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# Dole

Continued from Page 1  
congressional districts it rose by less than three. Worse, in the 5th district, nine of 33 counties lost population and in the 6th, a third of the 26 counties also lost population. Some cities, though, thrived; Great Bend and Liberal, Salina and Hays, were notable because they showed sharp gains.

Overall, the figures measured the extent of an agricultural revolution that had begun to run its course, but still hasn't stopped flowing. Fewer people were farming more acres, leaving less customers to be served. Population of the rural areas decreased, the villages dwindled and the few larger towns grew as industry, services and distribution centered in them.

At the time, there was cause for hope. For the survivors it was still good economic news. Total income and production were expanding, and fewer were dividing the good results.

The overall result would be consolidation. Two years later, the two districts would be combined to a single district of 58 counties, 50,000 square miles and 500,000 people. But in the 1980 campaign, the less said about the specter of consolidation, the better.

Instead, Dole opposed aid to education and health, trade with any communist country, wrapped himself in the flag, kissed babies, endorsed motherhood and supported better roads in every township. That was the way to get elected, and still is, especially in a primary election.

Agriculture was of national concern, of course, and any drastic changes in what we were to grow, or how much, or how we were to diminish enormous surpluses, were to be effected by Congress: the farmer would best be represented in Congress by Bob Dole, he told everyone he could reach. And he told it better than Sebelius or Doyle.

He was nominated Aug. 2 with 16,000 votes, 1,000 more than Sebelius; Doyle pulled 4,400. The Democrats nominated Davis with 8,500 votes, 1,000 more than Riley.

On Nov. 8, in the last election of



Sen. Bob Dole greets an admiring audience before a speaking engagement at the Russell Elks Club earlier this month.

By Greg Holmes

the 6th District, voters sent Bob Dole to Washington with 61,000 votes and a 3 to 2 margin.

Over the years, through three more elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, three elections to the U.S. Senate and a crack at vice president, Bob Dole has become a man with many makers and even more markers.

Since that first campaign 26 years ago, when Mary Humes wrote that first letter to the editor and 16,000 friends nominated him from courthouses, schools and churches in 26 counties, Dole's constituency has come to comprise most of the nation and a good part of the world.

In raw political terms, he has in

slightly more than a quarter century doubled his home district, conquered Kansas and secured the U.S. Senate in a base of broad influence as its majority leader.

Dole's equity in this is the majority of Kansans who elect him. The leverage in his mortgage on Washington power comes by vote of a majority of Senate Republicans, who represent a majority of states. This gives Dole a balance of power matched only occasionally by the speaker of the House and surpassed, only at times, by the president himself.

Dole has parlayed his Kansas connection into fortunes of influence and an oasis of accountability far beyond the Kansas borders. His attention is divided. He is

no longer ours alone. He brokers others; he belongs to others.

This is to the discredit of the Kansans who don't like to share. In their cantankerous nature, Kansans condemn Bob Dole for his neglect, real or imagined, of the home front.

He, and we, have changed.

The change in Bob Dole goes beyond the obvious moderation of his early hard lines. The Washington public sector is made of politicians and civil servants whose jobs are secure and whose salaries keep on going up because nobody expects the government to break even.

The private sector includes the protection racketeers, the lawyers, lobbyists and consultants who are

maintained in high style by corporations for the sole purpose of diddling Uncle Sam. It also includes the lawyers, consultants, experts and "fellows" paid by the government to think and prepare studies. And it includes a press corps that often sidles up to the same system.

In short, it's unreal.

One result is that the people who live there long enough become unreal themselves, with an unreal grasp of the nation and its people.

It's an oddity that despite all the criticism of the capital, almost nobody who goes to Washington ever leaves. The cliché used to be that "Democrats buy; Republicans rent." Now the Republicans have bought, too.

The feeling, from time to time in Kansas, is an apprehension about Dole's deals in all of this, how he has come to so much power and what he will do with it. But the Kansas consensus remains that unlike so many others, Dole has not become unreal, that he doesn't speak in tongues of the memorandum, that his grasp of the state and the nation is still real, that he may have bought in Washington, but hasn't sold out.

The evidence in every election he has campaigned for the past 26 years is that Bob Dole may now lead the powerful in Washington, but he is not alien to the world where food and fiber are produced and that he can still mow his own lawn any time he wants.

## Live, from D.C., it's Senate TV

By Leon Daniel  
United Press International

WASHINGTON — The Senate went live on nationwide television Monday in a historic change. Republican leader Robert Dole told members could become permanent if they "can resist the temptation to exploit technology."

Democratic leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who had joined with Dole in sponsoring the bipartisan legislation providing for Senate TV, called it "a step that is as irreversible as it is inevitable."

Byrd said "a potential 240 million Americans may now see and hear the Senate's proceedings."

Dole promised his colleagues — and television viewers — a busy week starting first with a bill that would provide \$9.6 billion for each of the next five years for higher education. Dole said he also expected to bring up tax reform legislation and a controversial vote on Reagan's proposal to sell arms to Saudi Arabia.



Bob Dole

Dole, a Kansan considered a presidential prospect, warned senators that "we can either rise or fall to the occasion. If members play to the cameras with gimmicks, fill-busters and endless speeches, then we have failed the test."

After a month of closed-circuit, in-house testing, Senate TV went nationwide for a six-week live test

before a July 29 vote on whether to make broadcasting permanent, or extend test coverage another 30 days before a final vote. Senate radio coverage has been live and publicly available since May 1.

The Senate test period came seven years after the House first permitted public television and radio broadcasts of its proceedings.

The Senate was called to order before the cameras by Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., president pro tempore of the chamber, who introduced the Rev. Bernard Hawley, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Salina, whose opening prayer noted "this historic moment."

Here is the full text of Hawley's prayer:

"Let us pray. In a new way, oh Lord, we are bound together, citizens and senators, bearers of a common heritage of hope, sharers of a common future and a common dream.

"Because we cannot be servants of peace until we are at peace within ourselves, because we cannot further the cause of right unless we do the right, because we cannot speak of freedom unless we feel our spirits free, we turn to you to pause in this historic moment to recall that we are in the presence of the eternal in the midst of time, the meaning hidden in the mysterious depth of our existence.

"Because we come to this moment in many ways, because we see from different points of view, the dream we share is but partially complete. Because we weave together the new fabric of our common life, may our differences add new depth and beauty to the emerging path of our life together. Forbid that we should ever lose the vision that draws from the best within us, for without that vision, a people perish."

Dole thanked Hawley after the prayer.



Sen. Strom Thurmond, right, introduces Salina minister the Rev. Bernard J. Hawley as Hawley prepares to deliver the opening prayer in the first live television presentation of Senate proceedings Monday.

## CAPITAL POLITICS



Pete Domenici Richard Lugar Bob Dole  
PHOTOS BY JAMES S. W. ATHERTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

## The Senate's Leading Lights

By David S. Broder

Pete Domenici of New Mexico and Richard Lugar of Indiana will not be on the ballot this year. Bob Dole of Kansas will, but he has no opposition in his race for reelection.

These men — respectively the chairman of the Senate Budget and Foreign Relations committees and the Senate majority leader — constitute three of the best reasons for voting Republican in the states with Senate contests this November.

As a practical matter, they will sway few if any votes. Campaign consultants with whom I've talked are just about unanimous in saying that while party control of the Senate may matter a great deal to many contributors, to politicians and political junkies and, obviously, to the president, most voters couldn't care less.

The last thing on the mind of someone in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, is whether Lugar is a better chairman of Foreign Relations than the man who would replace him if the Democrats regained the Senate majority, Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. That Idaho voter will decide between Sen. Steve Symms and his challenger, Democratic Gov. John Evans, on the basis of their merits or demerits.

Down in Georgia, I've heard Democratic politicians say they think they can get people to vote against GOP Sen. Mack Mattingly by arguing that his defeat will help make the state's popular Democratic senator, Sam Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee. I am skeptical of that tactic. After all, Mattingly can easily point out that a vote against him will also help give Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy his choice of chairmanships of the Judiciary or Labor committees.

In reality, our politics is so personalized and so devoid of party loyalty that few voters realize they are making a double choice when they vote for a House or Senate member. They are picking their own spokesman in Washington, and they are simultaneously helping decide which party will organize Congress and control its committees.

Having spent time recently with Dole, Domenici and Lugar, I can't help wondering if most of us don't dismiss this question of party control too casually. These men — responsible for the overall performance of the Senate and for its budget and foreign policy panels — are of such exceptional quality that their performance ought to weigh in the voters' calculus.

Lugar is intellectually impressive, politically courageous, doggedly determined, yet understanding and respectful of others' views. The

qualities would be ascribed to Dole and Domenici by the vast majority of their colleagues in both parties and by the reporters who cover them. What is most striking about all three is their large-mindedness, their ability to see beyond their personal ambitions (which are, in each case, substantial) and beyond the parochial interests of their states.

Lugar demonstrated those qualities in persuading the administration to shift its policy in the Philippines away from Ferdinand Marcos and toward Corazon Aquino, and in urging the Senate to reconsider its opposition to arms sales to Saudi Arabia. He stuck to his principles despite the evident political risks. At the same time, he recognized why President Reagan was soft on Marcos and why his colleagues were nervous about the Saudi arms deal. In both cases, his tactics were effective, and it is likely that his judgment will be proved sound. Domenici has shown the same tactical skill, sound judgment and political courage on tough issues of budget policy, opposing the dogmatists in the administration and in both parties. Dole has stuck his neck out so often on issues from civil rights to dividend and interest tax withholding that his courage has become almost commonplace.

This is not a plea to shut your eyes and vote Republican in the November Senate contest in your state, no matter what you think of the rival candidates. That advice would be absurd, and campaigning for anyone is not my line of work. Not all the Republican Senate committee chairmen are paragons of wisdom, conscience or courage, by a long shot, and in notable instances, their Democratic replacements would be superior in some or all of these qualities.

But a reporter can point out that when the Republicans took control of the Senate in 1981, they had had no experience in running that body and its committees for 26 years — a full generation. Some in Washington predicted a shambles. Instead, it has been a performance of considerable distinction, orchestrated for four years by retired majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee. Under Dole, it has gotten even better, for he has a useful knack for pulling legislative rabbits out of his hat.

None of this may be relevant to the campaigns this fall. But it is not insignificant for the well-being of this country or the judgment history will make on this era.