

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
FRANK CARLSON FEDERAL BUILDING  
TOPEKA, KANSAS  
FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1981

SOME MEN ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE TO ADVANCE THE COMMON INTEREST. OTHERS ARE ELECTED BECAUSE THEY EMBODY THE COMMON FAITH. SOME RAISE THEIR VOICE ON BEHALF OF A PARTICULAR PLACE. OTHERS COME TO REPRESENT A SET OF SHARED VALUES. SOME MEN GO AWAY AND EMOTIONALLY NEVER RETURN. OTHERS TAKE THEIR HOME, AND THE FAITH OF THEIR FATHERS WHEREVER THEY MAY GO. SOME MEN SEEK OFFICE AS AN END IN ITSELF; OTHERS HOLD IT IN SACRED TRUST, THE HIGHEST GIFT THAT FREE MEN AND WOMEN CAN BESTOW. SOME MEN ARE HOMOGENIZED BY LONG YEARS IN PUBLIC LIFE, AND THEIR CONVICTIONS BECOME AS PALE AS THE WINTER SKY OVER CAPITOL HILL. BUT FRANK CARLSON'S FAITH HAS NEVER WAVERED. IT IS AS UNQUESTIONING TODAY AS IT WAS IN 1929, WHEN HE FIRST TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE AS A LEGISLATOR FROM CLOUD COUNTY. IT IS A FAITH THAT IS AS MUCH A PART OF KANSAS AS THE CORN THAT GROWS IN THE FIELDS AROUND CONCORDIA.

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HERE IN OUR MIDWESTERN PRAIRIES, AT THE CROSSROADS OF AMERICA, WE CAN SEE A LONG WAY IN ALL DIRECTIONS. WE LOOK EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH, AND WHAT WE SEE ENCOURAGES A BELIEF IN THE FUTURE AS EXPANSIVE AS THE CONTINENT ITSELF. IN OUR IDEAS, OUR COMMERCE AND OUR AMBITIONS FOR TOMORROW WE KNOW NO BOUNDARIES. WE ACCEPT NO ARTIFICIAL LIMITS ON WHAT A COURAGEOUS INDIVIDUAL CAN ACHIEVE. HERE, ON THE PRAIRIES OF KANSAS, MEN BLED AND DIED SO THAT FREEDOM COULD LIVE AND FLOURISH. HERE, A MIRACLE OF AGRICULTURE, OF OUR OWN INGENUITY AND OUR OWN WILLINGNESS TO WORK, TRANSFORMED BLACK EARTH AND A STEADY SUN INTO THE BREADBASKET OF MANKIND. HERE, WERE ADVOCATED AND WON EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN TO VOTE AND HOLD OFFICE. HERE, ON THESE PRAIRIES, HAS BEEN WRITTEN THE STORY OF AMERICA. IT IS A STORY OF IMMENSE OBSTACLES CHALLENGED AND OVERCOME -- NOT BY THE HAND OF GOVERNMENT, BUT BY THE HAND OF INDIVIDUAL KANSANS. HERE WAS RECOGNIZED THE HIGHER AUTHORITY, ROOTED, NOT IN LAWS OR OFFICIAL DECREES, BUT IN THE SPARK OF DIVINITY PLANTED WITHIN EACH OF US AT BIRTH.

THAT IS THE IDEA OF AMERICA, AT ONCE ANCIENT AND AUDACIOUS. IT IS THE HOPE THAT LURED CHARLES ERIC CARLSON AND HIS WIFE, ANNA, FROM THEIR NATIVE SWEDEN ALMOST A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. THEY CROSSED A WIDE OCEAN, AND



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HALF A CONTINENT, TO PUT DOWN ROOTS AT CONCORDIA, IN SOIL THAT NOURISHES WHEAT AS WELL AS THE HOPES OF THE AMBITIOUS AND THE FAITHFUL. THE IDEA WAS BRED INTO THEIR SON, FRANK, AS HE ATTENDED LOCAL SCHOOLS, CAME TO LOVE THE EARTH BENEATH HIS FEET, AND PLEDGED HIMSELF TO THE LOCAL BAPTIST CHURCH. WHEN HE WAS 16, HE ORGANIZED A SUNDAY SCHOOL -- THE FIRST OF MANY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO CARRY HIS CONVICTIONS OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF HIS OWN QUARTERS, WHETHER A FARMHOUSE IN CONCORDIA, OR A WASHINGTON HOTEL.

HE MET A WOMAN WHO MATCHED HIS CURIOUS MIND AND CONFIDENT BEARING, WHO SHARED HIS PLEASURE IN OTHER PEOPLE AND A GROWING INTEREST IN SERVING THEIR NEEDS. HE FELL IN LOVE, AND FOR 61 YEARS, SINCE THEIR MARRIAGE AT 8 O'CLOCK ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 26, 1919 -- JUST IN TIME TO CATCH THE UNION PACIFIC FOR A HONEYMOON IN KANSAS CITY -- ALICE FREDERICKSON OF CLOUD COUNTY HAS BEEN A FULL AND EQUAL PARTNER IN THE GREAT ADVENTURE THAT THIS BUILDING IN SOME SMALL WAY CELEBRATES. SHE CAME BACK TO CONCORDIA AND THE FAMILY FARM, TO START A FAMILY. AND FRANK STARTED A CAREER. IN 1928, THE YEAR HERBERT HOOVER BEAT AL SMITH FOR THE WHITE HOUSE, FRANK'S NEIGHBORS DECIDED TO SEND HIM TO TOPEKA TO REPRESENT THEIR INTERESTS AND BE THEIR VITAL LINK WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT WAS STILL LARGELY THE PROPERTY OF THOSE WHO SUPPORTED IT. IT WAS A DEMONSTRATION OF CON-

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FIDENCE THAT WOULD BE REPEATED MANY TIMES OVER THE YEARS, BY INCREASING MAJORITIES AND WITH BIPARTISAN SUPPORT.

#### A PARTY MAN

FRANK CARLSON WAS A PARTY MAN -- IN THE BEST SENSE OF THAT MUCH-ABUSED PHRASE. HE KNEW THAT PARTISANSHIP IS THE LIFEBLOOD OF DEMOCRACY, AS LONG AS POLITICS DIDN'T INTERFERE WITH FRIENDSHIP. AT A BLEAK TIME FOR HIS PARTY, HE ACCEPTED ALF LANDON'S INVITATION TO BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION -- A SITUATION WITH WHICH I CAN SYMPATHIZE MOST HEARTILY -- AND IN 1934, WHEN ALL AMERICA SEEMED SPELLBOUND BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL, FRANK CARLSON ACCEPTED ANOTHER INVITATION FROM HIS OUTNUMBERED PARTY -- THIS TIME TO RUN FOR THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE SIXTH DISTRICT. HE RAN HARD. HE EARNED THE RESPECT OF THE ELECTORATE, AND WITH IT THEIR VOTES.

WHEN HE ARRIVED IN WASHINGTON, IT WAS NOT TO CROW ABOUT HIS VICTORY. THEN, AS LATER, HE KNEW THAT GOVERNING A NATION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WINNING AN ELECTION. AND HE SET OUT TO MAKE HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE GOVERNING PROCESS. BEFORE LONG, THERE WASN'T A MAN IN WASHINGTON WHO KNEW MORE



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ABOUT TAXES, OR WHO TRIED HARDER TO MAKE THAT SYSTEM FAIRER AND CHEAPER. WHEN HE CAME BACK HOME AS THE 30TH GOVERNOR OF KANSAS IN 1947, HE MAINTAINED A COMMITMENT TO GOVERNMENT THAT HAD A HEART AS WELL AS A HEAD, THAT WAS PROGRESSIVE AS WELL AS SOLVENT. HE WASN'T AFRAID TO RUN THE STATE WITH A SURPLUS IN HAND. FOR THE INFORMATION OF OUR DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS WHO ARE HERE TODAY, A SURPLUS IS AN EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER EXPENDITURES.

GOVERNOR CARLSON BROUGHT COMPASSION AS WELL AS COMPETENCE TO STATE GOVERNMENT. HE INSTILLED IN OUR MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM THE THEORY OF REHABILITATION INSTEAD OF THE WASTEFUL TRAGEDY OF MERE WAREHOUSING. HE DOUBLED AID TO EDUCATION, BUILT ADDITIONAL STATE COLLEGE FACILITIES AND STEPPED UP HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION. TRUE TO HIS BAPTIST CONVICTIONS, WHEN KANSANS VOTED IN 1948 TO REPEAL PROHIBITION, FRANK TOOK A HAND IN CREATING ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL AND OUTLAWING THE PUBLIC SALOON. HE WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE. HE BLAZED A TRAIL TOWARD GREATER REGIONAL COOPERATION AMONG MIDWESTERN GOVERNORS. HE SERVED ON THE HOOVER COMMISSION ON GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION, AND THEN, IN 1950, HE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR -- THE ONLY KANSAN EVER TO SERVE AS REPRESENTATIVE, GOVERNOR AND SENATOR.

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### THE CARLSON YEARS

TO LIST ALL THE LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CARLSON YEARS WOULD REQUIRE MUCH MORE TIME THAN WE HAVE THIS AFTERNOON. CERTAINLY, THE CONSTRUCTIVE BILLS THAT BEAR HIS NAME WOULD TOGETHER FORM A STACK SEVERAL STORIES HIGHER THAN THIS BUILDING THAT NOW WILL BEAR HIS NAME. HE LIKED TO WORK WITHOUT REGARD FOR PERSONAL PUBLICITY, NOR THE HEADLINE HUNTING THAT SOMETIMES MASKS CREATIVE FAILURE. HE BURROWED INTO THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, MADE HIMSELF AN AUTHORITY ON HOW IT WORKED AND HOW IT SOMETIMES FAILED TO WORK. HE WAS RECOGNIZED BY HIS PEERS AS A SPECIAL FRIEND OF THE FEDERAL WORKER, AND RETIREES THROUGHOUT THE NATION. HE MASTERED THE ARCANE YET VITAL DETAILS OF CIVIL SERVICE, POSTAL SERVICE, AND THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP OF WASHINGTON TO STATES AND LOCALITIES.

PRESIDENTS RECOGNIZED HIS TALENT FOR DIPLOMACY, AND ASKED HIM OFTEN TO UNDERTAKE FOREIGN MISSIONS: FROM THE BRITISH THANKSGIVING DINNER IN 1951, TO AN AUDIENCE WITH POPE PIUS IN ROME, AND SERVICE ALONGSIDE THE LATE ADLAI STEVENSON AS A DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS. HE PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN PERSUADING ANOTHER CHERISHED SON OF THIS STATE, DWIGHT EISENHOWER, TO SEEK THE PRESIDENCY IN 1952, AND VISITORS TO THE CARLSON LIBRARY IN



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CONCORDIA CAN STILL SEE THE CHECK FOR FIFTY CENTS FROM IKE TO FRANK -- THE LEGACY ON PAPER OF SENATOR CARLSON'S SUCCESSFUL BET WITH GENERAL EISENHOWER OVER THE EXACT RESULT OF THE FIRST AND ONLY BALLOT AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION THAT NOMINATED IKE. AS USUAL, FRANK WAS RIGHT ON THE MONEY.

HIS SERVICES TO EISENHOWER DIDN'T END THERE. FOR EIGHT YEARS, HE WAS A VALUED ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT, AND ONE OF HIS UNKNOWN ACHIEVEMENTS MIGHT AS WELL BE TOLD TODAY. I SAID THAT FRANK WAS A NATURAL BORN DIPLOMAT. WELL, THAT SKILL WAS NEVER MORE VALUABLE THEN WHEN RIDING THE EISENHOWER CAMPAIGN TRAIN ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY, DEALING WITH LOCAL POLITICIANS AND WOULD-BE MONOPOLIZERS OF THE CANDIDATE'S TIME. ONE DAY, THE TRAIN WAS TRAVELING THE LENGTH OF NEW YORK STATE, FROM TROY AT THE FAR EASTERN END, TO ROCHESTER ON THE WEST. THE UNDISPUTED MASTER OF THE DAY'S SCHEDULE WAS THE STATE'S GOVERNOR, THOMAS E. DEWEY, WHOM SOME OF YOU WILL REMEMBER WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1948 BY THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE. GOVERNOR DEWEY HAD A WAY OF CONTROLLING EVENTS, AND ON THIS PARTICULAR DAY, HE WAS SECLUDED IN A CABIN OF THE TRAIN, WITH FIRM ORDERS NOT TO ALLOW ANYONE IN TO DISTURB EITHER HIMSELF OR GENERAL EISENHOWER.

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NOW, HALFWAY ACROSS THE STATE, SOMEONE SUDDENLY RECALLED THAT IN HIS LAST CAMPAIGN, DEWEY HAD GOTTEN OFF THE TRAIN IN ROCHESTER AND SAID HOW DELIGHTED HE WAS TO BE IN BUFFALO. EVER SINCE THEN, THE GOVERNOR'S NAME IN THOSE PARTS WAS JUST A LITTLE BIT TARNISHED, AND SO IT WAS THAT THE MEN AROUND EISENHOWER DECIDED THAT SOMEONE ELSE SHOULD DO THE JOB OF INTRODUCING THE CANDIDATE WHEN HE FINALLY GOT TO ROCHESTER. THE ONLY PROBLEM WAS: WHO WAS GOING TO BREAK THE NEWS TO DEWEY? FIRST, THE HEAD OF THE YOUNG REPUBLICANS WENT TO THE STATE PARTY CHAIRMAN AND ASKED HIM TO DO IT.

"I AIN'T GOING TO TELL HIM," WAS THE CHAIRMAN'S HONEST ANSWER. "WELL," THOUGHT THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEADER, "WE'LL GET LEN HALL TO TELL HIM," HALL BEING A POWERFUL CONGRESSMAN FROM LONG ISLAND WHOM THE GOVERNOR WOULD PRESUMABLY LISTEN TO. THE ONLY PROBLEM WAS, LEN HALL DIDN'T WANT TO TELL DEWEY EITHER. AT THIS MOMENT, FRANK CARLSON APPEARED. HE HAD OVERHEARD THIS FRANTIC DEBATE, AND NOW HE WANTED TO KNOW IF PERHAPS HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP. WHAT EXACTLY WAS WRONG, HE ASKED?



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THE YOUNG REPUBLICAN LOOKED HIM STRAIGHT IN THE EYE AND TOLD THE TRUTH. "IT SEEMS THAT NOBODY IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS GUTS ENOUGH TO TELL THOMAS E. DEWEY THAT HE CAN'T INTRODUCE IKE AT ROCHESTER." WITH THAT, SENATOR CARLSON IMMEDIATELY VOLUNTEERED TO TAKE ON THE UNPLEASANT ASSIGNMENT, FOR WHICH HE WAS ASSURED A LOT OF NEW YORK POLITICIANS WOULD BE GRATEFUL. THEN, MANAGING TO GET INTO DEWEY'S LOCKED COMPARTMENT, HE USED ALL HIS DIPLOMATIC SKILLS, AND WHEN THE TRAIN REACHED ROCHESTER, IKE WAS INTRODUCED BY THE LOCAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEWOMAN -- AFTER SHE HAD BEEN INTRODUCED BY TOM DEWEY. THE GOVERNOR WAS HAPPY, THE CANDIDATE WAS HAPPY, AND, MOST OF ALL, A LOT OF FRIGHTENED REPUBLICAN OFFICEHOLDERS WERE HAPPY. FRANK CARLSON HAD SUCCEEDED IN MAKING LIFE A LITTLE EASIER FOR EVERYONE.

#### THE CARLSON BUILDING

OF COURSE, HE'S BEEN DOING THAT FOR HIS NATIVE KANSANS FOR 65 YEARS, EVER SINCE HE BEGAN EXPERIMENTING WITH NEW AGRICULTURAL METHODS BACK IN 1914. THEN AND LATER, HE WORKED HARD SO THAT OTHER FARMERS MIGHT LIVE AN EASIER LIFE. TODAY, THERE ARE THOUSANDS IN THIS AND OTHER FARM STATES THAT CAN THANK FRANK CARLSON FOR FLOOD CONTROL AND SOIL CONSERVATION PROJECTS, AND FOR IMPORT CONTROLS THAT ENCOURAGE MAXIMUM PRODUCTION BY THE GREATEST ENGINE OF FREE ENTERPRISE -- THE AMERICAN FARMER -- THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. THE BUILDING WE DEDICATE TODAY CAN HARDLY EXPRESS OUR GRATI-

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TUDE FOR THE LIFE HE HAS DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS. IT WILL BEAR HIS NAME AND INSPIRE GENERATIONS YET UNBORN WITH HIS EXAMPLE -- BUT IT CAN ONLY HINT AT THE THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHOM HE HAS HELPED OVER THE YEARS. THE SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS HELPED WITH DELAYED BENEFITS; THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE EDUCATION WAS HELPED BY HIS VOTES IN WASHINGTON; THE BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN HELPED BY HIS BELIEF IN FREE ENTERPRISE THAT WAS TRULY FREE; THE FARM FAMILIES WHOSE AMBITION TO OWN AND OPERATE THEIR ACREAGE WAS PRESERVED AND PROTECTED BY HIS INITIATIVES IN CONGRESS.

OF COURSE, NO ONE IN THIS HALL TODAY OWES FRANK CARLSON MORE THAN BOB DOLE. FOR EIGHT YEARS, HE WAS A WISE MENTOR AND A FUND OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN THE BODY HE HAD DISTINGUISHED BACK IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES. HE BECAME, IF POSSIBLE, EVEN MORE OF A FRIEND AND COUNSELOR AFTER 1968, WHEN HE STEPPED DOWN FROM THE SENATE AND EASED THE TRANSITION FOR YOURS TRULY. THEN AND LATER, I FELT A LITTLE LIKE THOMAS JEFFERSON WHO, NEWLY ARRIVED IN PARIS IN THE WAKE OF THE LEGENDARY AMERICAN AMBASSADOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, SAID THAT NO ONE COULD REPLACE DR. FRANKLIN -- THEY COULD ONLY SUCCEED HIM.



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WELL, NO ONE EVER HAS REPLACED FRANK CARLSON ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE, NOR COULD ANYONE EVER HOPE TO REPLACE HIM IN THE AFFECTIONS OF TWO-AND-A-HALF MILLION KANSANS. WE ADMIRE THE MAN AND THE FAMILY WHO SHARED HIS VALUES. WE SHARE HIS FAITH IN GOD AND IN THE ABILITY OF GOD'S PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. WE APPRECIATE HIS SENSE OF HUMOR, THE SECRET WEAPON OF DEMOCRACY. AND WE LIKE THE WAY THAT A GRAND OLD MAN OF A GRAND OLD PARTY HAS NEVER LOST HIS INTEREST IN THE YOUNG AND HOPEFUL, WHO DREAM THE DREAMS AND PURSUE THE VISION OF A BETTER WORLD. THE DREAMS HAVE BEEN HIS DREAMS, AND THE VISION HAS COME A LITTLE CLOSER TO REALITY BECAUSE HE CHOSE TO DEVOTE HIS LIFE TO ITS PURSUIT.

#### THE SPIRIT OF THE QUEST

THE WORLD HAS TURNED OVER MANY TIMES SINCE CHARLES AND ANNA CARLSON TOOK THEIR VOWS IN BROWNSTONE HALL, NINE YEARS BEFORE THE BIRTH OF OUR CENTURY. THE COUNTRYSIDE HAS SPROUTED SILOS AND TELEVISION ANTENNAS, WHILE MACHINES DO THE WORK OF A HUNDRED MEN. WE INHABIT A WORLD IN THE TORMENT OF TRANSITION FROM OLD CERTAINTIES UNDER ATTACK TO NEW ONES STILL WAITING TO BE BORN. IT IS A TIME WHEN EVENTS ALONE CAN SMOTHER MERE PRIDE, AND CONVERT MERE AMBITION TO PRAYER. BUT THE VALUES OF BROWNSTONE HALL LIVE ON,

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IN THE WORK OF FRANK CARLSON, AND THE BLOODSTREAM OF THE BODY POLITIC. NOW AS THEN, WE RECOGNIZE THAT BEFORE THERE WAS GOVERNMENT, THERE WAS THE INDIVIDUAL. GOVERNMENT AROSE TO HELP THE INDIVIDUAL DO FOR HIMSELF WHAT HE MIGHT NOT OTHERWISE BE ABLE TO DO. GOVERNMENT EXISTS TO SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL -- NEVER THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

"IF I AM DEDICATED TO ONE THING," SENATOR CARLSON ONCE SAID, "IT IS THE PRESERVATION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES I HAD FOR MY CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN." IN THIS BUILDING WILL BE PRESERVED EVEN MORE THAN THAT. FOR HERE, IN GLASS AND STONE, WE WILL PERMANENTLY MEMORIALIZE THE SPIRIT OF THE QUEST, OF THE DRIVE TO BE ALL THAT YOU CAN BE, THAT IN THE END ARE THE MOST LASTING BOND BETWEEN FRANK CARLSON, HIS STATE, AND HIS COUNTRY. AND WE COULD NOT HAVE CHOSEN A BETTER DAY TO SAY THIS. FOR THIS IS A WEEK WHEN A NATION RENEWS ITS OLD TRIP ON GREATNESS. THIS IS A WEEK TO SAY WELCOME HOME TO 52 HEROES WHO DID NOT SURRENDER IN THE FACE OF THE CRUELEST OF PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TORMENTS. IN A WORLD THIRSTY FOR NOBILITY, EVERY AMERICAN HAS DRUNK DEEP THIS WEEK FROM A LIMITLESS WELL. IT IS A WEEK TO REMEMBER THAT WHO LEADS US IS LESS IMPORTANT THAN WHAT LEADS US-- WHAT IT



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CONVICTIONS, WHAT COURAGE, WHAT FAITH. A WEEK WHEN EVERY ONE OF US STANDS A LITTLE TALLER. A WEEK TO GATHER TO EXPRESS THANKS TO A MAN WHO HAS ALWAYS STOOD TALL. WE KANSANS CAN BE PROUD OF MANY THINGS. BUT FEW OF THEM CAN MATCH THE PRIDE WE FEEL AT SHARING OUR HOME WITH A MAN WHO EMBODIES ITS FINEST VIRTUES -- A MAN LIKE FRANK CARLSON.