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# Dole working on personal image

By ROBERT SHOOGAN  
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SAVANNAH, Ga. — Addressing the Georgia Republican convention here last month, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole recalled going off to World War II as a young second lieutenant. "I thought I knew everything," he said. "I was unlucky and ended up in the hospital for a while."

The remark, delivered almost casually, referred to the fact that Dole, who served in the Army's 10th Mountain Division, was critically wounded during savage fighting in northern Italy. He spent 39 months in hospitals and lost the effective use of his right arm.

At 63, Bob Dole is a proud man, jealous of his privacy. But he badly wants to be president. And his ambition, as he bids for Republican votes in gatherings like this around the country, is driving him to put aside his personal reserve and explain himself as he never has before — even reflecting on the consequences of the combat wound that shattered his arm and reshaped his life.

The GOP Senate leader's vaunted accomplishments on Capitol Hill have helped his White House candidacy get off to a surprisingly strong start. But his advisers have counseled Dole that to overtake the GOP front-runner, Vice President George Bush, the Kansas senator must define himself to the electorate in human terms and use this identity to make convincing his vision for America's future.

"He's got to make contact with the voters by revealing himself and his character," said his longtime Kansas friend and campaign chairman, Robert Ellsworth. "He's got to turn himself inside out."

And so here in Georgia, as he does in New Hampshire and Iowa, Dole talks about the hardships of life in Kansas during his Depression-era boyhood and later, in the early post-war years, when he served as county attorney in Russell County.

"We went through a lot of tough times, just like you've gone through hard times here in Georgia," he said. "And a lot of people didn't make it. One of the toughest things I had to do as county attorney was approve welfare claims — and two of those were for my grandparents."

For Dole, that sort of talk runs strongly counter to a natural reticence about discussing personal feelings in public. This attitude, fostered by his Midwest upbringing, was intensified by his war wound and the long struggle of rehabilitation.

But Dole recognizes the political necessity to surrender some of his privacy. "It's OK to talk about yourself," he tells an interviewer, "if you move very quickly on to other people and their problems and how you



SEN. BOB DOLE  
... off to strong start

would be able to understand them because of your experiences."

Whether or not he ultimately works out a successful formula for self-revelation, Dole has already cut a larger swath in the 1988 Republican race than many people thought possible. After all, his losing 1976 campaign as President Ford's running mate was noted for an abrasive style that was blamed for costing the GOP votes. And in 1980, completely overshadowed not only by Ronald Reagan but also by George Bush, Dole got less than 0.4 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire presidential primary.

Looking over a crowd of about 100 people at a May 30 town meeting in Ames, Iowa, Dole quipped: "I never saw so many people all the time I was in Iowa in 1980."

But the subsequent years have been good ones for Dole. "He's mellower," said Ellsworth, "and much richer in wisdom and experience." "I've got more confidence," Dole himself said. "I've been in a position of leadership. I've been chairman of the (Senate) Finance Committee and majority leader and had a chance to put my stamp on a lot of legislation."

At least as important, events broke Dole's way. The Iran-Contra scandal hurt Bush, who had been the overwhelming favorite, because of his ties to President Reagan, and raised questions about the vice president's own possible involvement in the affair.

Moreover, the debacle gave Dole an opportunity to move stage center from his position as Senate Republic-

can leader and challenge the administration's policies, casting himself as a spokesman for the public interest.

More subtly, Dole's partisans contend that his demonstrated independence from the administration would help him broaden the party's base if he were the standard-bearer. Dole himself talks of winning over blacks and other minorities to the GOP fold and cites his voting record in the Senate, where he helped push through the 25-year extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982 and was floor manager for the bill to create a holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

But some Republican activists are unwilling to overlook disagreements with Dole, and some of them have not been pleased by his attempt to walk a tightrope between loyalty to the White House and political independence.

"I'm not a Bob Dole supporter, because I'm a Ronald Reagan supporter," said Billie Gilpin from St. Joseph, Mo., at the Des Moines conference. "I don't think Dole has backed the president as much as he should."

Such issues may matter more to party workers such as Gilpin, who is secretary of the Buchanan County GOP, than to the average voter. To Dole's strategists contend he cannot rely on his voting record on Capitol Hill but must also put up his own persona for inspection.

"You have to show the capacity to lead," said David Keene, senior political consultant to the Dole campaign. "And you also have to reveal your basic values, who it is you are and what it is you want to do as president."

"A presidential campaign is like a painting. You start with an outline, and then you fill in the details as you go along."

Gradually, Dole is filling in the details to audiences around the country, starting with his humble origins in Russell. "We don't come from any family of wealth at all," he said. He remembers that his mother sold sewing machines, that his father ran a cream and egg station, and that of four children, he was the only one to complete college.

After the war, and his lengthy ordeal of physical rehabilitation, he entered politics and earned a law degree. Dole served for 10 years as county prosecutor, won election to the House in 1969, and moved up to the Senate in 1981.

Unmentioned in his campaign recollections is the fact that Dole has been married twice, the first time in 1948 to Phyllis Holden, an occupational therapist. That marriage ended in divorce in 1972, apparently because the pressures of Dole's con-

gressional responsibilities pulled the couple apart.

In 1975, Dole married Elizabeth Hanford, a Harvard Law School graduate who had served as a consumer adviser to the White House. Elizabeth Dole has since become secretary of transportation, a potential candidate for national office herself and a considerable political asset to her husband, as Dole cheerfully concedes.

"As people were going through the line, many said they heard Dole was speaking, but they thought it was Elizabeth," Dole told a gathering in Lincoln, N.H., which his wife did not attend, and "a few of them left."

Dole adopts a more serious vein when he talks about his early life, suggesting that his experiences — the economic hard times and the war wound — have made him, as he puts it, "a very sensitive person when it comes to the handicapped

**"It's OK to talk about yourself if you move very quickly on to other people and their problems."**

— Sen. Bob Dole

and other vulnerable groups in America who haven't had it 'their way' all of the time."

But beyond the questions about his personality, Dole needs to find answers to more substantive questions about policy. In his speech to the Georgia convention here, Dole attributed the loss of four Republican Senate seats in the South last year to the GOP's failure to get more than a tiny fraction of the black vote.

"You have to face reality in America," he said. "And reality is when you spot somebody else 95 percent of anything, you have a tough row to hoe."

But he offered no suggestions for attracting blacks, and when asked at a subsequent press conference what Republicans should do to get black votes he said only: "Start talking about it before the election. One week before, two weeks before, a month before. Let black Americans know that a Republican Party has been in vanguard of a lot of programs."

More broadly, there is the question of what Dole will propose to do about the budget deficit, which he describes as "the greatest challenge facing America and the Free World."

"If you don't want to make the hard choices," Dole says, "then I'm probably not your candidate."

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Her schedule may affect all air travel: Secretary and Senator Dole

## A Dole 'Fast-Track'

With an eye on the White House, Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole is "fast-tracking" new rules to make airlines report their on-time records to federal authorities. Aides suggest Dole wants the regulations in effect within four months because she is ranked over increased airline delays, eager to beat congressional action—and determined to have a solution in place before she resigns this fall to campaign for her husband, presidential aspirant Bob Dole. Secretary Dole says she has no plans to leave. But an aide agrees a political view is "not off base."

Former Sen. Paul Laxalt still finds his White House hopes plagued by unflattering accusations. Last week Laxalt settled a lawsuit over stories in three of California's McClatchy newspapers. They said an IRS agent suspected illegal skimming at a Nevada casino Laxalt owned. (Preliminary investigations failed to show any evidence of wrongdoing.) But there's now in Republican campaign

circles that Laxalt is too lazy to be a serious candidate—unwilling to campaign on weekends or in all of August. Laxalt insiders deny this, saying he plans weekend fund-raisers and only one week's vacation in August. A Republican National Committee source blames the rumors on rival GOP camps.

Like Gov. Mario Cuomo himself, New Yorkers are ambivalent about his running for president. A new poll by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion will show 45.9 percent of state voters feeling Cuomo should run, 44.5 opposed. Nearly three quarters of Democrats say they'd vote for Cuomo.

Virginia Democrats appear ready to join the regional primary on "Super Tuesday," next March 8. Jesse Jackson did well in party caucuses in 1984 and could be a big winner this time.



**"THE MOST WONDERFUL WORK"**

SENATOR BOB DOLE, 33<sup>rd</sup>—KANSAS  
United States Senate

**"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."**

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**IT HUS BEGINS** the perfect statement, penned two centuries ago by 55 revolutionaries, setting forth our fundamental national being. Unlike organizational documents drafted by teams of accountants, lawyers and management consultants these days, the 200-year-old United States Constitution is remarkably simple in terms of style and length. It establishes the basic structure of our Federal Government—executive, legislative and judicial. And

with its Bill of Rights the Constitution guarantees individual freedoms of speech and religion while protecting us against tyranny. Every American public servant, upon taking office, takes an oath to uphold the Constitution. For instance, members of Congress affirm they will "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution." In Canada, members of the Parliament instead swear they will be "faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty."

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# Dole opposes campaign spending limits

By BARRY MASSLY  
Associated Press writer

WASHINGTON — At a recent speech, Sen. Bob Dole turned his biting wit to an issue that has consumed and divided the Senate since the start of last month. The issue is how to revamp the system for financing congressional elections.

"Most people back home think we've only done two things this year," Dole told his audience of stockbrokers and financial executives. "First we raised our pay and now we're trying to figure out a way to get the government to pay for our campaigns. We call it reform."

He continued on to the delight of the crowd. "Whenever you put reform in a title of a bill everybody starts to tremble because you can't vote against reform. The word might get back home that you were opposed to reform."

Putting aside the humor, such concerns have not stopped Kansas Republicans like Dole and Sen. Nancy Kassebaum from blocking Democratic efforts to move ahead with legislation to limit spending for Senate campaigns. As minority leader, Dole has helped guide the opposition to the legislation sponsored by Majority Leader Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., and David Boren, D-Okla.

The legislation would offer partial public financing of campaigns to candidates who accept spending limits. The proposal is part of a broad attempt to restrict the influence of special-interest groups and curb the

rising costs of political campaigns. Republicans object to the spending limits and have particularly complained about public financing.

"I just say, if there is a groundswell out there, the American people demanding that we pay for our campaigns with their taxes, it has not reached my office yet," Dole told his colleagues one day.

Advocates of the Senate bill have

**"We know campaigns cost too much but we don't want to put a cap on expenditures."**

—Sen. Bob Dole

been closely watching Dole's handling of the issue because he could be a key to any compromise. When he was majority leader, Dole declared in 1985 that the campaign finance system "cries out for reform" but he opposed a measure to limit contributions by political action committees.

This year more than one Democrat has pointed out that while Dole is against public financing of Senate elections, he has been declared eligible for federal financing from the Treasury for his 1988 presidential campaign. Dole is expected to announce his candidacy this fall.

"His words have been one thing. His actions have been another," Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, a lobbying group behind

the bill, says of Dole. "He's in a critical position, but so far to date he has used that position to obstruct the Senate from action."

Byrd made note of Dole's likely use of public financing one day during Senate debate.

"So I hope that we will not be persuaded too much, by those who protest loudly about public financing, about what all this is going to cost the taxpayers, when, in fact, the taxpayers already do this voluntarily, in the case of presidential elections," said Byrd.

Dole replied, "I remember when we passed the other checkoff we were told it was a unique office because all the American taxpayers were potentially voters for the president. That is why we should make this one little step, because of that importance. If somebody repeats it, that would be all right with me. We are not asking for any other office."

Public financing would cost a projected \$100 million for Senate campaigns, according to the bill's supporters. Opponents contend that adding House races would increase the price tag to at least \$400 million or more every two years.

In defense of spending limits, advocates point out that a Senate race cost an average of \$650,000 in 1976 but that was \$3 million a decade later. Contributions by political action committees, which are formed by special interest groups, totaled \$5.6 million to Senate races in 1976 but they reached \$45.7 million in 1986.

"If I were starting out today, a

person with a ground like mine — grocer man, welder, produce salesman, butcher, small businessman — could not hope to raise the large sums of money needed for today's campaigns," argues Byrd.

"There is a danger in this: Not only could the U.S. Congress become the exclusive domain of the very wealthy, the common man could be removed from effectively competing in the political arena."

Dole has led the charge against spending limits, saying the restrictions would hurt Republicans in states where Democrats are the dominant party.

"We know campaigns cost too much but we don't want to put a cap on expenditures. We're talking about Republicans because we're trying to break in to some of the one-party states in this country, and the best way to stop the growth of the Republican Party in the South and other one-party areas is to cap the amount our candidates can spend," says Dole.

So far, Democratic leaders have failed to attract Republican support, even with offers to reduce the amount of taxpayer financing in the bill.

However, Dole says the GOP is willing to compromise and is ready to advance proposals to limit PAC contributions and require disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by a special interest group on behalf of a candidate but not directly contributed to the candidate.

"THE MOST WONDERFUL WORK"

Here The Constitution Rules

Where other countries are governed by men or women, we are a nation of laws enacted only with the consent of the governed. Therein lies the difference between America and most other nations of the world (except those which have modeled their Constitutions after ours). And it is the Congress, I believe, which especially embodies the spirit in those few words "We, the people."

Our Founding Fathers' wisdom in establishing the Congress as they did is nothing less than brilliant. They wanted to devise a way to balance, and when necessary check, the powers of the executive. Thus a national legislature representing the people was created and given the power to pass laws. While the President would be able to veto legislation deemed not in the national interest, the legislature, as representatives of the people, could, through extraordinary measures, go over the President's head to enact a law by overriding a veto.

The make-up of Congress as a national legislature posed yet another challenge to the drafters of our Constitution. William Paterson of New Jersey proposed that each state have equal representation. Edmund Randolph of Virginia suggested a legislature with representation based on wealth or population. The "Connecticut Compromise,"

offered by Roger Sherman, provided for a bicameral Congress with proportional representation in a lower house and equal state representation in an upper house.

Congress Embodies "We The People" Spirit

Unlike many other national legislatures, members of Congress are elected directly by the people they represent. In Great Britain, for instance, members of the Parliament's upper house (the House of Lords) are either appointed or inherit their positions. In the Soviet Union, all members of their legislature (the Supreme Soviet) are appointed by communist party officials.

Although the Constitution did not specify direct, popular election of Congress, the broadness of the document left ample room for an evolution of the electoral process to occur. As our Country grew in size and sophistication, popular elections open to every adult in our society became possible.

It is the popular election of our Congress that makes it an unparalleled representative body. For members of the House of Representatives, who face the voters every two years, and for members of the Senate, who face the voters every six years, the words "We, the people" have a very special meaning.

So in each Congress over these past 198 years, Representatives and