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University officials congratulate Dole for his role in securing a \$9 million grant for the new Human Development Center.

mate Dave Owen says, can be "meaner than a junkyard dog."
Still, Dole knows where he came from. He has watched senators catch Potomac fever by spending too much time on national issues at the expense of their home state. And he has seen them booted out of office. "I want to guard against that," Dole said. "I go home a lot. I don't want to be perceived as just a national figure."
Dole and his staff aggressively remind Kansans about his efforts for the state. Recently, for example, he persuaded the Senate Armed Services Committee to restore funding for the B-1 bomber wing at McConnell Air Force Base near Wichita; convinced administration officials to retain Kansas City's status as a federal regional center; met with GM officials to present Kansas' case for the Saturn automobile plant; appointed several Kansans, including University of Kansas graduates, to posts in the Senate; and worked with Kansas bankers on the administration's farm credit plan.
KU gets noticed too. Dole, who participated in basketball and track at the University before joining the Army, maneuvered support for a \$9 million appropriation to build KU's new human-development center that will aid disabled persons.
Dole's involvement with the University has changed over the years as Dole himself has changed. During student protest days, a KU insider re-

members. "There was a tension between Dole, the faculty and students. That has changed dramatically." Added KU's Washington lobbyist, Jerry Waters: "I think he's better now, in terms of his willingness to do things, than he's ever been." Dole has received the Distinguished Service Citation from the University and its Alumni Association.
One of Dole's closest Kansas friends and advisers is former Chancellor Archie Dykes, now an insurance executive in Topeka. A member of the board of trustees of the Dole Foundation, Dykes recently has been helping Dole hire a full-time fundraiser for the foundation.
The Washington-based foundation's existence can be traced to Dole's roots in Russell. Inspired by his friends and neighbors, who chipped in to help with his medical bills when he returned to western Kansas in 1947, Dole started the foundation two years ago. Beginning this fall, the foundation will award grants to non-profit groups submitting proposals that create jobs for disabled persons. It seeks to create 50,000 new jobs by 1995. To get underway, \$20 million will be required during the next five years. Dole plans to spend as much time as he can raising money.
"The problem is, I don't have any

time," he said. The foundation fundraising "has been a little slow, and it's probably my fault."
Dole always has been able to juggle several balls at one time, but he faces weighty responsibilities and challenges in the 1980s. Beyond leading the Senate, retaining the Republican majority in 1986 and winning his own re-election, Dole also casts an eye toward presidential politics. Already, Vice President George Bush, Rep. Jack Kemp and former Sen. Baker are preparing for the 1988 campaign, and Elizabeth Dole is a vice-presidential candidate in her own right. Unlike the others, Dole will wait until after the 1986 election before he decides.
"I think Dole can wait because he has a couple of advantages," says Charlie Black, an Alexandria, Va., political consultant to Reagan, Dole and North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms. "First, he knows people all over the country, and he doesn't really have to start from scratch. Second, as majority leader, the biggest part of his political fortunes rests on what happens right here in Washington. He's on the national news all the time, and if he does a good job as leader and gets credit for that, that enhances his political reputation more than anything else."
Dole, who aborted his 1980 presidential bid early, faces some obstacles to the presidency. He isn't up to speed on all aspects of foreign policy, although he has been more vocal this



If he wins another term, Dole must decide whether he will enter the contest for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination.

year than ever, opposing Reagan's trip to Bitburg, observing arms control talks in Geneva and urging the president to impose a trade embargo on Nicaragua. In addition, conservatives within his own party openly complain that Dole isn't conservative enough. Kemp and other supply-side Republicans have been at odds with Dole over his past advocacy of tax increases. But as Dole and others close to him noted, if he leads the Senate in keeping the deficit down and the economy rolling, some of the criticism about him may evaporate.
"As majority leader, fighting for the president's program, it's conceivable that by the time 1988 rolls around, Bob Dole could be Reagan's champion in the Senate, in which case he [Dole] becomes the conservative," says David A. Keene, an Alexandria, Va., political consultant.
Dole usually parries questions about 1988, reflecting in part his preoccupation with 1986 but also his uncertainty about whether he'll seek the GOP nomination. "I don't know what I'll be doing [in 1988]," said Dole, who calls the modest outdoor area outside of his Kansas office in Washington "my Rose Garden."
Answers may come after the November 1986 election. Assuming that Dole is re-elected to a fourth term and that the Republicans retain control of the Senate, he will decide whether to continue as majority leader for another

two years or to step down and devote more time to the 1988 campaign. The campaign finance laws, which effectively require that candidates spend two or more years preparing for the make-or-break Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary, make it difficult and perhaps impossible for Dole to campaign for president and run the Senate.
"If we keep control of the Senate in 1986, then he's got a very big decision to make," Black said. "His decision will be tougher than the others."
Whatever happens to Dole in the 1980s, one thing is certain: He won't take himself too seriously. Few lawmakers possess his quick-witted and clever demeanor. The trait was learned from his father, Doran, a western Kansas grain-elevator manager who found humor to be a tonic because, as Dole's brother, Kenneth, said, "It's boring in this part of the country. A joke kind of helped the morale."
One often-quoted Dole joke was told at a Washington social function where he referred to three former presidents, Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon, as "see no evil, hear no evil and ... evil."
Many of Dole's best jokes are those he makes on the spur of the moment. Explaining Gov. Carlin's decision not

to oppose him in 1986, Dole said: "The governor called me, and I was out buying a new suit. He called me back and said, 'I decided I won't run for the Senate in 1986.' So I went out and bought two new suits." After his wife and his daughter, Robin, surprised him with a miniature schnauzer named Leader on the day he was elected majority leader, Dole said the dog was "House broken, but not Senate broken."
In a serious moment with reporters at the GOP convention in Dallas, where temperatures were above 100 degrees every day, Dole was asked whether there was anything reporters should be watching for that night when he and his wife were to address the convention in prime time. "Stay indoors," he replied. "It's hot out there."
Dole's caginess is one of the lessons learned from the 1976 campaign, when he and President Ford suffered a heartbreaking defeat. Aiming his sharp wit at himself, he analyzed the race: "President Ford was supposed to take the high road, and I was supposed to go for the jugular. And I did—my own."
But Bob Dole, master politician, won't make the same mistake twice. **A**

Stephen C. Fehr has reported on Kansas politics from Topeka and Washington for The Kansas City Times since 1978.

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CONVERSATIONS / MARIAN CHRISTY

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The man who would be president

Sen. Robert Dole can picture himself in the Oval Office

WASHINGTON - When Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas walks into his elegant suite of Capitol Building offices, he commands attention. At 62, standing erect in a finely tailored gray suit, he exudes energy and intensity. Dole, the Senate majority leader, doesn't have the use of his right arm so he extends his left hand in greeting.
Later, sitting in his inner sanctum, he talks about his handicap, the result of World War II wounds. Discharged as an Army captain in 1948, Dole came home from the war completely paralyzed. He spent three years in hospitals and is a sympathetic supporter of the handicapped. Dole has a Bronze Star with oak leaf cluster and two Purple Hearts.
After 25 years in Washington, Dole, one of the most powerful of senators, still shows signs of his humble beginnings in Kansas. After three terms in the House of Representatives, and now in his third Senate term, Dole has the reputation for not yielding to pressure tactics or surrendering to the amenities of Washington. In this noon conversation, Dole says he would like to run for President in 1988. In 1976, he was the Republican vice-presidential candidate on the Gerald Ford ticket.
Dole was born in Russell, Kan., attended the University of Kansas and was graduated from the University of Arizona in 1952, after military service. He was graduated magna cum laude from Washburn Municipal University in Topeka with a degree in law. He has been married for 10 years to Elizabeth Dole. President Ronald Reagan's secretary of transportation.



"I like to finish things. If you let things go, which is certainly the tendency around this town, it's Christmas. I don't like projects hanging around. I like to keep the train running."
I come from a competitive family. We were poor. We did odd jobs. I delivered papers. I mowed lawns. I worked in the hardware fields. Then there were the chores at home, like doing the dishes. I was always involved in hard work. So were my parents.
"But in college, I didn't work as hard as I should. My grades reflected a lazy student, a C-student. In college, though, I was on tables and delivered milk at 5 a.m. By then, the work ethic was ingrained. But I also went to a lot of parties. I just didn't apply myself. I had a lot of fun. But after the war, I changed. That's when I applied myself to my studies."
"When I was in hospitals there were periods I thought I was defeated. I controlled those feelings of defeat by trying to cheer up other patients, men with no legs. And I searched for a miracle cure to restore the use of my arm. I went to different doctors in different cities.
Finally, I found a doctor in Chicago a man who put it all on the table for me. He said straight out: 'Certain things will never be normal. He was a great orthopedic specialist and he was willing to do what he could. He operated on me seven times, and never took any money. He tried to make my hand functional. He relieved some of the pain in my back. But I still have a hand that doesn't work.'
When you're in pain, they give you

"To succeed, you need a burning ambition."
morphine and Demerol. If you think about how much you hurt, it hurts more. So I tried not to think about my own pain. In this day, I have difficulty buttoning buttons. That is what has taught me patience. To get it down, I have to do it slowly. And I can't dress myself in the dark. I have to see the hole to get the button through the buttonhole. People tend to take the simplest things for granted.
"Let me tell you about power. You can't take yourself too seriously. You have to accept criticism, even if it hurts. Sometimes the critics may be right. But to succeed, you need a burning ambition. I'm not talking about the kind of ambition where you run over people. I'm talking about inessential ambition, the feeling you have to accomplish your goals."
In a real sense, especially about myself, Dole says, there are some things I can do. I don't pretend, ever, to believe I can succeed in competitive sports. Those doors are closed. But some doors are open. I'd like to see the president. I'd like to win the nomination. I'm running for the Senate again in '86, but '88 is coming. If my health is good, yes, I will be a contender in the Republican Party.
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Dole: The man who would be president

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"Some people think I've changed. I think I've just been noticed. I came to Congress, at age 37, from rural Kansas. I didn't focus on civil rights or human rights. But I've been around bright people for a long time. And I've kept my ears open. So I've grown philosophically."
"I hope the public thinks of politicians as normal human beings with faults. But I know a lot of people have a cynical concept of politicians. Ask the average taxpayer if a congressman gets paid too much, and the answer is always, 'yes.' I've given up debating the issue that politicians are underpaid. You can't win. We have talented people dealing with billions of dollars in programs and they get an annual salary of \$70,000. Politicians are viewed differently from chief executive officers in the private sector. Politicians are expected to deal with more problems seven days a week for less money."
"I'm surrounded by powerful women. My wife is one of them. I don't have the hangups that females are less than males. My first wife from whom he was divorced was an occupational therapist. Elizabeth is in the Cabinet. We are a two-career couple but actually she outranks me."



"We try to avoid bringing our problems home. She's disciplined about that. But I've taught her how to really let go of things. I tell her that dogs that chew on boots all day don't make progress. She comes from a family of perfectionists. They dwell on imperfections forever. Imperfections go away after a day or two. You just have to ignore them."
"A lot of people want to succeed but they don't. Maybe it's because they stomp on people to get where they're going. Politics is tough. Every time you think you're headed for the top, there's somebody out there to deflate you. That isn't all bad. It's what makes you keep your perspective."
"You can work hard and not win. That's the thing. But it's impossible to win all the time. You have to accept the fact you can make mistakes. Some people don't like to admit they're capable of making mistakes."
"I have common sense. When I have to make a decision, I agonize over it. I brood. Sometimes I wish I didn't have to make that decision. I reflect on it. I know the back stops somewhere. I'm a leader so I make the decision. If you're right, you're right. If you're wrong, you start over. That's how I make peace with myself."
"Without peace of mind, you're

"I like to keep the train running."
in a pickle. I'm introspective. That's my nature. I don't about out my troubles. If I'm unhappy, I try to work things out myself. Elizabeth can't understand why I'm not straight about certain problems. I always give myself time to cool off.
"I like to get back to my roots. I like to see where I came from to get here. I like to see the people who helped me get started. Some are dead but I still remember them. I like to go back home, to Kansas, because there are people there who have known me a long, long time. Some people there even call me 'Bobby.' They accept me for me. They don't care particularly about my being a senator."

DOLE PHOTO BY PAM PRICE