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President Eisenhower greets young Congressman Dole, whose right-arm injury is still apparent. Dole had been elected to Congress in 1960; he would go on to the Senate in 1968.

saw January and February come, and the physical skills Dole had sought to restore were sliding away again. On February 12 the dicumarol was discontinued, and on February 13 there was a chill and the pain returned. The dicumarol was begun again along with penicillin, but on the 14th there was a second chill and coughing. The medication wasn't working anymore. The penicillin was not hitting all the cocci that threatened his life. His parents had come to Percy Jones, knowing that the doctors didn't know how to save their son. There was a chance, however: an experimental drug called streptomycin. There was no guarantee that it would work and no real assurance what it might do. The Doles signed a release. The streptomycin did work. On March 6, Dole was permitted to sit up in a chair for a few moments.

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Now Dole started again. Each day he could sit up a little longer. Then he could stand. Finally, he walked. The ability honed back at Dawson's Drugstore—jibbing, joking—came back more quickly than his other skills, and because he made the doctors and nurses laugh, it was thought that he might have a good effect on others. So they wheeled him around to a ward with men paralyzed from the waist down. They had heard of the streptomycin guinea pig; he was proof that you didn't have to die even if you were supposed to. He laughed at himself and he laughed at them and they laughed at each other. If Uncle Sam had things a little better organized he'd figure out how to dismantle us and put the good parts together. Throw the other junk away. Yeah. Except everybody's got good heads. Too many heads and not enough bodies for them.

If I had a head as ugly as yours, I'd be glad to sacrifice it.  
Listen to you guys. Two hogs arguing who's prettiest.  
How about running down the machine and get me some Luckies?  
You go, my feet are tired.  
Can't. They see me skippin' down there they pull my disability and put me back on active duty. I am a paraplegic!  
Shut up, I'm a Sosnowski.  
I'd rather be a paraplegic.  
I'll tell you something, pal.  
Yeah?  
I am going to walk.  
Keep saying it.

This war went on. Dole stayed in it. He made them laugh, lifted them up. His industriousness reasserted itself, and for a while he took up selling automobiles in the hospital. Oldsmobile had a specially equipped car with controls on the steering wheel. He hustled it with the paraplegics. He was not successful. Inspiration comes and goes. Dole's spirit helped others, and so helped him, but the end was difficult to see and there were periods of despondence. "It's strange what can happen to a man after he's been lying around a hospital for a couple of years," Dole says. "The realities of life seem to fade away. You lose your energy, you stop caring, it's too much trouble to do anything. Sometimes you just want to lie there and let others wait on you."

"People who love you can help, though." Each day in the hospital he went through the same therapy, the exercises to strengthen his legs, to strengthen his left arm, to restore as much articulation as possible to his hands, to learn to do things for himself again, to eat, to dress, to write.

In the wards at Percy Jones was a Dr. Bill Eiert, injured by a mortar blowback on Okinawa. Eiert had heard of a man named Kelikian in Chicago who performed the kind of surgery that might help restore Dole's right shoulder and arm, and thought Dole ought to see him. Dr. Kelikian is an Armenian immigrant. He came to America and enrolled at the University of Chicago while working as an elevator operator there. He went on to become one of the nation's leading neurosurgeons. His brother was killed in Italy. Kelikian agreed to operate on Dole for nothing. "I do what I can for the country," the doctor says, "both out of gratitude and out of respect. Dole epitomized America to me. He had the faith to endure."

Before the operations, Dole went home again to Russell. This time he came standing up. The

first day he got out his old track shoes and circled the block. Every day he worked to increase his speed. In his basement he set up a gym. His friends came to wonder at him. When he toppled over, he got up by himself. He would have no help. Wherever he went he carried a rubber ball to squeeze his left hand back to strength, though he had almost no feeling in those fingers. His right hand still would not work properly. They cast a device in lead to fit his arm and fixed it with rubber bands to hold his fingers open and covered it with felt from the pool hall to keep it from chafing. This help he accepted.

When his townspeople learned he was going to Chicago for operations to make

**What he could do was still uncertain, but he had set his mind on one thing: "I'm going to get those years back," he said.**

his shoulder and arm work better, the Russell Veterans of Foreign Wars Post got up a fund drive to help pay his way; for even without Kelikian's fee, there were transportation and other costs to cover. One person gave \$100, another a nickel.

The first operation on his shoulder was done on June 3, 1947, another on August 4, and the last on November 5. Part of the scapula was removed, and muscles in Dole's neck were connected to his arm. The arm had been ankylosed, or fused, at the elbow, and the paralysis of nerves in the shoulder was relieved by the operation in Chicago. When Kelikian was finished with him, Dole was getting about 40 percent use of his right arm, and the doctor estimated that this should increase to 70 percent in time. No, he wouldn't play basketball again.

What he could do was still uncertain, but he had set his mind to one thing, and this he confided to his brother Ken. "I'm going to get those years back," he said.

Epilogue: Robert Dole went back to college, at the University of Arizona, and then received a law degree in 1952 from Washburn Municipal University in Topeka. He was elected to the Kansas House of Representatives in 1950, and was Russell County Attorney until he was elected to the US Congress in 1960. In 1968 he was elected to the United States Senate, and in 1976 he was the Republican candidate for Vice President. He now serves as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

## Editor's Notes



One of the story ideas we talked about this year was which Washingtonians you would want or not want to be in a foxhole with during a battle. We finally dropped the project, partly because the long list of people we didn't want to be in a foxhole with included a lot of well-known writers, lawyers, and politicians, partly because it seemed so much easier to pick the pragmatists (the cowards) than the good guys, but mostly because it seemed too mean. One politician who never appeared on my good-guys list was Senator Robert Dole, who I never knew much about other than that he was a tough, successful politician. There are a fair number of such politicians in town, and some would sell their grandmothers for the right price. But after editing the article "The Faith to Endure," on page 126, I'd now put Dole pretty near the top of my list of people to have around in time of real trouble. It's very easy to think of all Washington politicians as compromisers, opportunists, or worse. The Dole article is a good reminder that politicians are flesh-and-blood people.

—JACK LIMPET

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# THE CLOUT OF THE 'NEW' BOB DOLE

**Against the odds, Robert J. Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, masterminded this year's huge package of tax increases - showing a conciliatory style very different from his partisan gunslinging in the 1970's. Next year, he will play a key role in the battles looming over Social Security and world trade.**

By Timothy B. Clark

When I first got to know Bob Dole," says George McGovern, "he was tough and mean." That was back in the early 1970's, when Senator Robert J. Dole was a most acerbic Republican Party chairman and Senator McGovern was a most liberal Democratic candidate for President. Today, the two men count each other as friends. "He has changed," says McGovern — not only on the personal and psychological levels, he adds, but in his "approach to government policy."

The transformation of Bob Dole suggested by this unlikely friendship — the one-time political gunslinger turned into a defender of the poor, the hard-line conservative turned toward mainstream Republicanism — has taken on special significance of late. For the Senator from Kansas has become one of the most powerful and effective politicians in Washington. His political means and ends are shaping the key legislation of the day.

Earlier this year, as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he almost single-handedly engineered a huge tax increase in the face of a recalcitrant President and Congress — and managed to sell it as a reform measure aimed at collecting money from tax cheats and from little-taxed businesses.

In the months ahead, with a Federal budget deficit that could approach \$200 billion, the 59-year-old Senator and his committee will be chief among those to determine whose ox will be gored if Congress decides to further raise taxes or cut spending. Next month, he and his commit-

tee will be holding hearings on two of the hottest issues before Congress. They will have to find answers to Social Security's financing problems — cutting benefits, increasing taxes or both. And they will seek to balance domestic needs against the principles of free trade as a world in recession scrambles for international business.

Dole's post usually receives little public notice, even though the committee's purview includes programs that will spend \$435 billion in this fiscal year and every detail of the tax code, from levies on gasoline and liquor to corporate depreciation allowances to personal tax deductions. Tax action is traditionally in the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, where revenue measures normally originate. But with the House held by the Democrats, it has fallen to the Republican-controlled Senate to confront the practical consequences of the President's pledge to "get the Government off our backs."

And Bob Dole dominates the revenue machinery of the Senate. More than Howard H. Baker Jr., the majority leader — more than anyone except perhaps the President himself — Dole has initiated, manipulated and controlled the measures that constitute the fiscal posture of the United States Government. Indeed, Dole's performance in the job, coupled with the changes in his personal and political style, have made him one of a handful of Republican members of Congress who can alter the direction of Administration policy.

All of which has proven to be something of a double-edged sword for Senator Dole, who has Presidential ambitions he does not bother to hide. On the one hand, the role of tax raiser and budget cutter is not calculated to increase a candidate's political support. On the other hand, his responsibilities and visibility have been much enhanced.

Senator Dole spent the month of October on a brutal schedule of appearances in 21 states, campaigning for Republican candidates. But the election results spell trouble for the Finance Committee chairman. On Social Security particularly, he faces the prospect of writing legisla-

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