

# American Leadership, Then and Now

By BOB DOLE

WASHINGTON — Like many Americans, I have thought a great deal these past few weeks about D-Day. I have read the recently published books and watched the television specials. Today, I will be privileged to walk the beaches of Normandy, and to meet with those who were there on June 6, 1944.

In remembering D-Day, we remember many things. We remember a war against tyranny — a war where the tide was turned in the tides off the French coast. We remember remarkable acts of courage by soldiers, both anonymous and famous. We remember the words said by one of the famous — Dwight D. Eisenhower — 20 years after D-Day, "... It's a wonderful thing to remember what those fellows ... were fighting for and sacrificing for ... They did it so the world could be free. It just shows what free men will do rather than be slaves."

We can not truly honor D-Day and its veterans, however, by just remembering the "stuff" of history — names, places and dates. Rather, we must also remember lessons learned, and we must look to see if those lessons can be applied to the world of today and tomorrow.

I believe the one overriding lesson the world learned 50 years ago is this: There is no substitute for American leadership.

I say this knowing full well that the Allied victory that would eventually follow D-Day, was just that — an Allied victory, not an American victory. But there can be no doubt that without the leadership and manpower provided by America, victory could not have been achieved.

Again and again over the past half-century, we have seen the difference made by American leadership.

Without American leadership, Europe would not have been rebuilt after World War II.

Without American leadership and resolve, the Cold War could not have been won.

Without American leadership, the quest for peace in the Mideast would have been abandoned long ago.

Without American leadership, Saddam Hussein would control much of the world's oil supply and would be sizing up his next victim.

Without American leadership, freedom fighters in Afghanistan and elsewhere would have faced a far different fate.

Without American prodding, the people of nations like South Africa, the Philippines and Nicaragua would still be waiting for the freedoms they now cherish.

We also have learned that leadership is not cheap. America has paid dearly for our role as leader — both in terms of lives lost and money spent.

But there can be no doubt that results have been worth the cost. The world is a safer, freer and better place because of American leadership.

Today, however, there is increasing talk around meeting tables in Washington, D.C., and kitchen tables and faculty lounges across America, that the era of American leadership that began with D-Day should come to an end.

It is time, many say, for America to focus on our own problems. And when it comes to leadership, they add, why not leave the heavy lifting to the United Nations?

The dangers of these prescriptions can be seen in Bosnia. The world has watched and wrung its hands as a modern-day genocide has been undertaken and borders are being changed by force. Administrations from both parties have expressed their concern, sent humanitarian assistance, but refused to lead. I do not know if the slaughter in Bosnia would have stopped by now if American leadership had brought about the lifting of the arms embargo, but I do know that the situation could not possibly be any worse. At the very least, by allowing the Bosnians to defend themselves there would be hope for a just peace.

Yes, as those who counsel against American leadership insist, the world is much different than it was on June 6, 1944, and the villains are often not as clear now as they were then. But there can be no mistake that there are still villains in this world. In North Korea,

in spite of warnings from the international community, we see a hostile regime bent on developing nuclear weapons and the capability to deliver them. Elsewhere, there are dictators who will seek to expand their borders, and there are those who send terrorists to do their dirty work. They cannot be stopped without American leadership.

Is it America's destiny to be the world's policeman? No. There are crimes against humanity and crimes against freedom committed every day in countries like Rwanda, Haiti and China. That does not mean that American soldiers should be sent to those countries to make things right. But, in all these places, we have more than just the choice between doing nothing or sending in American forces.

There is more to America than just military leadership.

There is also economic leadership. And moral leadership. And leadership by example — demonstrating to other nations that freedom and private enterprise are the only methods by which individuals and nations can reach their full potential. That's part of the leadership we provided during the Cold War. And if we are to continue to lead by example, then, yes, we must solve our own economic and moral problems.

But when America's interests are at stake and when freedom is threatened, then, like it or not, we are the only "cop on the beat." We are the world's only political, military, and economic superpower. And we must lead.

In 50 years, America will again turn her attention to Normandy, as the 100th anniversary of D-Day is marked. That occasion will occur without the presence of any D-Day veteran. Because Douglas MacArthur was wrong. Old soldiers do die. And the best way we can pay tribute to the soldiers of D-Day and all those who came before and after them is to ensure that American leadership is never allowed to die or simply fade away.



## A Hip Bob Dole Gets Out of the Gate

— With One Liners, the Senator Eyes '96

By JON MEACHAM  
with Thomas Rosenstiel  
and Bill Tunque  
in Washington

When Bob Dole went on "David Letterman" recently, things went so smoothly that the senator looked as if he'd been dropping by the Ed Sullivan Theater for years. He came ready with one-liners (Dole said he had given Clinton \$250 to build a White House jogging track: "I didn't want him running out in the street scaring people") and had his own "Top Seven" ways to cut the budget. Explaining why he hadn't brought a traditional Top 10 list, Dole deadpanned: "Republicans are cutting everything 30 percent." Suggestions included "Stop paying Clinton speechwriters by the word" and "Arkansas? Sell it."

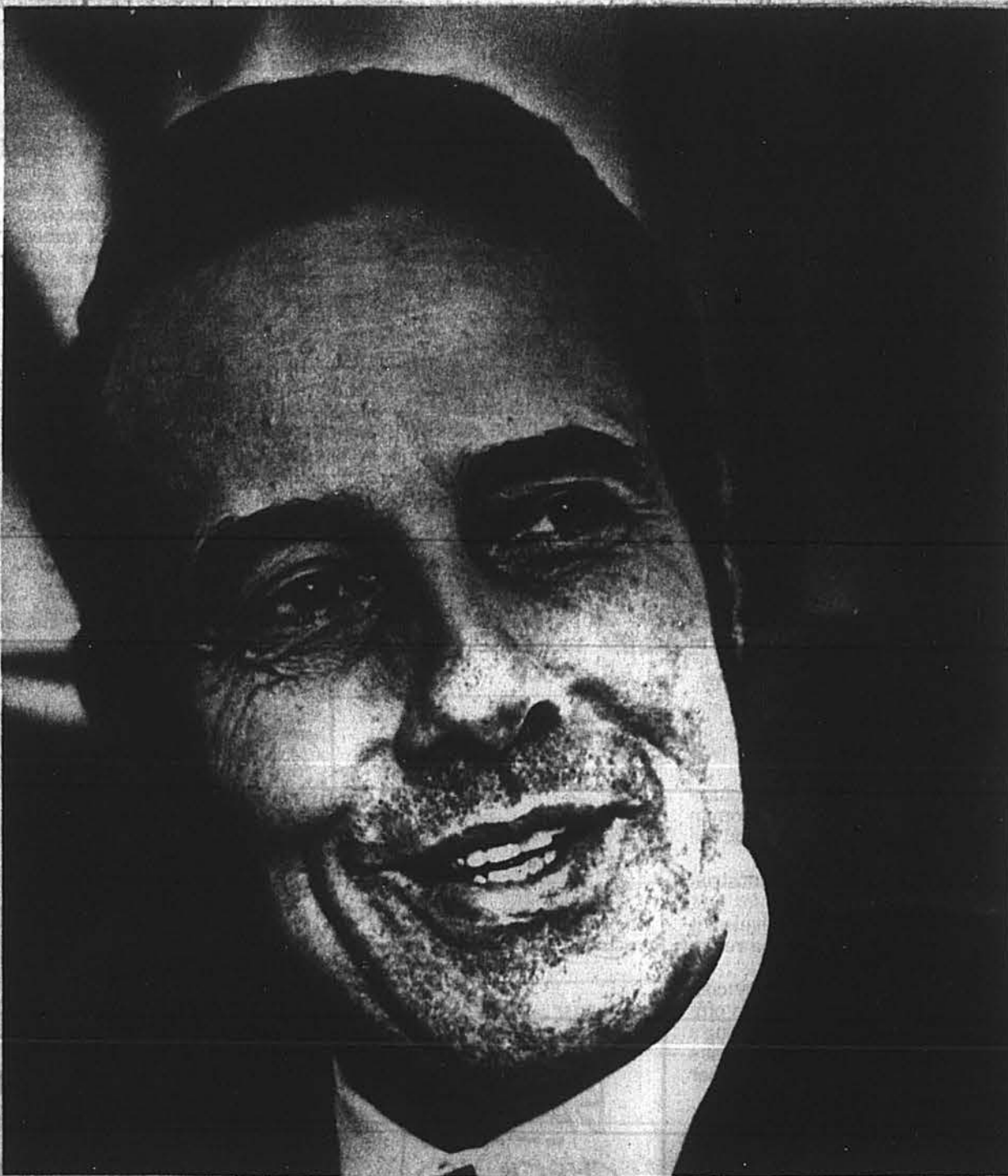
But in the middle of his shtick, Dole casually announced that he's running for president in 1996. The news was not unexpected, but the venue (the nation's most popular late-night comedy show) and the timing certainly were.

Politicians dream about the kind of week Dole had. It began when Jack Kemp announced he would not run. This accelerated the year-off campaign, as Phil Gramm and Lamar Alexander hit the phones to plunder Kemp's vast political network. "I kept telling my people, 'Well, give me a couple more weeks,'" Dole told Newsweek. "They kept saying, 'People are getting sopped up out there. This campaign's started.'"

Convinced, Dole jumped in. He was lucky to have had several major media events already in the works, and he seized the spotlight from Gramm, who recently won straw polls in Louisiana and Arizona. In an interview with David Frost on PBS, the 71-year-old Dole tried to defuse worries he's too old by suggesting he might promise to serve only one term.

He also said he might announce his running mate at the same time he formally declares his candidacy, in April — a highly unusual move. This tantalizing possibility provoked rumors that Dole might ask Colin Powell to run with him. Newsweek has learned that the two recently visited with each other at the general's house in McLean, Va. While Dole insists the vice presidency wasn't directly discussed, he says: "We had a good visit. Talked about a lot of things ... We talked a lot about politics."

Although it's unlikely Dole would actually choose a No. 2 before winning the nomination, dangling the option is a way of attracting more attention. Lately the senator also has chatted with three others, any one of whom might become a running mate: Gov. Pete Wilson of California, Gov. John Engler of



Michigan and Gov. Arne Carlson of Minnesota. Meanwhile, to secure his right flank, Dole was the subject of a flattering profile in the conservative Washington Times. "If we had tried to design all this to get momentum," an ebullient Dole said recently, "we probably couldn't have done it."

The Dole boomlet could not come at a better time for him. With his dark features and flat, cutting voice, Dole has always seemed a forbidding figure. The great humanizing element in his life — his wife, Elizabeth, head of the American Red Cross — maintains her own grueling schedule, and as a result the Doles are rarely seen together in public. (Observers say it's like Mrs. Dole would have to take a leave of absence from her

nonpartisan post once Dole officially announces. Mrs. Dole avoided the issue with Newsweek, saying, "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it.") His handlers know Dole still suffers from high-profile displays of temper. In 1988, he snapped "Stop lying about my record" at George Bush on live TV. They also need to let people see Dole outside Washington — the world in which he's lived for 34 years.

In short, Dole must do something he has so far failed to do: Make people like him. "Dole knows there's a world of difference when he smiles," says Kim Wells, a top aide. Admits another senior adviser: "The average person doesn't get to see the likable side of him very often." In fact, two generations of

voters have different but equally negative impressions of him. Older voters remember Dole as Gerald Ford's "hatchet man" in 1976, and younger ones may think of him as "Dr. Gridlock" of the first two Clinton years. To buff his image in recent years, Dole has bantered with Jay Leno, chatted with Conan O'Brien, and sat for a warm, positive feature in People magazine. The Letterman appearance is the latest, and by far the most significant, attempt to appeal to baby boomers and Generation Xers who do not share his life experiences of the Depression and World War II. And "Saturday Night Live" has talked with Dole's staff about getting the senator on as a guest host. Of course, shrewd political use of popular media isn't new: Clinton

went on Arsenio Hall in 1992, and Nixon, seeking to rehabilitate his image for the 1968 campaign, popped up on "Laugh-In."

Dole realizes, however, that the campaign is not going to be won on late-night TV. As Senate majority leader, he's got to deliver between now and '96. The others — Gramm, Alexander, Dan Quayle, Arlen Specter, Richard Lugar — aren't in leadership roles.

Only Newt Gingrich, a presidential wild card who associates say is talking more seriously about running since Kemp dropped out, has more at stake than Dole in how

well the Republicans make good on their promises. That his last shot at the White House rides so much on Gingrich, who once called the senator the "tax collector for the welfare state," isn't helping Dole's already prickly relationship with the speaker. When David Frost asked Dole if he would cede the field to Gingrich, the senator said no.

Squabbles aside, if Dole can sustain his recent run of luck, he may look back on his boffo Letterman turn as the first, not the last, laugh of the latest run at the one office that's so long eluded him.



**HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT** — Bob Dole was a handsome young man when he attended Russell High School. He also was popular and serious. Dole was a good student and an excellent athlete. He lettered in three sports during his sophomore, junior and senior years. In track he ran the 440 and the 880.

