

ROBERT J. DOLE
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview with
Sen. DANIEL K. INOUE

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Smith: Senator, you obviously have a unique perspective on Bob Dole's story. I mean you were there, you and Phil Hart were there, in Battle Creek as part of the first caucus and you were in the Senate before he arrived here. You have been to the Senate long after he left. Tell us about those days in Battle Creek, first of all, and did he display any interest in politics?

Inouye: Well, as a little more background, he was wounded a week ahead of me, one mountain away. I could have seen him if I'd looked for him with my binoculars. And we somehow found ourselves in the same hospital. At the time I first met him, he was on one of these stretchers, whatever you call them, and he was being pushed around. He was laying on his back. Most Americans don't realize it's much more than his arm. If you open his shirt, you'll see all kinds of lines all over the place; they're scars. You can tell that even to this day, I think, he's in constant pain, but he must have gotten used to it. Well, we got so close at this point because he's disabled, I'm disabled. He's got an arm problem, I've got an arm problem." I would look at his arm, and it's always stiff and not doing anything. I used to tell him, "Why the hell don't you cut it off?"

And he'd look at me seriously and say, "I came in here with two arms and two legs, and I'm going out of here with two arms and two legs."

And just about the time I was preparing myself to leave the hospital and be civilianized, Bob was still scheduled to stay there for a little while longer, I sat down with him and had a fine talk, and I said, "What are your plans?"

He said, "I'm going to be a lawyer." That's fine. "Then I'm going to be the county attorney." Not, "I'm going to run for county attorney." "I'm going to *be* the county attorney." I say, that's fine, you know. It's almost like the county is run by Daddy, and Daddy is going to make me the county attorney.

And I say, "Is that it?"

He said, "Oh, no, no. Just the beginning. Then I'll run for the state legislature, and on the first opening in the Congress, that's where I'm going."

I said, "Gee, that's ambitious and that's exciting." At that point I hadn't really made up my mind, but I knew I could not be a physician. That was my goal. So I said, "You know, I'm going to follow your suggestion." So I went to law school, I became an

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assistant public prosecutor, went into the territorial legislature and when statehood came along, zingo, I'm here. When I got here, I looked around and I thought, "Well, I'll be a little rascally." I sent him a telegram, "Bob, I'm here. Where are you?" [laughter] But we've been friends all along.

Smith: What was he like back then? It's hard, obviously, for those of us who didn't live through that experience to imagine ourselves into a facility like that. What did you do all day?

Inouye: Well, depending on our state of cure, depending on our injury, we had to go to rehab, we had to go through exercises, surgery, what-have-you. In my case, all my surgery was behind me, and this was rehab time. For him, surgery was still ahead of him. In my case, it was simple, take care of this and that's it, you know. The other thing's just healed by itself. But in his case, it took time because what they were trying to do was to restore some life in a dead limb. I hate to put it that way, but that's what it is.

Smith: Did he have a sense of humor then?

Inouye: Not as much as he has it here. At that time he was at times morose, you know. I can imagine, because here was a guy who was ambitious and who knew what he wanted, and he found himself in this condition and not knowing whether he was going to make it or not. But I think it's that drive that kept him going.

Smith: And that existed before the War, do you think? Is that something that the War sharpened?

Inouye: I think the War did it. I didn't know him before the War, naturally, but when we got here and found ourselves together, I watched him operate and it was different from the hospital. Here he was standing up, walking, tall, good-looking, personable, at times can be very charming, and, as many of us would say, it takes two to tango, but he was the one who went out and asked for the tango. See, right now we all know it takes two to

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tango. The leadership knows that. But one has to make the move. Bob Dole, if he thought that the move was necessary, did not hesitate.

Smith: Tell me about Phil Hart. Because he was the other member of your caucus, wasn't he?

Inouye: It was like apples and oranges.

Smith: Really? How so?

Inouye: Well, you take Bob Dole and I were lieutenants. Phil Hart was a colonel, and you would have never guessed that. If you can imagine, this is my first day at Percy Jones [Hospital], and being the first day, I thought I'd socialize and go to the Officers Club, walked in there and here's this guy with a sweater and I think he had khakis on or something. He came up to me and he said, "Can I get you a drink?" I just assumed he was a waiter, and he got me a Coke, rum and Coke, you know. In those days, that's what we macho guys drank. [laughter]

Smith: By the way, did Senator Dole drink in those days? Do you remember?

Inouye: Never saw him, never saw him drink, because he would come around. He's on this—and later on he was on this wheelchair, but he always had this nurse pushing him, and I think later on became his wife.

Smith: That's right. Yes.

Inouye: But for about three, four days I would go to the club, and this fellow would be coming up and, "Hey, come back, welcome." And he'd take me to my place to sit and, "Rum and Coke, again?"

"Yes, sir." So finally I said, "What's his name?"

"Oh, his name is Phil."

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“Is he an employee or patient?”

“Oh, he’s a patient.”

“A patient.” So I said, “What rank is he?”

“Colonel.” [laughter] I never had a colonel serve me rum and Coke.

Smith: Of course, Phil Hart, we’re meeting in the Phil Hart Building. What was it about Phil Hart that was so special? I know, bipartisan consensus.

Inouye: Well, Phil Hart would disagree with you, but he was never angry and you could not get angry with him. Even if he knew that his idea would not be acceptable to either side, he would propose it and seriously present it. And he might lose 97 to 2, and I think the record shows that often, but he did that. After a while, I think the fellows began to take him very seriously. In the beginning, this is a club. You’re supposed to be one who understands the business; it’s always the achievable, the “real world.” These are the terms you use. But here was this fellow who came up, said, “I believe in this. I think this is the right thing to do, and I think you’re wrong,” but he says it in such a way that you just can’t get angry.

Smith: You talk about the Senate as a club. We’ve talked to a lot of your colleagues, current and former. What Bob Dole wanted this to be about was as much of the Senate as himself and how the Senate has evolved, and some would say degenerated. I don’t know. I mean, you’ve been here since 1962. Is there such a thing as the good old days, compared to the Senate in more modern times?

Inouye: Well, if you study the history of the Senate, it is like a group of people pursuing a goal, and in this case we call it democracy. Oftentimes, the leadership says the trail going to the left is a better trail. Then you go too far and somebody else says, “No, I think it’s the right side.” So it’s been left and right, and you’ve had periods, Civil War, the extreme, and then you have periods when everything was joyous. So I cannot say that we are evolving from this state to another state, because I’ve seen it go up and down, up and down, but if you were to compare my early days, it was much more pleasant.

Smith: Why was it much more pleasant?

Inouye: Because today we seem to be conducting ourselves a bit more partisan-like, very partisan. For example, in the early days, even if the rules did permit it, very, very, very seldom would any member put a hold on your bill. I have put a hold on a bill twice, but I would go up to you and say, “Jack, I’m putting a hold on your bill for twenty-four hours because I want to study it. I don’t know anything about it, but it seems very important.”

And you say, “Oh, fine.” And the next day, it’s off. Today, some of these holds are secret. You don’t know who’s putting it on, and one man can frustrate the whole United States Senate, and that’s not democratic. As far as I’m concerned, that rule has to be repealed. We have measures that the committee unanimously reports on, bipartisan. But some guys decides, “No, I don’t want it. No, it’s an earmark,” or something like that. It’s wide open, transparent as can be.

Smith: We keep hearing about a loss of civility, not just in the Senate, but in the political process generally. Do you think, broadly speaking, that’s accurate, that it’s a less civil place than it was years ago?

Inouye: Well, I would think in the early days when we were civil, you would come up to me and say, “I’m going to put a hold on.” There was no hard feeling whatsoever. We didn’t do this to get you. It wasn’t for revenge, and we made ourselves known. Filibusters were serious. It wasn’t one of these, “Well, you guys bring this up, we’re going to filibuster it.”

Smith: How much do you think the media has influenced this? I mean, not just television but now the rise of cable television and the Internet and talk radio, all which seems to want to stoke the fires.

Inouye: They control this place. In the early days, ABC, NBC, CBS, Fox later on came along. No cable, radio stations were primarily the three, and, well, the press, for

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example, today would be unheard of, but if you can imagine the [Franklin D.] Roosevelt administration telling the press, “You will never photograph him in a wheelchair,” and as a result, there are only two remaining, two that were taken in the kitchen by the family. When the Paralyzed Veterans [of America] wanted their wheelchair in the display [at the FDR Memorial in Washington, D.C.], I said, “That’s not part of history, because we can’t make it up.” The only thing we got is this, it was made out of a regular chair with wheels on it.

Smith: I want to ask you something. I’ll ask you something I asked Vice President [Walter] Mondale and Senator [Edward M.] Kennedy. Thirty years ago, forty years ago, you had two parties, each of which had to some degree liberal and conservative wings. It would seem to me to be reasonable to believe that since you had to, within your own party, work, in effect, across ideological divides, that made you both more proficient in and more liable to work across the aisles in terms of between the parties. Is that true? I mean, now that you have more unilaterally, quote, liberal and conservative parties, is that one factor that you think works against the kind of across-the-aisle working?

Inouye: No, I don’t think so, because in our days you had organizations like that. You had religious groups. But I think the members themselves, with a few exceptions, were not mean and vindictive.

Smith: Alan Greenspan said something interesting. He said one factor, he thinks, is that senators from the West Coast, before the jet plane, they didn’t go home every weekend, they stayed here in DC, they often brought their families with them to DC, and it was more of not only a club, but it was kind of a collegial village almost of lawmakers.

Inouye: Yes, I never thought of that, because I’m from as far away as you can go, and during the early days in the House, I think I got back about three times a year.

Smith: Really?

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Inouye: About a year ago, I would get back about a dozen times a year. Now I get back about six, seven times a year. The workload is getting bigger.

Smith: When Bob Dole came, of course, he was in the House first and then came over to the Senate in '69 and established himself as the so-called sheriff of the Senate, I mean the gunslinger for the [Richard M.] Nixon White House. There's a perception that the Bob Dole of the 1980s and the 1990s is very different in some ways from the Bob Dole of 1969, 1970. Is that true?

Inouye: Well, because of the role he played, and I think in his mind he felt that that was about the only way open to him to get to where he wanted to be in the leadership; otherwise, he'd be a member. And I did not see Bob Dole as just a member. Anyone in a hospital who can be there stretched out, telling me eyeball to eyeball, "I'm going to be the county attorney, and then I'm going to be in the state legislature, and the first opening I'm going to Congress," there are other people, very ambitious people, who would say, "Well, I hope some day I can be there."

Smith: Did that procession go to the White House? I mean, do you think he saw himself some day as—

Inouye: He didn't use the White House, but I said to myself, "Anyone who is straight out this far, that's just step number one." So I wasn't surprised. I don't think any one of us here was surprised when he ran for the presidency.

Smith: There's a theory that he, the so-called new Bob Dole, in 1980, when the Republicans take the Senate and all of a sudden he finds himself a committee chairman and basically he decides either, you know, you can no longer govern by press release, you have to be responsible, and he had an opportunity to demonstrate what he could do. I mean, do you think that's a significant turning point? Having been in the majority and in the minority, is it?

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Inouye: For some it could be a traumatic experience, because it's suddenly, "Ah-oh. I'm it." It makes a difference.

Smith: Tell me about the importance of the Finance Committee.

Inouye: Well, the Finance Committee, essentially, will tell the rest of us, "You can make all kinds of sounds about spending a half a billion dollars for this, but if you don't have the money, you're not going to spend it." In that sense, you have to be very careful. Furthermore, politically, the Finance Committee can be one of the most sensitive areas. Taxes.

Smith: And health issues, too; I mean Medicare.

Inouye: Medicaid, Medicare. So politically, that committee can make or break candidates.

Smith: Is it a plum assignment to be on the Finance Committee, or something to be run away from?

Inouye: Most people seek the Finance Committee, but not because they're CPAs, but because they're politicians. What I'm trying to say is that maybe we should get a better balance of a good number of CPAs and a good number of politicians.

Smith: People talk about the good old days, I mean, or the bad old days, and they talk about how Lyndon [B.] Johnson ran the Senate, as if that's the role model. It seems as if every Majority Leader and every Minority Leader since has to some degree or another complained that they don't have the weapons, they don't have the tools that an LBJ had. Is that an exaggeration, or what has changed about the place?

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Inouye: It's not factual in this sense. Lyndon Johnson would be in hell today if he had to be a leader with 51-49. You must keep in mind that his majority was 60. That's a big difference.

Smith: Yes. I think actually, the Senator, I've heard Dole say, when Mike Mansfield had 67 at one point—

Inouye: That's right.

Smith: —he said, "It's a lot easier to lead when you've got 67 votes."

Inouye: And I think Lyndon Johnson had over 60. That makes a big difference.

Smith: What are the tools that a Majority Leader still has?

Inouye: He has the tool of persuading, and he has the position to do that. He is the one who has a major role in developing and appointing members of whatever committee you want to call it, Steering Committee or the Committee of Committees, what have you. These are the people who say, "You will become member of this committee. You will become member of that committee."

Now, there are people who have applied for the last twenty-five years for a certain committee, but never get in. On the other hand, there's somebody came along just four years ago, and he gets in. And the Leader can say, "Well, we had to keep in mind regional representation." [laughs]

Smith: And it is presumed that those who would get on the committee are eternally grateful to the Leader for putting them there.

Inouye: That's right.

Smith: And a Minority Leader, what does a Minority Leader have?

Inouye: Same thing. And he today has a great power. He says, “We don’t want this bill passed, sixty-vote rule and filibuster,” and in that sense he’s much more powerful than Lyndon Johnson.

Smith: Well put.

Inouye: Because if you look at the goal being legislation.

Smith: Let me ask you your opinion. Dole’s a conservative. Dole’s never been a supply-sider. Dole’s a Midwestern fiscal conservative, I think somewhat uncomfortable with some of the social issues, and in many ways his career unfolded at a time when the Party was moving further and further to the right and conservatism was being redefined. Do you sense that he was at all uncomfortable in some ways with where that was going? He almost was in a position of chasing a caboose as it goes over the horizon.

Inouye: At times he would show discomfort and displeasure with members of his side when they were too left.

Smith: Too left?

Inouye: Too liberal. But as he grew into the job, he became—well, he was one of the early ones who told me, “You can disagree and disagree vigorously, but don’t be disagreeable.” That’s where his humor started coming out.

Smith: Do you think there’s a little bit of the populist in Dole? What I mean by that, a kid growing up in Dust Bowl Kansas with as little as they had and he had the sense of humor that punctures stuffed shirts, I mean, I just wonder if there’s a little bit of prairie populism there.

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Inouye: Well, I'm not from Kansas, so I can't say yes or no, but knowing him, I'm certain his childhood, his background had a great influence.

Smith: When you and Senator Hart and he got together, and obviously you were together a lot, did you ever talk about the past?

Inouye: You mean about our injuries and such?

Smith: Yes, about your experience together.

Inouye: Not much. In fact, in hospital they all know that everyone else is injured and we all know that the severity of the injury is not determined by the size of the wound or the size of the missile, but it's what it's in here and what's in here and what's at home. There are some men who—I have a very good friend who lost his arm, he suddenly cut himself off to his girlfriend because he was afraid, as he put it, “to take off my clothes.” So there are all different variations, and we know that and we sense that. So unless someone brings it up—

Smith: I sense that it was only relatively late in his career that he was actually comfortable talking publicly much about his wartime experiences.

Inouye: Well, in the hospital, the only time we touched upon it was, you know, you go through the ritual that young men who are wounded go through. “I'm Dan. I'm Bob. Where you from? I'm from there. What outfit were you?” All that business, and then you find out where you got wounded. I said to him, “My god, that's just a mountain away. We may have ended up in the same field hospital for all we know.”

Smith: Now, he's gone back. Have you been back to the site?

Inouye: No. He wanted me to go back. There are some people who like to go back and retrace their steps. No. I've shied away.

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Smith: Did he grow as a senator? Do you think he grew while he was here in the Senate, and by that I mean as a senator, did he—

Inouye: I knew him as someone with great ambition in the hospital, who had plans, and when he got here, he was working on that journey. But as he took those steps on that journey, he grew and got mellow, got a bit more realistic, and that's why some of our colleagues couldn't understand how can I, supposedly identified with the liberals, get along with him. The fact that we were in a hospital together does not in and of itself give you the reason. I can be in a hospital with many other people, and that might not be the outcome. But somehow we understood each other. We would disagree. We disagreed maybe 90 percent of the time, but we were never disagreeable. We didn't curse each other.

Smith: But there's this sense that there's that almost this generational willingness to follow that, I mean to reach across the aisle and at least to work. You may not be able to agree, but you can conduct your disagreements in a civil way.

Inouye: Oh, yes.

Smith: And there's a perception that there's a whole new generation of members of Congress in both houses who are less inclined to conduct themselves that way. Is that an exaggeration?

Inouye: No.

Smith: So it is a different culture?

Inouye: And for some reason they feel that they've accepted the mantle of being the Democrats or they think they should do this to conduct themselves like Democrats.

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Smith: Well, where do you think that came from? Because obviously it applies to Republicans, too.

Inouye: Well, I won't say from profound thoughts and readings. But somewhere along the line, the media has made us a bit more partisan. It can't help it. The media itself and talk shows and TV commentators, Op-Eds, have become glowingly partisan, and it has an effect upon all of us.

Smith: Is the House a more partisan body than the Senate?

Inouye: Yes, it is, because it is a two-year body. The moment they get elected, they're campaigning for reelection, and reelections somehow are conducted in a partisan fashion.

Smith: Isn't it also true that more recently if you run for the Senate, you have to run, obviously, statewide? You have to take into account a whole range of diverse interests. With more and more gerrymandered House seats, seats that are basically devised so that you know in advance which party's going to win, you have no incentive to try to reach out beyond your so-called base. Doesn't that make the House more partisan even than the two-year term alone?

Inouye: With the gerrymandering and such, it does make them with the potential of being much more partisan, and even in a place like Hawaii, if you're a city candidate or a rural candidate, it's a difference. You represent different types of people.

Smith: Why do you think it's difficult for senators to go from the Senate to the White House? This year, obviously, we're going to see history change.

Inouye: I really never gave much thought to that, but when you think about it, it was Kennedy the last time. This time you'll have one, any way you'll have one.

Smith: Yes.

Inouye: Well, maybe it's because we're too close to the White House, and when you're serving in Washington, you can't help it, even if you try your best, you lose touch with the folks.

Smith: Is it also possible, I mean people used to laugh about Bob Dole, I mean in some ways the more legislative craftsman you are, you slip into this kind of lingo, this Senate legislative talk that doesn't translate outside the Beltway but that you all know. You know what you're saying, but the electorate doesn't know what you're saying. In an odd way, the way you run for president today is you find differences and you exploit them to rile up the base. Here, the way you succeed is you find a difference and you try to narrow it, or at least theoretically that's how you succeed.

Inouye: I don't know if this has anything to do with it, but in the House, I was there for just a term and a half, you were required to make short statements. There's a time limit. Somehow to say yes, it might take you two hours. In the House, to say yes you had to do it in ten minutes.

Smith: I've known Bob Dole a long time. I remember Dan Rostenkowski told me this story about how Bill Clinton, before the government shut down, he wanted to get kind of a leg up on Dole in the negotiations. He said, "Tell me something about Dole that will help me out."

And Rostenkowski said, "He's the most impatient man in Washington. The time will come, he'll give you whatever you want just to get out of the room." [laughs] Now, I assume that's a little bit of an exaggeration, but is there some of that impatience? I mean, do you detect that in Dole?

Inouye: He was never that way with me. With me, our relationship was such that he would say, "Dan, can you support this?"

And I would just simply say, "No, I can't do that." Okay. No fuss.

He would come up and see me, "Can you support this?"

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“Yes.” Because with him I wasn’t partisan. If his proposal made sense, it made sense.

Smith: One area that clearly has become more partisan, and that’s the whole confirmation process and particularly Supreme Court Justices. Was it inevitable? I mean as the Court has become almost more of political football?

Inouye: Because of the issues.

Smith: They almost have become a third legislature, haven’t they?

Inouye: Oh, yes. And that’s unfortunate, but that’s part of the system.

Smith: Does it reflect a reluctance on the part of Congress sometimes to deal with issues and consequently they wind up in the courts?

Inouye: Quite often.

Smith: Couple of things and then I’ll let you go. Just kind of big-picture, what are Bob Dole’s strengths as a legislator? As a legislator, what do you think?

Inouye: He at times would be humorous, but those of us who knew him, knew him as a very serious person, that he was not BS’ing you when he says, “I’m for that,” and we dealt with him on that basis.

Smith: His word was good.

Inouye: Always, at least with me. I can’t say for the others, but with me it was always good, and I believe my word was good to him. As a result, my constituents never suffered. It made no difference whether you had a Republican in charge or a Democrat in charge, because I would reciprocate. If a Republican had a good proposal, you got a

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good proposal. If it's a lousy one, it's a lousy one, whether he's Democrat or Republican. His strength was being able to convince people there was good reason for his support or his opposition. Secondly, he has such a demeanor or an appearance that oftentimes new fellows did not dare take a chance and gamble. They might with you, you're jolly and all this, you might say, "Well, I don't think he'll mind it if I say no."

Smith: Did he frighten people, do you think, I mean a little bit or before they got to know him?

Inouye: Well, because in the beginning he was a sledgehammer, so they didn't know when he became Leader whether he still carried a sledgehammer.

Smith: Were you surprised when he became Leader?

Inouye: No.

Smith: No? I think Senator [Ted] Stevens was.

Inouye: I wasn't surprised when he ran.

Smith: No. Were he and Howard Baker very different in their style of leading?

Inouye: Yes. They all have different styles.

Smith: Did you have a sense of what his relationship was with President Clinton?

Inouye: Who?

Smith: Bob Dole's. Did you have a sense at all? Like, for example, when the government shutdown occurred, it was not something he wanted. One sensed that it was something he was forced to do, accepting because of the House Republicans.

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Inouye: Yes.

Smith: What was that time like around here?

Inouye: Well, it was not a happy time, because some of us sensed that, and he had very little choice. He either had to go along or become an outsider, and he was not an outsider.

Smith: But it does tell you something about where his own party was going.

Inouye: Yes.

Smith: And it was not in the direction that he was comfortable with.

Inouye: Yes.

Smith: Were you surprised when he decided to leave the Senate?

Inouye: Yes, I was. I was surprised because I thought he would leave if he thought he'd be the president. That's the journey upward. But when he left to go in the private sector, because he never occurred to me as one who wanted to make money. So in that sense, I was surprised. But I knew that he would do well when he went out, which he did, which he's doing right now. [laughter]

Smith: Do you see him from time to time? Do you have any contact with him?

Inouye: Oh, I see him quite often.

Smith: Do you? Now, were you involved with the World War II Memorial campaign?

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Inouye: How can I stay out of it with him in charge? [laughter]

Smith: Do you sense that was something he really enjoyed doing?

Inouye: Yes. He also felt that he was obliged to do it, that it would be most honorable thing for him to just stand by because he was in a position to make a difference and he did so. So members of Congress, no one challenged his leadership in World War II Memorial. You know, there were others of higher rank.

Smith: How do you think he should be remembered?

Inouye: As a good honest man, that he believed in his cause, but he was also a man, the way I look at him—I don't know if others do—he silently suffered.

Smith: Do you think that suffering is unknown?

Inouye: Not too well known, and I think it gave him strength.

Smith: That's fascinating.

Inouye: I admire silent sufferers.

Smith: Yes. There is certainly a laconic quality. I mean I think he would have had that if he'd never gone to war. I mean I think Kansas, the Dust Bowl, but it's interesting. Your sense is that he has been and is in pain in a way that people don't realize.

Inouye: Not just physically.

Smith: How else?

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Inouye: Well, I think he felt he should have been better treated when he ran for the presidency.

Smith: Better treated by his own party or?

Inouye: Now he didn't tell me these things.

Smith: No, no, I understand.

Inouye: But you can sense that.

Smith: Do you think he's a happy man?

Inouye: I hope so. See, if you didn't know him, you'd say, "Oh, my god, he's a jolly man. He's always smiling and laughing and cracking jokes." Then you would have to say, "He's a happy man." I think the general consensus is that he's, oh, extremely happy. But those of us who have known him over the years would somehow sense that behind that laughter there's some pain. Because as one who's been in a hospital, unless all his nerves have been cut out, these things hurt. And we are all destined to live with a certain amount of pain, to the point where you begin to ignore it, unless, like now, we bring it up, then I sense my pain. While I'm working, when no one's talking about pain, then I don't feel it at all.

Smith: That's fascinating.

Inouye: A doctor will tell you that.

Smith: Yes, I'm sure. Oh, yes. Did you ever meet Dr. Kelikian, the doctor who performed all those operations on him after the War?

Inouye: No.

Smith: He became, I think, a real father figure in a lot of ways.

Inouye: Yes, his injury took a lot of work. Ours were easy, just sew it up, you know.

Smith: Last crazy, speculative, totally speculative question: What kind of president would he have made? Would he have been down here half the time?

Inouye: I think he would have spent more time here than other presidents. Lyndon Johnson spent a lot of time here. He used to call them there, but he had his contacts here. People like Richard Russell was up there quite often, others.

Smith: You know, it's funny, when Senator Dole arrived here for the first time in the Senate, he was told to make Senator [John C.] Stennis' acquaintance, and I wonder, were there those sort of old bulls who were pointed out to newcomers? I mean when you arrived, was there? Who were you told to—

Inouye: Well, I went through the protocol, and we all had cards. I left my card at the Majority Leader's office. You call upon him. You don't just barge into the office. You have no appointment, you just call upon him. Then he calls you. I met all the Leaders, Democrat and Republican.

Smith: More hierarchy in those days, and I assume that's a thing of the past.

Inouye: So I knew [Everett] Dirksen very well.

Smith: Did you like him?

Inouye: Yes, we got along very well.

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Smith: How much of that was an act? I mean he was such a theatrical figure, the whole persona. Behind that was a very serious legislator?

Inouye: Oh, yes.

Smith: I guess a bit of a ham.

Inouye: That's the same thing with Bob Dole. What's behind that laughter? I know he's serious. Don't take him lightly.

Smith: It's a great way to end. Thank you so much.

Inouye: Thank you.

[End of interview]

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