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tion next year even less popular than the tax increases and budget cuts of 1982, and there will be fewer Republicans in Congress to give him a helping hand.

Bob Dole's political roots are never far below the surface, and they are Populist roots. His recent attacks, for example, on pathologists who make a killing on Medicare, or lawyers and doctors who manipulate tax returns to provide themselves opulent retirement plans—followed rapidly by his pleadings for "the guy who's struggling to get along on food stamps"—are echoes of the Populist revolt that swept the Kansas plains nearly a century ago. During the

depression of the 1890's, the state produced the likes of "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, who spent three terms in Congress as an implacable foe of Wall Street. And even after Populism faded, men like Alfred M. Landon, Republican Presidential nominee in 1936, could be heard plugging for the "little fellow" in the grip of the "interests."

Dole grew up in Russell, a town of 5,500 people surrounded by endless plains of wheat, and it was a shoulder-to-the-wheel, no-frills childhood for Bob, his brother and two sisters. His father, Doran, who died in 1975, managed a grain elevator; his mother, Bina, who is now 79, sold sewing machines; Bob and his brother worked at odd jobs, washing cars, digging pipe trenches.

At high school, Bob Dole was captain of the basketball team and he went on to premedical studies at the University of Kansas. He quit in

hand, enabling him to transcribe them. He earned both a bachelor's and a law degree from Washburn University in Topeka, Kan.

At the age of 27, while still in law school, Dole was elected to the Kansas Legislature. Two years later, in 1952, he was elected to the first of four terms as Russell County Attorney and then, in 1960, he ran successfully for a seat in the House of Representatives. As a campaigner, Dole cut a handsome figure—and he still does. He stands 6 feet, 1½ inches, and weighs 175 pounds. His dark eyes are intense, yet they often convey the spirit of a boy who has done something mischievous.

During his eight years in the House, Dole and most of his Republican colleagues found themselves in constant and fruitless opposition to the spending programs advocated by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Dole voted against the first of the big antipoverty programs, in 1964, and against aid to impoverished Appalachia, subsidies for urban mass-transportation projects and Medicare. Americans for Democratic Action gave him a zero approval rating four times during his stay in the House. His record on civil rights was mixed. For example, he voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but against the 1966 bill to ban discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

It was after Dole's election to the Senate in 1968 that he began to attract national notice, particularly as a staunch defender of Richard M. Nixon. He backed his President's policies on Vietnam all the way, and when the Senate plunged into seven weeks of debate over an amendment to cut off money for military activities in Cambodia, Dole led the opposition, winning admiration for his clever tactics if not always for his rhetoric.

Dole's devotion to "my President," as he so often identified him, was epitomized by his tough defense of the two Nixon nominees to the Supreme Court who failed to pass muster in the Senate, Judges Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell. He played Democrats who were concerned about Carswell's record on racial issues; Carswell had made a speech supporting white supremacy, participated in the conversion of a municipal golf course to private ownership to avoid desegregation and was reported to have behaved with hostility toward civil-rights workers and lawyers who appeared in his courtroom. In a memorable moment just before the final vote on Carswell, confronted by uncertainty within his own party's ranks, Dole strode up and down the center aisle, pointing at individual Senators and proclaiming, "I would remind my Republican friends . . . that Richard Nixon was elected President in November 1968, and that with that election came the right and duty to nominate Justices of the Supreme Court." He then delivered a thinly veiled threat of political retribution. He said he hoped the President would leave the seat vacant if Carswell was rejected, and take the case to the American people. "It may be easier," he said, "to change the Senate than the United States Supreme Court."

In reward for this kind of loyalty, Nixon had Bob Dole installed as Republican national chairman in January 1971; he served in the post for two years. It was during this period that Dole's attacks on George McGovern for his antiwar stand escalated markedly as McGovern sought and won the Democratic nomination for the



Senator Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, who is credited with having helped to change his political image.

According to George McGovern, an unlikely friend, a 'first step' in the evolution of the 'new' Bob Dole was the Senator's disillusionment over Watergate.

1943 to enter the Army, where he rose to the rank of captain. Twice wounded and twice decorated in World War II, he was put out of action when he led an infantry charge on a German machine-gun nest in Italy. His right shoulder was shattered, and he lost a kidney; doctors at first held little hope for his survival, then predicted he would never walk again. Dole spent 39 months hospitalized. His friends in Russell raised funds for special operations, and he stubbornly refused to accept physical dependency. He squeezed rubber balls constantly to strengthen his crippled hands, and exercised with home-built gadgets to build up weakened legs and nearly paralyzed arms.

Dole married Phyllis Holden, a physical therapist, soon after he was discharged from the hospital in 1948. "He never had planned to get married," she told an interviewer in 1976. "He felt so lacking." She also observed that much of what Dole had achieved since the war had been an effort to prove that he could do it in spite of his handicap. His education, for example: Unable to take lecture notes because his right hand was permanently crippled, Dole recorded the lectures and taught himself to write with his left

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Dole rips Reagan's 'failure to consult'

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — Sen. Robert Dole (R., Kan.) complained Sunday that President Reagan had failed to consult extensively enough with his main allies in the Senate or with those he appointed to his fundering commission on reforming Social Security.

Dole, a ranking member of the Senate majority who is a member of the commission, also suggested Reagan had not yet recognized that losses in last month's elections had shifted the political "center of gravity" to a point "maybe a little closer to Capitol Hill than the White House."

Some Republican Senate staff aides said they were jarred by the tone of the Kansas senator's remarks. Dole has become increasingly outspoken in expressing dissatisfaction over relations between the White House and the Senate leadership.

DOLE, WHO IS chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, told reporters Friday: "Some of us wonder if he knows who his friends are. We really should sit down with the President, which we have never done, and talk to him about some of our problems."

Dole is regarded as a likely candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1984 if Reagan does not seek re-election. An aide to another senior Republican senator indicated Sunday, however, that the lack of communication was not so widespread as Dole portrayed and that it might be related to the fact that the White House is increasingly regarding Dole as positioning himself for a bid for the presidency.

Dole's latest comments were made Sunday during a nationally televised interview Sunday on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

TWO DAYS earlier, the Social Security Commission decided to put off for a week its final round of negotiations leading to formal recommendations on how the system should be restored to a sound financial footing.

When asked about the apparent lack of White House leadership on that issue, Dole said: "I think they've been frightened to death about Social Security. We avoided facing up to it this year. We had some losses in the election you can attribute directly to failure to meet that problem."

Dole acknowledged the subject was extremely sensitive but noted the commission, which was named by the President to study the Social Security problem, "is about to expire and still no one in the White House has talked to the commission."

He said that, while the White House is now holding discussions on Social Security, a solution to its problems is not in sight. **MEANWHILE**, in an interview on the ABC News program "This Week with David Brinkley," commission Chairman Alan Greenspan said that while their differences had been narrowed "quite significantly," the members have perhaps gone as far as they can on reforming Social Security without further direction.

"We have now arrived at a point where I think it probably requires a judgment and agreement at the next level of decision making," Greenspan said, referring to Reagan and House Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D., Mass.).

The shortfall in Social Security funding over the rest of the decade is now estimated at between \$150 billion and \$200 billion, with most specialists, including Greenspan, agreeing that a combination of higher taxes and cuts in future benefits is most likely to be the result.



During a tax conference last summer, Senator Dole, right, sits with Democratic Representatives Sam Gibbons of Florida, left, and Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois.

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Mr. Dole's unsoothing voice

Sen. Robert Dole does not have a very soothing voice, which is well, because in his role as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee he hasn't had many soothing things to say lately, especially concerning Social Security.

Last week, he raised his voice once more to ask for action on the Social Security trust fund's looming bankruptcy and to demand that the White House begin providing some leadership toward solving this serious problem.

Mr. Dole complained that President Reagan seems to have put this gathering fiscal storm completely out of mind, refusing to confer not only with the Democratic opposition about meeting the emergency but also with his Republican allies in the Senate and with the commission Mr. Reagan appointed to seek a solution to Social Security insolvency.

"I think they've been frightened to death about Social Security," Mr. Dole said. "We avoided facing up to it this year. We had some losses in the election you can attribute directly to failure to meet that problem."

If the White House is frightened, it is not without reason. The last time the administration said anything sensible about Social Security the Senate overwhelmingly rebuffed the President. And if Social Security was an issue in the Republican mid-term congressional election losses, it was because the Democrats portrayed the administration as out to cut benefits, not because the administration failed to cope with the insolvency of the system.

But Mr. Dole has a point when he says that the President has backed out of the picture on

Social Security since the elections.

White House aides have tried to minimize Mr. Dole's remarks and the difficulties they define, while attempting to deflate his credibility by pointing out he's a likely candidate for the presidency in 1984. But even though Mr. Dole has not always been a hero on this issue in the past, he is being forthright and responsible now.

Mr. Reagan appears to have dumped all responsibility for Social Security onto his commission, which his own aides ridicule as "the squish commission." It has failed to produce any proposed solution, claiming only to have "narrowed" possibilities. It has in fact tried to bounce responsibility back by saying it really can't accomplish anything until Mr. Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill reach agreement.

The White House balks at making any overtures to Mr. O'Neill, who refuses to deal with Social Security until the next Congress convenes, when he will have 26 more Democratic votes at his disposal.

All this is akin to ignoring the symptoms of a fatal illness, and Social Security has plenty. Its outgo now exceeds its income to such a degree that it's expected to produce a \$150 billion to \$200 billion deficit by the end of the decade.

Tempting as it may be for Mr. Reagan to let the issue be resolved by the competing factions in Congress, he must get back into the fray. Even with responsible leaders like Mr. Dole in there fighting, the problem will not be solved without a very strong push from the White House.

Presidency. McGovern recalls Dole's labels very well: "advocate of centralized power," "left-leaning big spender," "tool of organized labor." McGovern added, "There was the strong implication that those of us who opposed Nixon's war policies were giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

The Nixon campaign was controlled by the White House and operated by the Committee to Re-elect the President, with Dole and the Republican National Committee operating on the fringes. He was not privy to Watergate, and he chose not to believe the allegations of illegality and White House cover-ups, actually drafting a resolution that sought to stop the Senate investigation of the White House.

Eventually, though, Dole faced the music. George McGovern dates some of the changes in Dole to that period—a "first step," as he puts it. Says Dole: "I was very disillusioned with the White House, the arrogant people who worked there. We went through purgatory for a while as a party. That, combined with a very close race for the Senate in 1974, made me think I'd better take a look at where I was going."

There was room for improvement. During his first four years in the Senate, Bob Dole won few popularity contests, with his colleagues or with his staff. Turnover was high among his aides. Those who knew him spoke of his "meanness," his sarcastic put-downs of other people.

Some of these attributes surfaced dramatically in his 1974 campaign for re-election to the Senate, a rough battle against a two-term House Democrat, William R. Roy, a doctor-lawyer from Topeka. Roy built up a comfortable lead by emphasizing Dole's connections with Nixon and Nixon's connections with Watergate. Dole exploited his opponent's admission that he had performed a number of abortions over the years. Dole called Roy an "abortionist" who favored "abortion on demand," though Roy insisted he viewed the operation as morally repugnant and only occasionally necessary to safeguard the woman's health. Dole won re-election by a 2 percent margin.

Dole managed his package of tax increases so adroitly that President Reagan never had to admit that the Administration had forsaken its tax-cutting philosophy.