keeping his job and doing it the right way, and that he would go through having

debates with these people who had no chance of winning, but he would do it anyway. So that was remarkable.

He had an overwhelming advantage in his fundraising. Because he was the Senate Majority Leader, there was no shortage of money, but again, we bought a lot of television ads and built up a significant campaign organization, taking nothing for granted, which again we didn't really need to do, but he wanted to do it because—I don't know if he knew then that that was his last Senate race or not, but it seemed to me that he was taking great care to do it the right way, so we had a proper county chairman in every county and organized various coalitions, Veterans or Women for Dole, that was sort of standard procedure for a statewide race, and did a lot of direct mail, did a lot of television ads, none of which he really needed to do, but did it so that he could be assured that it was done properly. It was. He won easily.

Williams: This was during the primary period, not in the lead-up to the general election?

Glassner: No, the '92 general election for Senate.

Williams: So these insignificant opponents were Democrats?

Glassner: Were Democrats, that's right. There was a Democrat and an Independent, I think. There might have been a Republican primary, but I don't even remember if there was, if he had an opponent or not in the primary. He might have. But again, that was insignificant, as well as these Democrats were. So, yes, he had one woman who was the Democrat nominee, who had no business running for the Senate, but she was, so he treated her very seriously as a candidate.

I'm recalling now that there was a guy who ran—this is kind of a funny thing. There was a guy that ran against him in the primary for the Senate in '92, so I recall—and if I think hard enough, I'll come up with his name, and maybe I will, but for now I'll call him Bill. Bill was running for the Senate in the Republican primary in Kansas, and in '91 we were at the State Fair, where Senator Dole's always had a booth and had had for many years, and he would go to his booth at the State Fair and stand behind the counter, and people would come by and shake hands, and he'd say, "I'm Bob Dole." It's the same

thing that had gone on there for decades at the fair with him and others, you know, forever.

So at one point he was at his booth shaking hands, and Bill walked up and said, "Hey, Senator Dole, I'm Bill. I'm running against you in the primary."

And he said, "Nice to meet ya!" That was the only time we ever saw Bill before or after that time. That was the only encounter with his primary opponent, I think. It was very friendly, and that was the end of it. [laughs] I thought that was kind of strange.

Williams: Had he taken flak in '86 for not having been attentive to the folks back home?

Glassner: Well, I wouldn't say that he was inattentive. It's just that I think his new role as Senate Majority Leader was much more demanding on his time than it previously had been. I don't even recall his opponent in '86. In '92, his opponent tried to make an issue of that, that he had forgotten about Kansas, and that might have been a reason why we did the extraordinarily detailed work we did in the '92 campaign, preparing for that reelection. But I think particularly in '96 ['86] that his ascension as the Majority Leader was a source of great pride for people in Kansas, and I think they also understood that it was good for the State of Kansas. We had a lot of interests that needed protecting, and him being in the majority and leader of the majority in the Senate was, I think, a great boon to a lot of Kansas interests. So if I left the impression that he had been inattentive, I don't think that's true. I just don't think that there was much of a demand or a need to—I don't know if it was his polling numbers or just his attitude, but to do the amount of work that had been required. I must say, he might have done a lot more in '85 or '84 in Kansas, but I wasn't involved. I just can recall in the fall of '86, really the main thrust of the campaign was to maintain the Senate majority rather than being that concerned about his reelection.

Williams: When you were with him in '92, at any point did he talk about presidential aspirations for '96?

Glassner: No. You know, for most of us who had been involved in '88, we presumed that was over with after he lost the primaries in '88. I don't know if he ever had the idea

that he would run again, but certainly those of us who worked for him certainly didn't. As a matter of fact, in '99 ['89] I was ready to go get a different job somewhere, because I assumed his political career was over. I knew he'd continue to be the Majority Leader and be in the Senate, but I never imagined he would be a candidate for president again. So, no, I don't think that was ever in anybody's mind in '92, in particular. Maybe he was considering it in '96 [?], but none of the people that were in my orbit at that time thought that he would run again. That really only became clear that that might happen after the '94 elections, when the Republicans won back the House and the Senate. That was a historical moment. He became the de facto head of the party, as the Majority Leader again of the Senate, with an opposition president. So I don't really think—I certainly didn't think he was going to run again, and I would have known, presumably, as well as anyone. I don't think anybody on the staff presumed that was a possibility until sort of he was thrust back into this position as being sort of the de facto party head after the '94 election.

But I'll tell you this, that his campaign for president for '96 developed quickly after the '94 [Congressional] elections, so it became very apparent that it was a possibility very soon after the '94 campaign occurred.

Williams: There is a certain degree of appeal in thinking about his having done this county by county, going through the state, if that really was in his mind his last reelection.

Glassner: Right. That was my assumption.

Williams: That sort of [unclear], doesn't it?

Glassner: Yes, it really does. I think that the turnouts that we had in even the most remote counties were very good, and probably one of the more remarkable things that I learned during that campaign, just being around him, was his ability to remember people and their extended families. I mean, in some of these more remote counties, he would see Mrs. Betty Smith, and he said he knew her father and he asked her about her brother, would ask about the cousins. He had like an encyclopedic knowledge of people's names

and what they were doing in all these counties in western Kansas, which I found was quite remarkable, considering that—but I guess I shouldn't, in that he had been running continuously in those counties since 1960, so I guess he had better know who they are, but his ability to recall the names and sort of relations between people was unbelievable. It was remarkable.

Williams: Let's shift to '88 now.

Glassner: The '88 campaign was a great experience for me because I guess we sort of knew in '86 that he might be a candidate in '88. Everybody knew that Ronald Reagan would be finishing up with his second term. Everybody also knew that Vice President [George H.W.] Bush was going to be running to succeed him, so the '88 campaign, in my view, was always an uphill battle and sort of an underdog fight from the beginning, because the Bush machine had been well established by that time. It was sort of an interesting dynamic, because even though Senator Dole was the Majority Leader of the Senate, had been a significant figure in his party, I always felt like we were sort of the insurgents and the outsiders because we were not Bush people. Back at that time, the Bush [camp] and the Dole [camp] were very competitive and had been sort of competing dynasties within the Republican Party for some time leading up to then, so I always felt that we "Dolies" were sort of the outsiders that were always trying to fight the Bush machine. So it was always sort of a David and Goliath scenario, and that's sort of the way it felt. He had Air Force Two and we had a Cessna, you know, single-seat. He had the Secret Service at his disposal, and Dole had me. It was always sort of a—I felt like we were the little ant waiting to get crushed by the big gorilla, you know, by the Bush machine. Even from the beginning, it was sort of an uphill struggle, and we always knew that sort of the forces of the Bush was always going to overpower us. At least that's how I felt. It was going to be an uphill battle and an extremely tough struggle from the beginning, and it was.

The difference, I think, the major advantage that I think we had was the Iowa Caucuses. The campaign for the Iowa Caucuses, in retrospect now, was not dissimilar at all to what we did in '92 in his Senate reelection, so it's really campaigning on the most local level. The people in Iowa and the people in Kansas are very similar in their

temperament and their geography and in their views, so it really was not dissimilar to, I think, the type of campaigning that he had done for much of his career in Kansas. A lot of that was transferable to Iowa because the demographics were so similar. So I think we knew from the beginning that if we were going to get any traction at all in '88, it was going to be through working Iowa as hard as we possibly could, and trying to break the Bush grip in Iowa, and that's exactly what we did. So we spent a great deal of time in Iowa. Iowa has ninety-nine counties. I think we went to every one of those countries and did Town Hall meetings, just slogging it out every weekend, going back, going back, going back every weekend, and we were shuttling back and forth to Iowa on a pretty much nonstop basis during that period, '87 and '88, early '88, all of '87 and early part of '88, with occasional trips to New Hampshire, because you always knew that even if you did win Iowa, you had to carry some momentum into New Hampshire if you were going to go beyond that point, South Carolina and the other states.

But that campaign was really all about Iowa, and he built up a great deal of good will in Iowa, and we campaigned really hard in Iowa. That was probably the highlight of the campaign, was winning the Iowa Caucuses and beating George Bush in Iowa, which, by the way, he had carried, I think the '80 caucuses he actually won when he was running for president in the primaries against Reagan. So that was a matter of great pride, was to try to win the Iowa Caucuses. So the '88 campaign, a lot of the memories really revolved around being in Iowa again and again and again. That was our home.

Williams: Particularly vivid memories of being on the road?

Glassner: There was a lot of good and bad things about being on the road then. A lot of it sort of revolves around trying to hit all the counties. I can recall being on a small Cessna airplane with two engines, two pilots, and being with Tom Synhorst, the guy who managed the Iowa campaign for Dole, and having a big map of Iowa, with yellow on the counties we had already been to, and white the counties we hadn't been to, and it seemed like it was a sort of recurring Groundhog Day; every weekend we were back in that plane and looking at the map and there was more yellow and less white. As time went by, it was all yellow. So the Iowa phase of it was a lot of fun because there was always a sense

of momentum and we were doing very well in Iowa, and I think it was always reflected in the polls.

Sort of the yang to that was the New Hampshire campaign, which was very tough, and Dole had never really gotten much traction in New Hampshire, never really was accepted that much, in my view, by the voters of New Hampshire, and I don't know if it was a cultural difference or, again, the Bush family had been from Maine, and George Bush had spent a lot of time in New Hampshire campaigning many years leading up to that point, but the New Hampshire campaign was a much tougher slog and it was much harder work, and I always felt sort of like an alien being as a midwesterner in New England, because the Yankees are a lot different than we midwestern people. I always felt a great cultural sort of a disconnect, and I presume that was true with Senator Dole, too, although we spent a whole lot of time there.

Afterwards, too, that whole period around elections after he won Iowa and went to New Hampshire, the Bush campaign ran some very negative ads, very tough ads. "Senator Straddle" was a very hard-hitting and negative ad that was run against the senator, and the logistics of buying time and so forth were such that we couldn't respond. So that was sort of a very bitter period of this whole campaign cycle, was the New Hampshire portion of the '88 campaign where Dole lost to Bush in the primary. So that was very tough, and there was a lot of famous—some of his most famous negative comments to the media were made during that time, "Stop lying about my record" to George Bush. So that was very demoralizing, that period of the campaign in the late '88 campaign.

Williams: The morning after the results were in in New Hampshire, you met with the senator, and what was he like?

Glassner: You know, it wasn't particularly pleasant. Part of my job that was always not challenging, but it was difficult, was that I was always the last guy to see him at night and always the first guy to see him in the morning, so I always had a pretty good feeling about how he was feeling, because I was always the first guy there to show up at the door and come in and talk to him about what was going on, mostly about what was going on that day. He's not really a great one for introspection. It was mostly looking forward to

what was next on the agenda. But there had been a lot of indications from his pollster that he had been making a strong comeback in New Hampshire and there was potential that he could overtake Bush there. I think that he was pretty mad, pretty angry about the outcome in New Hampshire, mostly because of this negative ad that was very unfair and he felt like had really destroyed his—had been a personal attack, which in the give-and-take of politics, there's a lot of ways to run television advertisements, and I think he thought that one was particularly heinous and over the top and personal, and he took it personally. So he was not a happy guy the morning after the New Hampshire primary.

Williams: Any comments about his campaign team for that election?

Glassner: That was a tough time, because we sort of went through, as I recall, in particular our media campaign went through a lot of different people, and there was also some significant changes in the political people who were running the campaign. I think Bill Brock was the campaign chairman for a lot of the time, and I think within the campaign there was a lot of dissention between sort of the old Dole people and the new Dole people who had been hired guns, if you will, who had been brought on, that really didn't know him and didn't really know—even then I considered myself one of the old Dole people, even though I'd only been around a couple of years, but I had sort of been brought in through the old guard. I think there was a pretty significant disconnect between the people who came in later and the people that had always been around for him, and a lot of resentment about some of the strategies that were forwarded by sort of the new "hired gun" people that didn't really know him that well, but thought they knew how to win campaigns. We, the Dole hard-core people, always thought that it was better to sort of run a campaign around him and his beliefs, rather than what was generally accepted to be effective at the time. So I'd not be being truthful if I didn't say there was a lot of dissention during that period, both inside and outside of the campaign headquarters.

I always had sort of an advantage, though. I had spent most of my time on the road. I was somewhat disconnected from a lot of the discourse and discord that occurred inside the campaign headquarters, fighting between the factions and so forth, because I was always working. I was always out on the campaign trail. We had immediate tasks

that we had to accomplish in order just to make it through that day, make sure all the planes were running and the candidate was fed, we got to the hotel room with our luggage, and just the sheer logistical demands of being in a primary campaign sort of kept myself and my other colleagues that were traveling sort of outside the internecine fighting that was going on in the campaign headquarters. But I think there was a lot of division.

Williams: Were you also responsible for the press and moving them around and making travel arrangements?

Glassner: Early on in the process I was, but as time went by, you accumulate a lot of staff people that take on that role for you. At one point—I forget exactly when—we went from traveling on relatively small jets to a big 737 "Flying Pig," we called it. It was a piece of junk and barely could stay in the air. [laughs] The campaign plane. And that's when you start getting a lot of the press traveling with you, and as a result, you get a whole new crew of people that are assigned to handle the press, the care and feeding of the press. So I sort of became much more detached from having to deal with the day-to-day demands of the press, and you had a separate staff that really made sure they had their food and their baggage and their buses that was required for them.

Williams: So you were still Dole's right-hand man.

Glassner: Yes, during that campaign, although I had a lot more—as time went by, during this whole period I got a lot more—my responsibilities became more—I had more experience that I could speak to as to how to do things, logistical matters, and I was starting to become sort of an institutional memory for him because I had been every place he had been for the past then three years, later, ten years. So I think I also had sort of a role as an extra brain that could remember a lot of details about people that he knew or what people's names were or what context he knew them from, from previous times when he'd been to a particular state or city that I think I could also help him, just day-to-day interactions with people. I could remind him when we had been there, because I also had, and have, some success in recalling details about names, places, time frames, and so

forth. So I don't know if I learned that from him or if I already had it, but it was useful to him, I think, in that regard too.

Williams: So let's move to '96.

Glassner: The '96 campaign was a much different experience than '88, because by that time, in the aftermath of the '94 [Congressional] elections, he became sort of the titular head of the party. One of his great comments that he made in January of '95 that I thought was always one of the great ones, was he said, "Well, the good news is that Bill Clinton's now having his honeymoon. The bad news is that I'm his chaperone." [laughs] But it was clear that Dole and Clinton were an item, you know, from that time on and were going to be going forward.

In retrospect now, it doesn't seem that unusual at all that he was going to become the nominee. I think from that point forward he became the frontrunner to become the nominee, and always was, so it was a much different scenario than he had been in '88 with the Bush vice presidency and wearing the mantle of the Reagan presidency, and there was nobody like that this time around. So it was a much different experience. At the same time, of course, it wasn't an open seat like '88 where there was a much better chance of winning. Taking on an incumbent presidency under any circumstances is challenging, but becoming the Republican nominee seemed to be relatively early on to be a given, because we by far had the best organization. He had already won the Iowa Caucuses before. He was always already well known in New Hampshire and many of the other states because we had been more or less campaigning nonstop between '88 and '96, which was a long period of time, and he had a fundraising machine that was in place, some of which he inherited from the Bush people and some of which he had already built up over the years of his own, so it was apparent early on that neither political support nor funds were going to be particularly challenging in the '96 cycle. So he had a lot more infrastructure within the Republican Party supporting his candidacy in '96 than we had had in the insurgence, if you will, in '88. So it was a much more fun experience, mostly because you just had a lot more support and you had a lot more money, and there was also sort of a sense of inevitability around his candidacy that certainly hadn't been present in '88 or '80, or '76, for that matter.

Williams: But once he got the nomination, or maybe even before, again there were some issues with the campaign staff.

Glassner: There always were. Not only were there issues within the campaign, there always was a certain tension between the campaign staff and the Senate staff, because both of them, by the time '95 started progressing, both of them had become—the Senate staff was fairly big-sized, but it was the Majority Leader's office in the Capitol, it was very prestigious, and he had this personal office and he also had a large number of patronage positions that he appointed people to. So there was a large number of people in the Capitol and in Washington who were providing his infrastructure, if you will. Growing up very rapidly sort of beside that was campaign people. I sort of always had a foot in both worlds, but many people did not, just because I'd been around so long by that time, but most people did not, and it's one of the things I've always sort of found remarkable about Washington and campaigns and politics, is that largely they're really completely separate enterprises, the public policymaking machinations in the Capitol and in the Senate and the House, and then the campaign side of it. I always found that they were clearly different and they had totally different ways of operating.

Some people think that they're transferable and some people have tried to go between them, but I found it's really not possible and you can't really do both. I think that's one of the conflicts that had always been present, so you had sort of a tension between the campaign people who, in large part, were professionals and had been in the campaign business, and then the Senate people, who also wanted to participate in the campaign, but didn't necessarily have experience in it.

So I think there was always sort of a struggle between the people that were heading up both sides of the operation, and Senator Dole himself was clearly in both worlds, but there was also the constant demand for his time and attention to both worlds. I mean, him being the leading nominee for the presidency and leading the Republican majority in the Senate at the same time was an exceedingly huge burden. The amount of paperwork. We would leave the campaign for a week, and most of the paper was coming to us by fax at that time, so one of the major struggles that I had, another, was trying to get volumes of paper faxed to wherever we would be going or onto the plane wherever

we were, because I was also sort of the gatekeeper for all the paper. So all the paper for the Senate Majority Leader had to come through me to get to him to make decisions, too. So that became a terrible struggle, was just dealing with the sheer paperwork, volume of work that was required by his Senate responsibilities. So you're trying to do the Senate Majority Leader and you're trying to concentrate. Running for president was a great struggle, very difficult.

Williams: You always thought of yourself as being on the campaign side, correct?

Glassner: Yes, I really did. In the '96 campaign in particular, I was in the Political Division of the campaign, because I always thought that that was my greatest strength that I brought, was the institutional memory that I had developed over the years, of the governors, the senators, and the congressmen that he knew, and the county chairmen that he knew and had known over all these years that we had been traveling. So I always thought that my greatest advantage was to sort of be his institutional memory for all the political contexts that he was in, in whatever particular state we were in. During that period we'd been to all the states so many times over the intervening years that nowhere we went did I not know somebody who was in the room from our previous experience. In a lot of these states, particularly the smaller ones it's a relatively small group of people who are activists, and once you get to know them, they pretty much didn't change much over the years, so I became sort of the guy that everybody knew from the past, regardless of how many new people there were from the campaign. So even though I had an excellent relationship with his staff in the Senate and with his chiefs of staff and his other staff people, I always was pretty much squarely in the campaign world, I thought, or at least that's how I viewed myself, because that's really where I was.

Williams: I guess I need to ask you about the PAC side of the Bob Dole enterprise. Describe that a little bit.

Glassner: The Political Action Committee.

Williams: And where that figured in with the campaign and how all these parts went together or didn't go together.

Glassner: Right. There were really three main political operations that I worked for during the whole period, except for the time I was his state director. There was the Senate reelection campaign, and that had a very fairly narrow and discrete purpose, was to raise money to pay to run his reelections to the Senate. The presidential campaigns, again, were fairly clear on what the objectives of raising monies for that, was to advertise and to pay for the road show and win primary states in general elections.

The PACs at that time, and I think still are, particularly what are called Leadership PACs, which are sponsored by people who hold leadership positions in the Senate or the House, were sort of a bridge between those two things. So in many ways the Federal Leadership PAC was sort of a precursor to a presidential campaign. It gave a potential candidate the ability to raise money that he could use both to give to other candidates to help get them reelected and to subsequently build up chits that presumably could be traded in later on the presidential campaign, and it also gave you the ability to pay for your travel to go and campaign and to raise the money for other candidates, again to earn their obligations to you, which you may or may not call in later, and for the good of the party, which was largely his motivation, and it also gave the ability to hire staff that you could use as political operatives to help candidates at the local level, and in many cases those same people became operatives for the presidential campaign. So PACs are sort of a stalking horse. They take the place of a formal presidential campaign, perform many of the same functions, but provide you the economic support to travel, support other candidates, and to arrange your profile while you're either running for president or preparing to run for president. So it's sort of a bridge between campaigns, if you will, but I think they're quite widely—at the time they were very widely used to finance political activity.

Williams: I guess skeptical people say, "All this money going around and all this activity and whatnot can easily make me uncomfortable." Did you ever sense with the Dole operation that these were anything but above board?

Glassner: No, not really. It was all operating within the laws that existed at the time, arcane as they may be. It would be dishonest to say there weren't some significant loopholes in the campaign law that allowed some things, but otherwise would not have been possible to do.

But one of the things that was most remarkable about Senator Dole during this whole period, and I don't know how he was able to do this, but to his credit, he never engaged in fundraising, never asked anybody for money. Typically candidates for any office, a large part of their job is to sit at a desk with a list of people and get on the phone and ask those people for money, and I think that was something he was never comfortable doing and he never did, as far as I know, throughout all this time, when he was Senate Majority Leader, running for president twice. He always had the ability to have other people do that work for him. So I found that he was never really conflicted personally by anybody, because he never asked anybody for money personally. So I don't know how he was able to pull that off during this whole period. At different times it was sort of notorious and became sort of a running joke about—I would leave every weekend with a call list of people he was supposed to call and ask to raise money, and he would never call any of them. So I'd go back and turn it in and say, "Yeah, he didn't call anybody." [laughs] Much to the frustration of the fundraising team every time.

Williams: So who were the people making the calls?

Glassner: Jo-Anne Coe was a major fundraiser in her different roles, and Kirk Clinkenbeard, who was a guy I worked with, was always a finance guy. Then as campaigns get larger, after a while you have large staffs of people, both locally and nationally, whose responsibility it is to both speak to people who raise a lot of money themselves and to organize events in the states to raise money. So the fundraising part, of course we attended thousands of fundraisers. That was required. But sort of the nitty gritty begging for money, he never did, never had to do. So to his credit, I don't know how he was able to pull that off over all those years, but he did. So I think there was much less of a conflict for him than there may be for others.

Williams: What adjectives come to your mind to describe the ninety-six-hour marathon at the end of the '96 campaign?

Glassner: Oh, wow. Well, you know, it was exhausting and it was exhilarating and it was exciting and it was depressing and it was a lot of things. For me it was a particularly difficult period, because I can recall the first night of the ninety-six hours, we were in Columbus, Ohio, and I was having terrible dental pain. When you're campaigning like this for so many consecutive months, you never get to take care of any personal business. So I had this tooth problem and it had gotten so bad to the point that the night that we started the ninety-six [hour] campaign we were in Columbus, and one of the Secret Service agents was from Columbus, and it turns out his wife was a dentist, and so she opened her office, I think at ten p.m. the first night of this campaign, and I got a root canal at ten p.m. at the beginning of the ninety-six-hour campaign. So that was a nightmare. So I went through that whole period with having just had a root canal on top of having campaigned nonstop for twelve months, on top of not sleeping.

The only thing that really kept me going was that I knew it was going to end and I could sort of count the hours until it was—but at several points, I think I can recall being at a—I don't even remember the cities particularly. But I think there was an airport rally in Denver at like three a.m., and there were just thousands of people there. I couldn't believe that these people had showed up for this in the middle of the night, and it was cold.

I live in New Jersey now, and another moment I recall that was quite remarkable was the Tick Tock Diner, which is in New Jersey. It's a typical diner off a highway. Again, I think we were there at six a.m., and there were just tends of thousands of people showed up basically in the middle of the night for a political rally.

So the whole idea of trying to campaign for ninety-six hours straight was ridiculous, on the face of it, but then when he decided that he wanted to do it, we were all just sort of along for the ride. [laughs] I really didn't sleep the whole period, just for bits and pieces. I would lay down on the floor of the plane and try to sleep for like fifteen minutes at a time, but I really couldn't because I was in such pain physically also. At several points I had some interesting hallucinations and it was an extreme condition, but I kept going. I made it.

Williams: It started in Columbus and where did it end?

Glassner: That's a good question. I think it ended in Kansas. But, you know, the ninety-six hours really wasn't the end, because it ended the morning of election day and we still had to go through election day and election night, so I think I counted up at one time that I actually was awake 112 hours straight before I actually went to bed on election night, a fitful sleep because we'd just lost. So that was very difficult. It was a sort of great exercise in extreme behavior, to sort of see how much the human body and the mind could take without breaking, so I didn't go mad, so I thought I sort of won the campaign and had not been driven to the asylum. [laughs]

Williams: Did you and the senator ever get closure at the end of the '96 campaign?

Glassner: Yes, I think we did, although I stayed on and worked for him a very short period after that. But you know, we really did. I decided to take a sabbatical, not immediately, but probably six months after that, and I went to stay in Arizona for several months to try to get as far away from that whole traumatic and exhilarating exercise that had occurred. Before I left, he threw a dinner, like a going-away dinner. He invited all of our closest friends, mine and some of his, at the Watergate Hotel, and there were a few hundred people there. It was sort of like a going-away party that he threw for me, so that was sort of a way, I think, of him saying goodbye, although I never really left. I'm still around. But that was sort of the end of that relationship that had started twelve years earlier.

Williams: Comment a bit on your own personal life during that period. Was that on hold the whole time?

Glassner: Yes, pretty much on hold the whole time. I kept apartments, but I traveled full-time, so I was never really able to have girlfriends or long-term relationships during any of that period because I was just gone, and mostly on the weekends, so it was really tough to have a personal life almost for the entire period. My apartment was really the

place I just kept my clothes so I could go back and exchange them for the next trip, so it wasn't much of a home, but it was good storage. So I really didn't develop much of a personal life in any of that time. I stayed single the whole time, never got married until—as a matter of fact, just last week I was with my wife in New York, and Senator Dole was at an event. He introduced me to some other people from Kansas that he knew were at this event, and we were sort of reminiscing about the '96 campaign, and my wife was there, who I had met on the '96 campaign. She worked for Dole for President as well. She's from New Jersey, which is how I got there. So his comment was, "Well, I lost, but Mike won." So I sort of feel that way, because I met the woman I've now been married to for ten years, on the Dole '96 campaign, so there was a happy ending for me personally. After all those years of not having a personal life, I finally got one. [laughs] Lucky for me.

Williams: Characterize your work with Senator Dole since '96.

Glassner: He went to a law firm immediately thereafter, where I was a consultant to the firm for a number of months, and one of the things he started doing at that time was doing a lot of overseas travel, and he worked on a number of both client development and also during that period he became chairman of a group that's called the ICMP, or the International Commission on Missing Persons, and so I was sort of an advisor to the ICMP. So for the period of '97 to '98 and '99 and 2000, I think, was his chairmanship, even though I moved to New York in '98, I still was able to arrange with my employer there that I could work with him on this ICMP project.

So during that period I traveled with him regularly to Europe and to the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, to work on that project, which was very fascinating, and was able to travel widely with him in Europe during that period. So the ICMP was an organization that their goal was to try to help the families of the people who went missing during the Bosnian War, some 25,000, 30,000 people basically disappeared in a very short period of time, and most of them were murdered and buried in mass graves. So he was there really to try to provide some comfort and closure to the families of those people. So we spent a lot of the time meeting with families of people whose husbands and sons and daughters just disappeared. It was a major humanitarian undertaking, and

he was a leader of this group, so that was really a great experience for me personally, not only to be able to travel in Europe and in that area widely, and still have my association with him, I was able to spend some time with him and also learn a great deal about Yugoslavia and Europe, so that was a real great experience. I went all over the globe with him during that period.

Williams: You had mentioned that you've been to so many countries with Senator Dole. I don't think we can give the same attention to that as we've done to these other matters, but coming, as yourself, from Kansas with this Midwest approach to life, what are your observations about Dole on the international scene?

Glassner: What was always remarkable to me is about how widely he was known in other countries. I guess it sort of impressed me what the impact of the national media, the American media has worldwide, particularly with the onset of cable and international cable, so that his image—since this was on the heels of the '96 campaign, it was remarkable how well known he was in virtually every country we went to. Even during that period he was a private citizen, was no longer in office, but it was remarkable to me the ease by which he was able to gain access to world leaders, even then, and the esteem that he was held by presidents and heads of state in a number of countries, and his ability to get access to them, whether for his private clients or for these humanitarian efforts. I found it to be just remarkable.

And, of course, his behavior toward other people never changed. I think I described earlier how really he was sort of indifferent to a person's station in life. He always treated everyone he met with respect, and I found that to be true also in these countries, in particular in Bosnia or the former Yugoslavia. He would be sitting with one of these mothers whose child had been murdered and buried in a mass grave, and treat her with great respect and take her very seriously, and also meet with [Slobodan] Milosevic, with equal amount of respect. I mean, he was very firm and tough with Milosevic, but still this ability to deal with both ends of the spectrum on a political issue of that magnitude I found just remarkable.

Williams: Did you travel with him to the site of his injury in Italy?

Glassner: That's one place I never went with him.

Williams: You did accompany him to Normandy?

Glassner: I did not.

Williams: In '94?

Glassner: No, actually, in '94 I was in Kansas still, working for his PAC, Campaign America, and sort of organizing for the '94 election cycle, so that is not a trip that I made with him.

Williams: How do you think he'll be remembered?

Glassner: I do talk to other people about that now. But I think, in retrospect, he'll be remembered as a man of great character and intellectual honesty. One of the things that's most remarkable, particularly in this day and age, is that at no point was he really tarred by any scandal, you know, personal or political, ever. I'm not objective because of my closeness to him for this long period of years, but I view a lot of the political leadership I see now in the country, and it's sort of remarkable to me that he was able to stay in the public eye for so many years and retain other people's positive view of him without really being marred by any sort of bad behavior. So sadly to say, that's probably one of the most remarkable things about him, I think, is that he really was untouched by any sort of scandal and not tainted in any way, and really will be remembered, I think, as a great statesman.

I think that's one of the things you'll find when talking to people who might have—and I've found over the years, who know of my association with him, even people who are on the opposite extremes politically or ideologically will always speak to the greatness of his character and that he always did what he believed was right. I think that's probably what he will be remembered as.

Interestingly, my experience with him, although I spent a lot of time in the Capitol with him, probably one of his greatest capabilities, which probably isn't widely recognized, is his skill as a legislator was just legendary. It was remarkable, his ability to get people to compromise and come together to agree on making public policy, and I think that's one of his great legacies that the Dole Institute, in particular, I know, is trying to highlight that it is possible to disagree, but get along. So I think that's probably his most remarkable achievement, is his ability to bring people together.

Williams: How will you remember him personally?

Glassner: One of my personal memories of him—and I think always will be—is that he was a really strong sort of a father figure to me in many ways. During a lot of this time, I was always felt to be a member of the family, and for many of these years he went to Russell on a regular basis and I was always included when he went and spent time with his family, and I was always there, too. One particular memory that still strikes me is when his brother Kenny died. Kenny was very close to him. I knew Kenny well, too, and I always made great pains to go visit Kenny as much as I could in Russell when I was in Kansas. I sat with the family at Kenny's funeral, which is something I'll never forget, that I felt like I was really included as a member of the family for a lot of that period. So that's probably my legacy, is that my relationship to him was not really that as a staff member to a boss, but more of like a friend. I've heard him refer to me to others as being his friend, too, so that's probably the legacy I'll come away with, is that I was really not only an employee, although I was for most of the time, but more that now and in the years since I haven't been, which has been ten years, that I've been more of a friend to him than anything.

Williams: Before we started today, you spent about a half hour with him.

Glassner: I did.

Williams: At a reunion, although this happens fairly regularly, I guess.

Glassner: Yes.

Williams: What do you chat about?

Glassner: He loves to talk about politics, so I pay great attention to it as well, and always have. In New York and New Jersey in particular, there's always something to talk about politics-wise. A presidential campaign is under way now so we have a lot that we can compare what went on then and what's going on now with the candidates. In particular, today we were sort of reminiscing at length about President [Richard M.] Nixon. As a matter of fact, he made a copy of some handwritten notes that Nixon had made about Senator Dole's strengths as a candidate when he was running for president in '88, and so I reminded him on a couple of occasions where he and I had gone to Nixon's home in New Jersey to talk politics with him, so that was sort of today's reminiscences. That's just an example.

We mostly talk about politics and he always asks about my family. I have children, so he always asks how they're doing, and about my wife. And sort of planning for the future. For example, today he's going to go to Kansas, I think, in the next month or two. They've been trying to get him to go there, I think for some time, to dedicate a highway and a building that they named after him. So I told him if he needed a sidekick, I would try to arrange my schedule to go with him, which I haven't done in ten years.

Williams: Something to look forward to.

Glassner: Yes. So I thought I would have fun doing that. A lot of the times in the past, too, I helped organize an event for the Dole Institute here in Washington, so in the past couple of years I was able to—we talked a lot about that, too, planning that, so that was fun. There's always politics we talk about, and he loves it. He always pays very close attention to what's going on in the campaigns. So do I, so we can always have something to talk about.

Williams: Have we left anything unsaid, do you think?

Glassner: You covered a lot of territory. So, no, not that I can remark on.

Williams: Any other comment or observations?

Glassner: The one that I made at the beginning, which was, one of the great satisfactions I've had in my life is not only my association with him, but that a guy like him made it possible for a guy like me—I had lost my parents when I was very young, and lived in Kansas and was destitute in rural Kansas, yet I had an interest in politics and I sort of had a dream that I could become active in it. Senator Dole was sort of the dominant figure, so I hitched my dream to him. It just shows what a great country America is that I could have that dream and that it could actually come true to the extent that it has. That I've been able to develop this relationship with one of the towering figures of our time, I find just remarkable. I've had a lot of personal success in my life during the time I worked for him and since then, and I attribute much of it to his character and things that he taught me about the right way to treat other people and a sense of fairness and a sense of moral behavior that's proper, that's paid off for me, too. So it sort of goes to the father figure that he has been to me and how he's always set an example, not as a powerful person in the world, but in the way that you treat other people that you meet, regardless of their station. So that's what I try to remind myself in my everyday life, is to try to do that like he did. So I'm proud of that.

Williams: Thank you.

[End of interview]

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