

Robert J. Dole

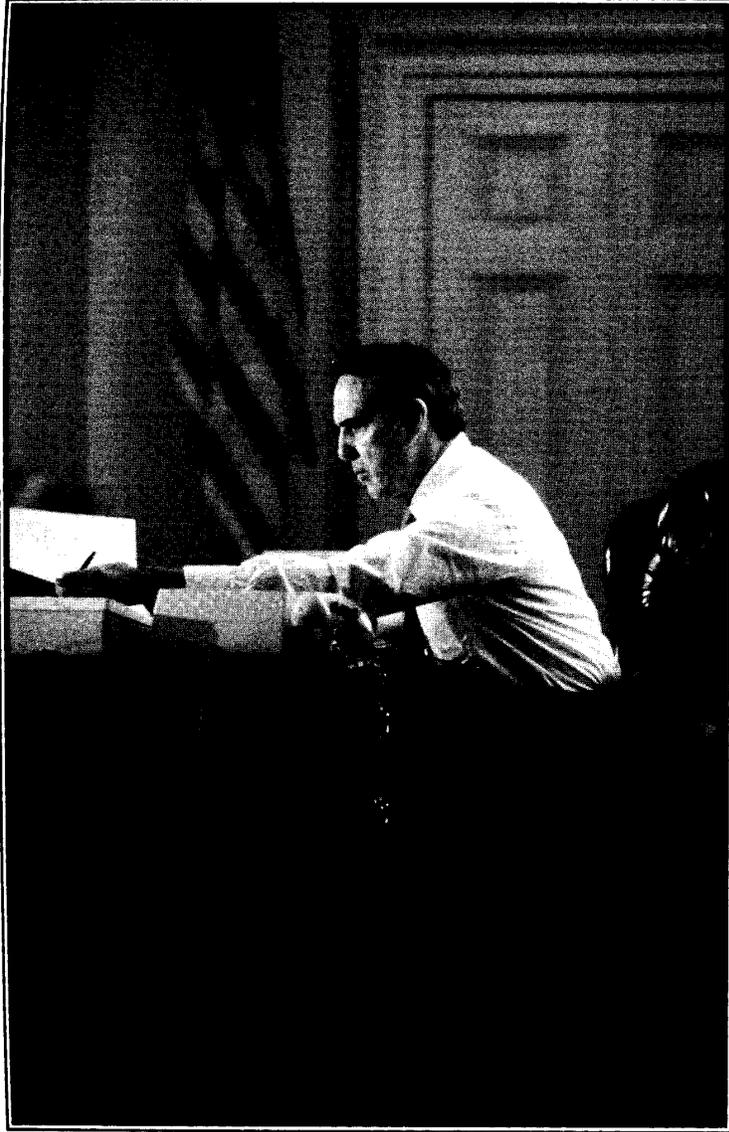
U.S. SENATOR FROM KANSAS

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES



HON. ROBERT J. DOLE  1961–1996



ROBERT J. DOLE

S. Doc. 104-19

Tributes  
Delivered in Congress

Robert J. Dole

United States Congressman  
1961-1969

United States Senator  
1969-1996



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## BIOGRAPHY

ROBERT DOLE, Republican, of Russell, Kansas; born in Russell Kansas, July 22, 1923, son of Mr. and Mrs. Doran R. Dole; married Mary Elizabeth Hanford, December 6, 1975; one daughter, Robin, from a previous marriage; graduate of Russell public schools; attended University of Kansas, Lawrence; A.B., Washburn Municipal University, Topeka, 1952; LL.B., Washburn, 1952; enlisted, U.S. Army, 1943; served 5½ years in World War II as 10th Mountain Division platoon leader in Italy; twice wounded and twice decorated for "heroic achievement"; discharged with rank of captain, 1948; at age 26, elected to Kansas Legislature, 1951–53; elected four terms as Russell County attorney, 1953–61; elected to U.S. House of Representatives, 1960; reelected 1962, 1964, and 1966; elected to U.S. Senate, 1968; reelected 1974, 1980, 1986, and 1992; elected Senate majority leader, November 1984; elected Senate minority leader, January 3, 1987; reelected November 29, 1988, November 13, 1990, and November 3, 1992; Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States, 1976; Republican National Committee chairman, 1971–73; adviser, U.S. delegation to United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization Conference, Rome, Italy, 1975; member, Congressional delegation to survey food crisis in India at request of President Johnson, 1966; Congressional delegation to study Arab refugee problem, Middle East, 1967; past president, Washburn Alumni Association and Kansas County Attorneys Association; past lieutenant governor, Kiwanis; member: State and American Bar Associations, 4–H Fair Association, B.P.O.E., Masons, Isis Shrine, Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Disabled American Veterans; National Board of Sponsors of the American Medical Center, Denver, CO; member of the board for National Society of Autistic Children; member, advisory committee of the National Association for Retarded Children; Advisory Council on Scouting for the Handicapped; Board of Directors, Rehabilitation International, U.S.A.; advisory committee, Kansas Kiwanis Foundation; Kansas Easter Seal Society; member, American Heart Association; Advisory Board, Center for Strategic and

International Studies; chairman of the board, Dole Foundation; Finance Committee and Agriculture Committee; re-elected in 1992.

TRIBUTES  
TO  
ROBERT J. DOLE

## Proceedings in the Senate

FRIDAY, *June 7, 1996.*

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the political world was stunned a few weeks ago when our colleague, Majority Leader BOB DOLE, announced his resignation from the U.S. Senate after 36 years of representing his native State of Kansas. In his emotional and moving farewell speech, he said he wanted to campaign for the Presidency “with nothing to fall back on but the judgment of the people and nowhere to go but the White House or home.”

Senator BOB DOLE was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1960. He came to the Senate in 1968, where he served as the Republican leader for a record 11 years. He ran for Vice President with President Gerald Ford in 1976 and ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1980 and 1988. He has been a fixture of our National Government for 36 years. Regardless of what we might think of his decision to give up his life’s work for an attempt at the White House, we all agree that BOB DOLE has been an outstanding Senator and leader. He is a master legislator.

Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute has called Senator DOLE one of the five most significant Senators of the last half of the 20th century. That sentiment has been echoed by the Brookings Institute’s Stephen Hess, who labeled him “somebody who could get things done.” And in Washington, especially in the unwieldy Senate, this is no small compliment.

I have had the pleasure of serving with BOB DOLE for nearly 18 years and know him to be an excellent legislator with an amazing ability to reach solutions to difficult and controversial issues. He is an honest and forthright man of integrity. Had he and the President been able to negotiate in good faith last fall and winter during the heated budget debate, I have no doubt they could have reached a solution which would have been good for our country and our future. Unfortunately, the House leadership would not agree to such an effort.

Despite his legislative prowess, his major strengths lie in the force of his personality and his style. His power comes from his knowledge, from hard work, from his humor and from his strong friendships on both sides of the aisle, and from his rare moral authority. He does his own work and does not delegate much.

He comes from a humble background, the son of a cream and egg station operator in Russell, KS. After serving in the Army during World War II, where he suffered grave and lasting wounds, he spent 8 years as a county attorney dealing with people from all stations in life. He dealt with bankers and country club members, but also with garage mechanics and feed store clerks. He has exhibited a comprehensive understanding of America as a leader for the interests of the average and disadvantaged Americans.

As Senator BOB DOLE—a true giant in the history of the Senate—leaves this body, he holds so dear, to pursue the Nation's highest office, I join my colleagues in saluting him.

MONDAY, *June 10, 1996.*

Mr. COVERDELL. In closing, Mr. President, one of the speakers a little earlier, I think Senator Bennett of Utah, talked about Senator DOLE and this desk. Tomorrow Senator DOLE will leave his beloved Senate. And I said after his announcement that I would never look at this desk and not see the distinguished Senator from Kansas.

So, in closing, I just want to, as a precursor for tomorrow, wish him well, wish him Godspeed, wish him a safe journey, and to be among the millions of Americans to thank him for all that he did for his State, for this Senate, and for the United States of America.

TUESDAY, *June 11, 1996.*

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious Father, there is no greater joy than to be Your friend. Along with Abraham and Moses, and men and women throughout the ages, we accept the awesome privilege of a friendship with You. To be called a friend of God is a source

of strength and courage. When this assurance pervades our minds, hearts, and wills, we can pray for Your guidance and know that You will not only show us the way, but walk with us.

Thank You for helping us be the kind of friends to others that You have been to us. May we express Your loyalty, faithfulness, and consistency. We are thankful for the lasting friendships established and deepened over the years here in the Senate. These friendships weather the storms of conflict, party differences, and political tensions.

Today, on behalf of both parties, I express our gratitude to You, Father, for our friend, BOB DOLE. Thank You for his commitment to You expressed so faithfully in his leadership and service here in the Senate. He leaves the Senate this afternoon, but You know he can never leave the place he holds in our hearts. Bless him with the knowledge of Your love and our esteem. In the name of Jesus. Amen.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I rise to join all of those in the Senate today to wish Godspeed to our distinguished majority leader and colleague, BOB DOLE, as he departs the Senate and embarks upon his campaign for the Presidency of the United States. I do not know of any other event that is more important to all of us or to the country this year than his election as President. I am really glad in one sense to see him concentrate his full energies and attention on that objective.

When I think about BOB DOLE's leaving the Senate, I think about when I came to the Senate he was already established as one of the true legislative leaders of the Senate, although he occupied no elected position of leadership in the Senate. It was my good fortune to serve on two committees with him as a freshman Member of this body—the Agriculture Committee and the Judiciary Committee. He was not intending to serve on the Judiciary Committee that year either, but he was drafted to serve. We did not have enough Members to fill out the ranks on the Republican side. Senator Kennedy from Massachusetts just assumed the chairmanship of that committee. It was a very highly visible committee.

I recall Senator DOLE coming on the committee. Of course, he had been a lawyer, a county attorney in Kansas. He brought to that committee good judgment and experience on a number of issues. I can recall what I would think would be referred to as an obscure bill that year that the committee worked on, which was bankruptcy reform. After a lot of hear-

ings, a lot of effort to resolve issues and to get a bill reported out, it was Senator DOLE who, when it appeared there was not going to be any action on that issue, came up with a proposal that turned out to be the centerpiece of bankruptcy reform.

It was that way on the Agriculture Committee. We would be locked in tough debate, arguments, differences of views based on regional considerations, sometimes party differences. The chairman from Georgia, Senator Talmadge, was trying to get everybody together. Time after time after time it was BOB DOLE who ended up being the force and the catalyst that brought the committee to a point where it agreed and reported out legislation. That legislation would ultimately become law.

Senator DOLE, as a member of the Finance Committee—I did not have the good fortune to be a member there—but as chairman of that committee, I can recall his handling legislation on the floor of the Senate into the late hours of the evening with the patience and the calm determination to see the bill through, dealing with the competing interests, the offering of amendments, Democrats and Republicans alike, getting a fair hearing on their proposals of what should be in the bill and what should not be in the bill. And finally, after sometimes days, bringing that bill to a point where it would pass the Senate and then ultimately be enacted into law.

A legislative leader, in the truest sense of the word, on a wide range of issues, some issues that other Senators did not want to work on, like in the Agriculture Committee, the nutrition issues, working out the difficulties in determining eligibility for food stamps, for School Lunch Program participation, how much would the Federal Government contribute, how much would State and local governments contribute, how much would individuals have to pay for these benefits, and on and on, the minutia, the tough, hard decisions. He was there to help make those decisions and to help shape a consensus of support for legislation on those issues when others could not do it, did not bring the skill and the determination and the capacity to do it that BOB DOLE brought to the challenge.

It was no wonder, when Howard Baker left the Senate in 1984, following the elections that year, the Senate turned to BOB DOLE and elected him leader.

He has proven himself over and over again to be a confident, fair, courageous, decisive leader, driven by character,

integrity, and the notion of what is good for the public interest, not just what is good for the party interest or partisan consideration, but the general interests that serve the people of our great country. It is with that kind of leadership that we have come to appreciate the genius of BOB DOLE and the outstanding way in which he has discharged the responsibilities of leader.

We are going to have a tough job. I know that some people are talking about the succession, and who is going to replace BOB DOLE. The fact is that nobody is going to replace BOB DOLE. Nobody has the capacity to do all the things that he has done in the U.S. Senate. It has really been an honor—a great honor—and a wonderful opportunity to have had the privilege of serving on some of the committees he has served on, some he has chaired, and to be a part of this Senate that has been led by BOB DOLE, the Senator from Kansas.

So we wish him all the best and know that he will enjoy many more successes and many more triumphs in the years ahead. We are confident of that, and we bid him a fond farewell.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I would like to join the Senator from Mississippi in paying tribute to the Senator from Kansas, the distinguished majority leader. All of us who have served in this body can tell stories—even those of us who have served a very short period of time, such as myself—that reflect the qualities of BOB DOLE's leadership. Those of us who are partisan Republicans can only hope that a majority of American citizens can get to know BOB DOLE as well as we know him. If they do, then those of us who would like to see BOB DOLE be President know that the American people would choose wisely in that case. We recognize our partisanship in this matter, but I think even those who are on the other side of the aisle would acknowledge that the majority leader is a man of great character, judgment, and leadership skills that, frankly, are greater than most public servants who have the opportunity to represent people in this country.

So I join with my colleague from Mississippi in paying tribute to the majority leader, and I wish him well in his future endeavors.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, it is difficult, if not impossible, to adequately address the congressional career of our departing majority leader in a 5-minute floor statement. His accomplishments in his 35 years as a Congressman and Senator—

his successes achieved while serving 11 years as Republican leader—could fill volumes.

Indeed, hours could be spent rehearsing BOB DOLE's impressive record: His heroism in World War II; his early political career in the Kansas House of Representatives, followed by his successes here in Washington; his efforts in 1964 to secure passage of the Civil Rights Act; his historic work with Senator Moynihan in 1983 to save the Social Security trust fund; his engineering the vote in 1991 to authorize U.S. forces to turn back Saddam Hussein's tyranny in the Middle East; his support for Kemp-Roth and the 22-percent reduction in income taxes that ushered America into the longest peacetime economic expansion in history; his staunch stand against President Clinton's 1993 record-setting \$241 billion tax increase.

These are only a few of the milestones in BOB DOLE's journey from modest beginnings in America's heartland to his noble objective today. Time will not permit us to go beyond a few random milestones. But then again, Mr. President, the truth is that the greatest leaders need the least amount of praise. They have written their stories in the hearts and minds of the people they serve.

Senator BOB DOLE has done just that.

His story is one of courage, persistence, character, discipline, and determination—the determination to overcome odds that would have vanquished a lesser individual. He is a man of deep convictions and proven abilities. And everyone who has had the opportunity to serve with him understands that just as solid as his past record, is his vision for the future. He has outlined that vision in absolute terms. And with BOB DOLE there are no surprises. As long as I have known him, his words have been exceeded by his deeds.

I believe that at the center of BOB DOLE's vision is his economic message, that we “deal with the deficit, and . . . couple that with tax cuts.” Toward this end, Senator DOLE is both tenacious and pragmatic. He knows the correlation between low taxes and economic growth, and he has proposed serious tax cuts.

BOB DOLE has been an effective leader during a time when this body addressed some of the most critical issues in history: The need for a balanced budget amendment; the need to strengthen and preserve Medicare; the need to provide effective, portable, and affordable health care coverage for Americans; the need to guarantee the future of Social Security; the need to keep a strong defense—a defense marked by

high morale and the best, most effective materiel available. He understands these issues intimately—as well as anyone—and he knows what must be done to see that these need are met.

Mr. President, I will miss BOB DOLE. And though I wish him all the best in his new endeavors, I will miss his daily leadership here on the Senate floor. I will miss his quick wit; his sense of humor. I will miss his deliberate style, and his uncanny ability to turn assertive and aggressively intellectual into a cohesive team.

On a personal note, I am grateful for the chance I have had to serve with BOB DOLE. I am grateful for our friendship, for our years working together on this floor. Like other great majority leaders who have gone before, SENATOR DOLE leaves his mark on this institution. As the Congressional Quarterly recently pointed out, “. . . as majority leader, [BOB DOLE] proved a point that badly needed proving. . . . The Senate could be led.”

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I think it is appropriate that Senator DOLE, in one of his last acts of the Senate, introduced legislation to provide for security of the Medicare trust fund. It was his strong endorsement and leadership at the beginning of the 1980's that addressed the solvency of the Social Security system. Just yesterday, he was instrumental in bringing a number of us together to address the concerns of health insurance reform. It is my hope we can reach across the aisle and forge with the administration a lasting piece of legislation addressing many of the concerns regarding health insurance reform.

For nearly 18 years, Mr. President, Senator DOLE and I have served as partners in representing Kansas in the U.S. Senate and in working on many other issues. We have not always agreed, but far more often we have agreed. More importantly, Mr. President, we have respected each other's dedication. Today, that partnership ends, at least in its current form.

This day creates many mixed emotions. Like others in this Chamber, I will miss BOB DOLE's steady presentation and his can-do attitude that has helped the Senate through so many rough times. I know Kansans also view his departure with some trepidation.

At the same time, I believe that Senator DOLE has made the right choice by deciding to focus all of his time, energy, and skill on the Presidential campaign. It is a mark of his dedication and commitment that he would give up so much

in order to bring his very best to the challenge at hand. It also, I think, marks his confidence.

In our years together here, BOB DOLE and I have created a spirit of cooperation and teamwork in representing our State. There is no one who understands middle America and grassroots sentiment better than BOB DOLE. That is where his roots are. We have joined forces many times to see the needs of Kansans were addressed and that the concerns of Kansans were voiced clearly and forcefully. I could not have asked for a better partner in helping me. I hope my support for him in those efforts has been worthwhile as well.

Our work together has ranged across the spectrum of issues and problems. Countless hours were spent helping farmers get through the credit crunch of the 1980's. No one understood that better than BOB DOLE. Today, there are family farms across our State and our Nation who still work their own lands due to BOB DOLE's leadership.

We have gone to bat repeatedly to assist our aviation manufacturers to get fair treatment in world markets. Today, there are thousands of aircraft workers producing airplanes that might never have been sold without BOB DOLE's firm hand and persistent efforts. Senator DOLE took the lead in the effort to rebuild McConnell Air Force Base in Wichita, KS, after a devastating tornado swept through the outskirts of Wichita. He saw to it that every small town in Kansas had a tornado warning siren to protect its citizens.

Mr. President, through all of these years, no challenge has been too large and no concern has been too small for Senator DOLE. Our State motto is *ad astra per aspera*, "to the stars through difficulties." I have never known Senator DOLE to not look at a challenge and find a way to address it. He has been a tireless champion for our State in every farm bill, every tax bill, every bill of any kind that touched Kansas and, more importantly then, by extension, the Nation. As a direct result of his efforts, our State is a better place to live, to work, and to go for school. His legacy is written not merely in laws but in a better life for every Kansan.

It is with a mixture of regret and pride that I say goodbye to Senator DOLE today. We will miss him deeply. I will miss him most of all. I know that there is other work for him to do now, other challenges to be met, and I have no doubt at all that he will do that job and meet that challenge. BOB DOLE is a remarkable man with an extraordinary life story, yet on this day all I can offer him is a heartfelt thank you

for all that he has done for me and for Kansas and the Nation.

Mr. GRAMS. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I want to pay tribute to a man who, for 20 some years, while in the broadcast news industry, I used for sound bites and sources of information. I have now had the pleasure, over the last 2 years, to work with him in the Senate and am now able to call him a friend.

BOB DOLE's name alone stirs up many images among the American people. BOB DOLE—war hero, Congressman, Senator, party chairman, majority leader, Presidential candidate.

Yet, when I think of BOB DOLE, other words come to mind: midwesterner, mentor, colleague, and most of all, friend. I'm sure that all of us in this Chamber feel the same way, and today, we honor BOB DOLE, our leader, our distinguished colleague from Kansas, our friend.

As BOB leaves Washington to return home back to the heartland of our great Nation, I wanted to share some of my thoughts about this man whose life story and distinguished career reflects the very values we cherish most as Americans.

BOB was born and raised in Russell, KS—living the small town American life about which legends are made. His family was not wealthy; in fact, during the Depression, the Doles, like many families, had to put together just to make ends meet, moving into the basement of their home in order to rent out the rest of their house.

As a young man, BOB worked as a popular soda jerk at a local drug store, learning early on the lessons of hard work, fiscal responsibility and the value of a hard-earned dollar.

Growing up in Kansas taught BOB the importance of patriotism and sacrifice. It's not surprising that at the age of 19, BOB answered the call to serve his country by joining the Army to fight in World War II.

And by now, everyone should be familiar with the story of BOB crawling out of his foxhole during heavy shelling in the hills of Italy to save a wounded colleague, only to be hit by Nazi machinegun fire.

There are some for whom love of country and self-sacrifice are just phrases—words to be used for a holiday speech. For BOB DOLE, it is the standard under which he has led his life—a badge of honor he wears even today.

The 3 years and nine operations it took for BOB to rehabilitate required strength and perseverance, a burden too

great for some to carry. But BOB DOLE was never one to give up—not even under the most difficult of circumstances.

His determination to recover and get back on his feet was backed up by the now-legendary support of his friends, family and community, when the people of Russell passed around a cigar box to raise the \$1,800 needed to pay BOB's medical bills.

BOB has never forgotten their generosity. He still keeps that cigar box, the receipts and the love and support they represent in his office, and recalling those days still overwhelms him with heartfelt emotion.

Upon recovering from his war injuries, BOB wanted to give something back to his community—he chose public service. Since receiving his law degree in 1952, public service has been exactly what BOB DOLE's life has been about. Public service has led him all the way to the U.S. Senate, and now, the White House.

The character traits that BOB DOLE learned since his humble beginnings in small town America have been reflected in his everyday work as a Senator.

BOB has consistently worked for a Government that serves the people but is accountable to the taxpayers who pay for it, and a society that is based on people helping people without creating a permanent dependency on Government.

These principles have been apparent in his efforts to balance the Federal budget, return hard-earned tax dollars to the middle class, overhaul the welfare system, and preserve programs like Medicare for generations to come.

I am proud to say that I had the opportunity to stand at BOB DOLE's side during these debates, to have worked with him in making our Nation a better place for our children and grandchildren.

But BOB has been more than just a colleague—he's been my friend. When I campaigned for my seat in the Senate, BOB came into Minnesota five times. As a fellow Midwesterner, BOB knows my State, its people, and our heritage. Minnesotans like BOB DOLE; he is one of us.

BOB's friendship extends beyond the 1994 campaign. Shortly after arriving in the Senate, I got caught up in one of last year's biggest fights over national policy: whether or not to include tax cuts in the budget. I promised the people of Minnesota that I would not support a budget that did not include tax relief for the middle class.

BOB understood my pledge, and though he could not, as Senate majority leader, take public sides on the debate, he

privately encouraged me to stick to my guns, telling me not to give way on my principles. Sure enough, when the final budget came out, tax cuts were included, thanks in no small part to BOB DOLE's support.

On May 15, I had the opportunity to join many of my colleagues in standing with BOB again as he announced his resignation from the Senate. Like many of those who heard the speech, I was moved by his words, particularly when he said to the American people: "I will stand before you without office or authority, a private citizen, a Kansan, an American, just a man."

I thought to myself about this man—a man who has served his Nation in times of war and peace with honor and integrity, who carries through when he gives his word, who has sacrificed so much of himself for the country he loves so dearly.

BOB is not a man who learned his political philosophy from a book, but instead, developed it as the result of his life experiences, from the people whose lives he has touched and whose lives touch him, and the commonsense wisdom one can only expect from a son of the Midwest.

It is with this wisdom and the good feelings of all of us who have known and grown to respect BOB that he closes this chapter of his incredible life story, only to open a new one—full of the promises and hope that have marked his life. And while I am saddened to see him go, I am comforted by the fact that the Senate's loss is the American people's gain.

I look forward to traveling with BOB across this great country, a country he has served with distinction throughout his life, and introducing to the American people, a man I am honored to call my friend, BOB DOLE.

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I come to the floor of the U.S. Senate today to bid farewell to a friend, a leader, a colleague, and an authentic American hero. BOB DOLE embodies what is right about America. Seasoned by the values and humble atmosphere of small-town America, the experience of war, and perseverance through physical trials, BOB DOLE has earned the respect and admiration of us all.

He is a legendary legislator who is known for his honesty, integrity, and fair-mindedness. BOB DOLE is an authentic war hero who stood on the front lines in the fight against tyranny and sacrificed so that others may live in freedom. He understands the commitment and sacrifice necessary to protect and preserve freedom.

I would like to share a couple of stories with my colleagues, one having to do with a trip to France back in the mid-1980's. I had an opportunity to respond to questions from a French audience for almost 2 hours and at the end of that, had the opportunity to ask them a question. I told them I was going to be returning to America in a few days, and I wanted to know what they would tell me to tell the people of Florida about what they thought of our Nation. The first several people who came and stood up said that we think of America as a great, dynamic, growing country, and one that is providing opportunities for millions of Americans.

The third person that stood up was a fellow who was probably his late seventies or early eighties, a little bit wobbly, steadying himself with a cane, and looked me square in the eye, and he said, "When you go back to America, you tell the people of your country that we will never forget that it was the American GI that liberated our little town."

The second story is the opportunity that I had, along with some of my other colleagues here on the floor of the U.S. Senate, to be in Italy with BOB DOLE at the time he returned to the battlefield where he was wounded and stood on the road as he looked over to the area in which he laid for 9 hours before being rescued. Later, we walked down the street of this little town where BOB DOLE laid a wreath at a monument in memory of those individuals who gave their lives in defense of freedom and liberation of Italy. As I stood by his side that day, I truly understood that this was a man who understood the importance of freedom; that freedom is the core of all human progress, and while the price of freedom may be great, there is no price so great as the loss of freedom.

We can see the mettle of the man in his decision to leave behind leadership of the U.S. Senate to pursue the Presidency. He is doing it because it is simply the right thing to do.

BOB DOLE has so much to give America through his experience and his wisdom. While this is a day of reflection, it is also a day of anticipation. I am confident that BOB DOLE is not done serving his country, and America will be better for it.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, today we are saying farewell to our leader in the Senate so that he can become the leader of our Nation and of the free world. This is a remarkable man who can shoulder this great burden. This is a man who has shown that he is worthy of our trust. He has

kept his promises to the American people, starting with balancing the budget. For the first time we are on a track to balancing the budget in 7 years due to the leadership of BOB DOLE. It is the first time in 40 years that Congress has made the decision that we must not burden our children and grandchildren with the kind of debt that has been built up by Congresses of the past.

This is a man who can be Commander in Chief of our country. He has respect for our military. He respects the people who have chosen to protect the freedom of America. He understands the need for peace—not through unilateral disarmament, but through strength. And he will not send our troops into harm's way unless there is a U.S. security interest. He has shown that through his leadership on the Senate floor to make sure that we do not commit American lives unless there was a U.S. security interest.

He has fought for the working American family. He grew up in Russell, KS. He knew poverty. He knew what it was like to struggle to make ends meet. That is why his priority was tax relief for the hard-working families of this country such as the \$500-per-child tax credit and homemaker IRA's. It was Senator DOLE who led the way for the homemaker to have retirement security, just like those who work outside the home do. And it was Senator DOLE who passed that bill in Congress only to have it vetoed by President Clinton. He fought to lower the marriage penalty because he wants the American family to stay strong.

He has been a leader in the fight for women's health issues. During his time as majority leader, we have increased the spending for research on women's health care concerns. He is trying to make sure that we have a strong health care system—a strong Medicare system that will be there for those who will need it in the future.

He is fighting for the spirit of entrepreneurship to be kept in this country because he knows it is the small business people that make the economy grow and prosper in America and takes the new people into our system for jobs. He knows that, and that is why he is trying to provide regulatory relief.

We have passed the free trade agreements, so our small businesses are going to be able to compete for those jobs. Senator DOLE knows, and he has led the way for regulatory relief for our small business people so that they will be able to grow.

He has been a defender of private property rights because he believes in the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Finally, Mr. President, he has been good for our border concerns. He is trying to help us deal with the severe problem of illegal immigration. He is doing that by trying to make sure that we have the help we need in the border States to meet these terrible issues that are of such concern to our country right now.

So we are saying goodbye today to our Senate leader, a man who has proven his mettle time and time and time again; a man who understands what America is all about and who has voluntarily said that he would rather be going out across this great country talking to the people who are working, who know what the problems and concerns are for the heartland of America. He would rather be out there talking to them one on one, listening to their concerns and telling them what he would like to do to make their lives better. He has chosen that over the traffic of Washington, DC.

He has his priorities straight. He wants to keep the American dream—his dream that every child in this country will have the same opportunities that he did to reach his or her full potential, and he means to make America a place that will allow that to happen.

So we are saying farewell to a Senate leader today, but we are saying farewell to a leader of this group so that he can take on the greater challenge with his spirit and his integrity of leading our great Nation in the free world.

We wish him farewell, and we will be with him out in the heartland of America talking to the concerns of the people of this country.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, it is a great honor for me today to join my colleagues in recognizing the outstanding accomplishments of one of the greatest Senators in this great institution: BOB DOLE.

This is a special day in history for those of us gathered here in this Senate Chamber. For on this day in 1775, the Continental Congress did something this body has been doing ever since—it appointed a committee. We have come a long way since then. But this committee's job was to write the Declaration of Independence which has protected our freedom and liberty ever since. The committee was composed of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman. While no congressional committee has ever done a more important job, BOB DOLE's service of 36 years in Congress as legislator, Finance Com-

mittee chairman, and majority leader has had a profound impact on the course of our Nation.

Although he has worked on behalf of countless individuals, families and communities, BOB DOLE has stood out as a champion of veterans in Congress. Therefore, as a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I rise today and join with veterans from across the country and throughout this Congress in honoring a lifetime of achievement by my friend—a warrior, a leader, a hero.

In modern times, the word "hero" is often bandied around a great deal. But after much reflection, perhaps Ralph Waldo Emerson's perception of heroism best describes how so many of us feel about BOB DOLE. Emerson said: "The characteristic of heroism is its persistency. The heroic cannot be the common, nor the common heroic."

BOB DOLE is a man who has risen to uncommon and heroic heights. And, as it is with most heroes, he seldom speaks of his accomplishments.

He represents, I guess, the best of our country's warriors and heroes. The story of what he went through in 1943 while attending Kansas University and joining the U.S. Army is legendary. As a second lieutenant platoon leader, he went into training with the 10th Mountain Division, which was based in my State of Colorado. Perhaps his only mistake at that time was not buying the land around the training site, because that has become what we know as Aspen today. But certainly it was that highly trained infantry of the 10th Mountain Division that began the final attack April 14, 1945, which led to his wounds of World War II. He went off to war to defend the Nation and our freedoms. And, as a result of that wound, of course, he went through nine operations, which several other Senators have told about, and 2 years of recovery.

I guess, just to talk about wounds and recovery is one thing, but the Germans have a saying. They say, "He who laughs at scars has suffered no wounds."

When we think of the time it cost and the terrible pain Senator DOLE must have gone through, through that recovery time, we know there is a difference between talking about it and actually going through it.

BOB DOLE's legacy as a warrior, hero, and statesman reminds us of another outstanding American leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Senator DOLE, then a member of the Kansas House of Representatives, first met General Eisenhower on a rain-soaked day in the spring of 1952 when the

General returned home to Abilene, KS, to officially launch his Presidential campaign. It was most fitting, therefore, when Senator DOLE was awarded the Eisenhower Leadership Prize in 1995 by the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute for lifetime accomplishments which reflect Eisenhower's legacy of integrity and leadership.

As President Eisenhower said 41 years ago:

Of the nations of today the future will say that there were two kinds: Those that were intelligent, courageous, decisive and tireless in their support of high principles—and those that disappeared from the earth. The true patriots give their best to assure that our country will also be found in the first of these categories.

BOB DOLE clearly stands among the true patriots.

As a decorated World War II veteran, his service on behalf of our Nation's veterans can be seen in four major areas: benefits, POW/MIA issues, education, and health care.

Veterans who have served their country deserve and have earned quality benefits. Toward this end, the Dole GI bill, introduced in 1995, revamps the veterans benefit program and brings it up to date and in line with the needs of veterans today.

He also authored legislation in 1996 to create the Veterans Transition Benefit Commission. Its purpose is to ensure that veterans leaving the military due to downsizing have access to the necessary assistance to return to civilian life in the most productive manner.

On the difficult POW/MIA issue, BOB DOLE has been in the forefront, seeking answers and helping families who do not know the fate of their loved ones. BOB DOLE is considered the 1970 founder of the POW/MIA League of Families. Since then, he has continued to assist families to get a full accounting and disclosure of the fate of their loved ones.

This past Memorial Day over 100,000 veterans converged in D.C. on The Mall, as they do every Memorial Day, angry in their belief that many people in government have abandoned them. BOB DOLE has not abandoned them, nor will he ever abandon the veterans of the United States.

In the area of veterans health, BOB DOLE has a special and deeply personal understanding of the importance of quality health care and the power of rehabilitation. He has worked to provide a service-connected presumption for certain diseases, expand the number of disorders for which former POW's could receive disability compensation.

Although we served in different wars, Senator DOLE in World War II and myself in Korea, we share with all veter-

ans a unique perspective on life and country. If war teaches you anything, it is that the world is a mixture of vulnerability and enduring strength, and that it is the job of the human spirit to strike the balance we call peace. BOB DOLE has never wavered from the pursuit of peace.

This courageous leader understands so much about the price of freedom, and as he goes forth from this Chamber, let him know that our hearts, our prayers, and the hopes of all America's veterans go with him.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I rise today to join in the tribute to Senator BOB DOLE. Certainly, his accomplishments extend over many areas, but I want to limit my remarks specifically to health care.

His record is one that truly demonstrates compassion, dedication and selflessness. This is not a man who simply talks about quality health care. He knows the importance of it firsthand.

Of course, we all know the story, BOB DOLE's valiant service in World War II. He spent 4 agonizing years in a hospital bed. It was this experience that led to his commitment to give each and every American the security of knowing health care is there today and will be there tomorrow.

Proof of such dedication is reflected, not just in the way he votes on major issues, but also in smaller efforts like helping to keep a 12-bed hospital in rural Kansas open, or creating employment opportunities for persons with disabilities. These are little things that do not always receive a lot of fanfare, but over the course of 35 years, they build a solid legislative record.

As the Wyoming State chair for the Senator's 1988 Presidential bid, I came to know and understand the person who has so willingly fought the good fight to make insurance more affordable and accessible to all. For instance, during the 1970's, when many policymakers were advocating a nationalized health care system, it was BOB DOLE who recognized the flaws of such an approach. Rather than let the Federal Government be in control of individual medical decisions, he coauthored a more simple, practical piece of legislation, the 1979 Dole-Danforth-Domenici health insurance bill. The initiative aimed to improve access to health care, but in a manner that did not turn the reins over to Washington, DC. He had the foresight back then to keep reform affordable and free of Federal mandates. This same philosophy continues.

A few years ago when the Congress considered the Clinton health care plan, it was BOB DOLE who warned against the ill effects of federalizing our health care system. As an experienced legislator, he reminded Congress that increased taxes and price controls are not the way to improve coverage for the uninsured.

But, before I reflect on the Senator's more recent accomplishments, I want to highlight an issue near and dear to the hearts of Wyoming people—rural health care. In the 1980's, hospital closures were plaguing rural America and providers were vacating these communities for urban practices. To be exact, 237 rural hospitals closed during the decade. There would have been more if not for BOB DOLE's commitment to a notable package of rural health care reforms. Reforms that improved Medicare reimbursement rates to small hospitals, created primary care centers, and recruited vital family practitioners. These solutions helped to revitalize our communities and gave rural families the same access to quality medical care as their urban counterparts.

As someone who hails from a town of 500-people, I know the importance of such measures. If a rural hospital closes, it often devastates a community. Jobs are lost and individuals are left without care during times of a medical emergency.

Establishing a successful rural health care delivery system can be very difficult. Yet Senator DOLE and his staff have helped make that goal more plausible.

I am sure I speak for many members of the Rural Health Care Caucus when I say, "Thank you."

Mr. President, BOB DOLE's commitment to quality health care extends to senior citizens as well. Last year, when Medicare was projected to be bankrupt in 2002, it was our leader who fought to preserve the program well into the next century. His plan provided thoughtful solutions to complex problems while still maintaining spending increases for every senior citizen. Unfortunately, the President rejected the proposal, not because it did not do enough, but because it was politically expedient thing to do.

Despite the administration's refusal to save Medicare from insolvency, BOB DOLE continues to work on behalf of the elderly. Just 1 month ago, before he announced his intention to leave the Senate, he steered passage of an amendment to the Health Insurance Reform Act. The measure helps alleviate the burden of long-term care costs, which is becoming all the more important as nursing home expenses rise.

Mr. President, these are a few of the many accomplishments of BOB DOLE. Unfortunately, time does not permit me to list them all. But the purpose of reciting his achievements is not to boast about our longest serving Republican leader. Rather, it is to provide insight into the man who represents the State of Kansas.

He has served his State and his country well. He is one of the most effective and wise legislators of our time.

Great legislators should be measured by their actions, not by their words. BOB DOLE's actions on health care clearly state where his priorities are. So my friend, BOB DOLE, good luck. It has been a pleasure serving with you and I know you will continue to serve our country in the future.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I wish to comment briefly today upon BOB DOLE's record in an area where I have devoted a considerable amount of time, namely the environment. Under BOB DOLE's leadership, we have been able to continue the proud tradition, the Republican tradition, of protecting our environment. That is a tradition that dates back to Teddy Roosevelt. It is interesting to note that BOB DOLE came to the Senate in 1969. Shortly thereafter the modern era of environmental law began to take shape.

In 1970, he supported President Nixon's creation of the Environmental Protection Agency, and he has supported every major environmental law since he arrived in the Senate; all of which have come about in the past 25 years.

What are some of these laws? The National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Endangered Species Act, Superfund, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act to control hazardous waste, and on the list goes.

Mr. President, those bipartisan efforts have brought about an extraordinary, tangible change in our Nation. The successful protection of the environment has been called the greatest social achievement of the United States of the past quarter century. Let us consider briefly the successes we have had under the laws that were enacted with the help and support of BOB DOLE.

In the 15 years 1975 to 1990, automobile miles traveled in the United States increased by 70 percent. They went to 2.2 trillion vehicle miles per year in those 5 years—increased by 70 percent. But in the same period, hydrocarbon emissions were cut in half. Lead in the air, for example, has a terrible effect on the mental development of children, especially in congested inner cities. Because in the mid-1970's we man-

dated the use of unleaded gasoline, lead in the air has declined by 98 percent. That is an extraordinary achievement.

EPA has just completed a study showing that the positive effects of air pollution controls have been enormous. The study found that, in 1990, Americans received roughly \$20 of value in reduced risks of death and illness and other adverse effects, \$20 of value for every \$1 of expenditure spent on air pollution control.

What about clean water? In 1970, only one-third of the lakes, rivers and streams in the United States of America were considered fishable and swimmable. Now, not one-third but two-thirds of the lakes, rivers and streams in America are considered fishable and swimmable, and the percentage continues to rise every year.

Since its enactment in 1973 by a vote of 99 to nothing, the Endangered Species Act has achieved remarkable results. Populations of whooping cranes, brown pelicans, peregrine falcons and many other formerly endangered species have come back from near extinction. So there is a lot of good news out there, and much of that success is due to BOB DOLE's leadership in this Senate.

Senator DOLE recognized early on the importance of dealing with the threats to our global environment. Under his leadership, the Senate approved, in 1987, the Montreal protocol, dealing with substances that deplete the ozone layer. Then that was followed by the 1990 London amendments to eliminate the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons, CFC's, and other chemicals that destroy our protective ozone layer.

Last year, BOB DOLE cosponsored a bill that was developed by the Committee on Environment to amend the Safe Drinking Water Act. The result was approval by the Senate in a recorded vote of 99 to nothing, and that is a tribute to BOB DOLE's leadership.

He was a key architect of this year's farm bill which demonstrated his interest and commitment to protecting the environment. The 1996 farm bill produced one of the most significant conservation packages ever enacted into law, and BOB DOLE was a key player in every step of that farm bill.

BOB was a champion of the free-market approach to controlling acid rain in the 1990 Clean Air Act amendments, and that free-market approach is working.

With his support, we are exploring similar approaches to protecting wetlands through mitigation banking and to cre-

ate incentives for private landowners to protect endangered species—use the free-market approach.

Eighty-six years ago, the first of the great environmental Presidents, Teddy Roosevelt, said the following:

Of all the questions which can come before this Nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us.

We have seen from his work in the Senate that those are sentiments that BOB DOLE heartily agrees with.

On a personal note, may I say it has been a joyful experience for me to have been associated with BOB DOLE for the past 20 years here in the Senate.

May success and happiness be in his future, and we wish him Godspeed.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, by his skill and courage, BOB DOLE has earned a place in history, alongside the modern giants like Lyndon Johnson and Bob Taft, as one of the greatest leaders in the history of the Senate.

I think it is fair to say that of all the people who I have worked with in my service in the House and the Senate, BOB DOLE is the greatest legislator, and I am very proud to have served with BOB DOLE in a period which inevitably will be called in the history books the “DOLE era.”

BOB DOLE has my strong support and my deep affection as he leaves the Senate he loves to fight for the leadership of a nation that he loves even more. I think for many of us here today, this is a sad moment. BOB DOLE has been the leader of the Republicans in the Senate every day that I have served in the Senate. My first vote that I cast 12 years ago when I came to the Senate was a vote to make BOB DOLE the majority leader.

I have known him as an ally and an adversary. I think I can say I know BOB DOLE pretty well. I know that he is a good and great man. I know that as Americans get to know him in the coming months that they are going to conclude that he has the leadership and the convictions that we need to change America.

So as he leaves us in the Senate, I am delighted that he is leaving us to seek higher service, and I am confident that he is going to get an opportunity to provide that service. I am very proud to join his colleagues today in paying tribute to him, the greatest legislator of his era, as he serves his last day in the Senate.

Ms. SNOWE. I rise today to join my colleagues in honoring the preeminent Republican leader in the history of the U.S. Senate, Senator BOB DOLE. Throughout his distinguished career, Senator DOLE has served the people of Kansas, as well as this Nation, with honor, distinction, and integrity.

We gather on this bittersweet occasion to pay tribute to a remarkable man for his lifelong commitment to America, as well as his unparalleled leadership in this august institution. As President Reagan said so eloquently in describing Senator DOLE as a leader, "It's not just a job description, it's a description of the man."

His leadership has touched virtually every aspect of public policy, but I would like to speak specifically on a topic that has been of paramount importance to me throughout my career—an area where Senator DOLE has been a champion, an area where he has made a difference, and that is on behalf of America's women.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE's commitment to ensuring fairness and opportunity for America's women is not a new-found phenomenon. In fact, it has always been an integral part of who BOB DOLE is. Throughout his career, Senator DOLE has fought to make America what Susan B. Anthony called the "true Republic: men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less."

In his personal and professional life, BOB DOLE has been guided by a singular belief that every individual—regardless of gender—has the right to fulfill his or her God-given potential.

BOB DOLE has always known that we cannot have a truly representative democracy unless women are represented at every level of government and society. Not content just to rely on words, he has taken action.

As chairman of the Republican Party, over two decades ago, he appointed the first woman in the history of the party as deputy chair. As Senate majority leader, he appointed the first woman as Secretary of the Senate. And he was the first Senate leader in history, Republican or Democrat, to select a woman, whom we all have known, the extraordinarily capable and talented Sheila Burke, as his chief of staff.

It is not just women on the Hill who have benefited from Senator DOLE's efforts. The lives of women in small towns, big cities, and everywhere in between in America have been improved as a result of Senator DOLE's leadership.

From his Retirement Equity Act of 1983, which protected women from an arbitrary pension system that left them

without a pension after their husbands died before retirement age, to his Sexual Assault Prevention Act, which finally expanded the rights of women after years of taking a back seat to criminals in our justice system, BOB DOLE was at the forefront of the fight to guarantee economic opportunity and personal safety.

BOB DOLE recognized that 2.5 million women are battered annually, the single greatest cause of injury to American women, and he saw that as being unconscionable. It was under his leadership that the Violence Against Women Act was fully funded for the first time ever.

But his leadership did not end there. Senator DOLE also recognized that the highest echelons of corporate America did not reflect the true landscape of this Nation. Where others did not or would not, BOB DOLE saw barriers which are rarely penetrated by women, and he believed those lines were made for crossing. As Senator DOLE himself has said, "The issues boil down to equal access and equal opportunity." BOB DOLE knows there is something wrong when women are not represented in the upper levels of management in corporate America, and that is why he authored the Glass Ceiling Commission, the first ever Federal commission that created the most comprehensive report on how business could make full use of our Nation's human capital.

Senator DOLE's commitment to women goes beyond the workplace. Under his leadership, the Senate passed legislation to provide Medicare coverage of a drug that was proven effective in the fight against breast cancer. He created a tax credit for expenses associated with the long-term care of elderly spouses who are sick or family members, especially important for women because they represent 78 percent of our Nation's primary caregivers.

For those who found themselves in need of a helping hand, BOB DOLE has been the driving force behind meaningful, compassionate welfare reform, to transfer welfare into workfare and move people from the welfare rolls to the payrolls. He made sure it was not done on the backs of children by ensuring that we inserted \$3 billion in additional child care funding, and this bill passed the Senate with 87 votes.

In another commitment to women and families, he joined with me in providing for tough child support enforcement provisions to send a message to deadbeat parents that the days of parental irresponsibility are over.

The bottom line is, Mr. President, the record goes on and on. The record shows that when it comes to America's women, you can count on BOB DOLE.

Finally, on a personal level, I would like to express my deepest appreciation for Senator DOLE's friendship and wise counsel over the years, not only here in the U.S. Senate but throughout my years in the House of Representatives. As he takes leave of this institution he loves so much, he and Elizabeth take with them our profound respect, our great admiration, our heartfelt friendship, our deep gratitude and our prayers for Godspeed as he and Elizabeth embark on an exciting and historic new chapter in their lives.

I am reminded of what Winston Churchill said when the tide had turned in favor of the allies. He said this:

This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, rather, the end of the beginning.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to comment about my friend BOB DOLE. We have heard all of the facts and the extraordinary history of the man's life and his life in the Senate, and it indeed is extraordinary. We all have known that. He is the very best—the very, very best.

I will be saying much about this man in the next months, for this is a leader, a real leader, not just in the title he held but way down inside, and that is a gift. That is the ability to lead, to engender trust and loyalty and the admiration—even grudging sometimes—of your toughest adversaries, and he has had that and it will serve him well.

One of the great and singular honors in my life was to serve as his assistant for 10 years. I was his first lieutenant. He was the captain. We had a pretty good platoon, a good company, too, and a good battalion. It was one wonderful run. I must say that some joy of it was lost, was sometimes when we took our work too seriously—but we never took ourselves too seriously. When you have a couple of gentlemen with a rather spirited sense of humor, it does spark up and brighten the day. I love those types.

I learned much from this man. I learned not to judge, to try to make things work, to have ultimate patience. That is what I really have not learned yet. It is out there though. He gave me some good tips. In those times, I found this man to be true, honest, and so natural, a very remarkable gentleman. By taking leave from here in this honorable way, the American people will come to see him as we do, as I do—fair, strong, firm, a man of great resolve.

With this extraordinary woman Elizabeth at his side, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, they will surely captivate and unite this country in their quest, for she is a person of great personal faith and an inspiration to many of us. And his daughter Robin too, what a fine woman, making a fine impression all over America, as she is deeply involved in the campaign activities. Those are the things we will see the Bob Dole family doing in these months to come.

A legislator, a listener, a loyalist. No one served President George Bush with more loyalty than BOB DOLE. He was always supporting the man who defeated him, supporting him to the hilt. That is class.

I have no sadness. No, I am excited to know that this man will be out there in America, and that the people of America will see what we here have always seen in this man, a man of deep, personal conviction, a man of deep moral fortitude, guts, always telling the truth, and the strong leadership—a man who can make a decision and stick with it. Bold and courageous are other examples of his leadership—purposeful, direct, and decisive.

So here we go. He will seek this job in the same way he has sought everything in his life, with that great energy, from that spirit. He has great capability, so very competent, and we will all see this man as a deeply sensitive man, a decent—very decent—and caring man. I think America is longing for that.

I wish him well, with this magnificent woman of charm and grace at his side. God bless them both for, indeed—he is all the man there is.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, today the Senate loses its leader, but our Nation and its people gain a leader. What this country needs at this time is to see a good example coming from its political leaders. What this country needs is moral leadership. It is truly lacking, of course, in the current White House. I have been speaking out on this subject of lack of moral leadership, with several specific examples of that failed leadership by the President and First Lady, since March 19.

It is not enough to call BOB DOLE a friend, a steady presence in the Senate, an ally. It is more important to know his qualities. These qualities are what make BOB DOLE a leader. Above all else, BOB DOLE has earned respect. You gain respect, Mr. President, by first showing respect for others. He has done so. He has shown respect for his fellow Kansans, for working men and women of America, for America's farm-

ers, for the small business entrepreneur, to his colleagues, for his party, but, most of all, respect for America.

When you get BOB DOLE, you get someone who will do what he says he will do. That means you get a man of integrity. You get a person of accountability. He does not point the finger. The buck stops with BOB DOLE. He takes responsibility for his actions. That is important, Mr. President, because this is what America needs and needs right now. At a time when public cynicism is riding a crest, fueled by the actions from current leaders in the White House, we need BOB DOLE's tie of leadership, because historically, the best leaders are those who have integrity, who demonstrate fairness, and who have compassion.

If I have learned nothing else about BOB DOLE in my 16 years serving with him in the U.S. Senate, it is that he is a person of integrity, a person who treats people fairly, and a person who has and demonstrates compassion. One of the best experiences I have had with BOB DOLE was campaigning with him in my State of Iowa. The first time was in 1988. The next time was this year. Whenever I introduced BOB DOLE to the people of Iowa, I introduced him as one of us. Iowans knew right away exactly what I meant. It meant that BOB DOLE has the same roots as we have—Midwestern, small town, rural, traditional values. He never forgot where he came from and how he got there. That is the mark of a humble public servant. That is what our country so desperately needs today.

Yes, I will miss BOB DOLE as a friend and a political ally. I will miss him more as a leader. I take comfort in the fact that in losing a leader, the country is gaining one. For that, I can only be truly grateful.

I say to citizen DOLE, your new journey of a thousand miles begins with this first step that you are taking today of leaving the Senate, saying goodbye to the people's branch of Government, and going out among the people themselves. I wish you, BOB DOLE, great success as our future leader.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, while I was presiding, I listened to the accolades and the very warm remarks that have been aimed toward our leader, BOB DOLE, and so richly deserved by Senator DOLE. I could think of only two characteristics that have not been brought up yet. They came from two experiences that I had.

One was back when I was a very fresh, new, freshman Senator. I happened to have been supporting Phil Gramm for President of the United States, who was a primary opponent

of BOB DOLE's, only to find that he and I had a trip to take together from Washington out to Independence, KS, since we had been active in getting a very significant product liability bill passed that put America back into making airplanes again. I got to thinking of traveling all the way with a guy when I was actually opposing him. I was very uncomfortable about it. I can tell you during the entire trip, you would have thought I was his, BOB DOLE's, chairman. I have never seen a person so absolute in his forgiveness and understanding.

Second, a couple of years ago I can remember when BOB DOLE was coming in to do a fundraiser for me at 7:30 in the morning in Tulsa, OK. By coincidence, it happened to be the morning after the night they considered President Clinton's soft-on-crime bill. BOB DOLE was really wrapped up in that. That was one of the disappointments he had. He lost it by one vote.

He got on a plane, it had to be sometime after midnight, came all the way to Oklahoma in a driving rainstorm, and was there at 7:30 in the morning. His staff was exhausted. He looked like he was just showing up for his first prom.

I have never seen a guy with energy like he has. The two characteristics, boundless energy and compassionate forgiveness, are two characteristics that will serve America in a grander way. What a guy.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, nothing I can say here today can add to the richness or the depth of the picture that has already been presented over the course of the last 2 weeks or so by other Members of this body and by those outside of this body with respect to our candidate for President and our retiring majority leader, Senator BOB DOLE. All I can do is to take that photograph from a very slightly different angle and, I hope, make it at least a slightly deeper photograph of a great man.

This is important, however, because the BOB DOLE we, who have worked with him for a year or for a decade, know is not the BOB DOLE as he has been pictured to our fellow citizens all across the United States. It is exactly for that reason, of course, that he is leaving us and his magnificent and, I believe, rewarding career in this body to share his real character, his real personality with all of the people of the United States in his quest for the Presidency.

BOB DOLE is, I think, first of all, a man of extraordinary patience—perhaps the single most significant requirement for a leader of a body of 99 other Members, all of whom most of the time feel that they are in possession of absolute truth

or the precise way in which the Senate should conduct its business.

BOB DOLE seems never to have lost a sunny equanimity, even under the most difficult circumstances. His wit seems never to have deserted him. His willingness to listen to advice and counsel—almost always unsolicited—seems to have been infinite, and at the same time that he has been willing to listen and been willing to consider the views from disparate sectors, he has been possessed by a deep dedication to principle, to direction, and to love of country.

On the one hand, people in politics are criticized for being too rigid and not understanding and, on the other hand, for being too compromising. BOB DOLE is neither. He has that rare combination of a dedication to principle and a willingness to listen and to accommodate the principles and ideas of others, which has made him a great success, has caused him to be the longest-serving leader of this party in the history of the U.S. Senate.

And so because of those winning traits of personality and those deeper traits of character and principle, each of us who remain here in the Senate will be slightly the lesser by reason of his leaving. He, on the other hand, will be the better for it—for this surprising and principled decision, for his willingness to present himself to the American people without the protection of any office on which to fall back.

I believe, Mr. President—and I believe firmly—that this open risk-taking, courageous BOB DOLE, whom we have known for as long as each of us has been in the Senate, and whom his friends, neighbors, and family have known from his youth, will become increasingly known by, respected by, and loved by the people of the United States as he presents these traits of character and personality to them during the balance of this campaign.

So we wish him bon voyage, the best of good luck, and we wish to the American people a new President with all of these wonderful characteristics for leadership and for making our country a better and stronger place in which to live.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, when Abraham Lincoln walked onto the battlefield at Gettysburg to commemorate what had been done there, he succinctly encapsulated the understanding that deeds far surpass words in terms of value. He said, “The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.”

We are not talking this morning just to be talking, to be saying things, but it is a way of helping people understand what BOB DOLE has done, who he has been, the depth of his care, and the breadth of his knowledge of how we need to proceed in America. It has been properly said that the world does not care how much you know until they know how much you care. And because BOB DOLE has not been a person to sound his own trumpet, to tell people about himself, I think people have mistaken him. They have not understood how much he cared, because BOB DOLE has been a person who has answered the call every time the call has come. He has not only answered the call, he has answered the call with everything—everything—at his disposal, the entirety of his existence.

In 1945, BOB DOLE nearly gave up his life—and there would have been those who said it was gone—to the call of duty. And, today, he relinquishes the power and prerogatives of policy development in the Senate because he, similarly, will pursue a call from his country, a call that we are pleased that he hears, a call to shape the tomorrows in which we live, a call to reestablish the fundamental values of American greatness, to align himself with the virtues of the American people, rather than the vices of a system that has really guided us down the wrong path.

In 1945, Lt. BOB DOLE volunteered to lead his company to take out a German machinegun nest. He scrambled out of a shell hole in order to rescue a fallen comrade. The Germans sighted DOLE and blew apart the right side of his back. Few people would have had the courage to live as he has lived. He willed himself to recovery, with God's help, and with the help of his neighbors. He willed himself to law school, and he willed himself to run for office.

Many of the medical experts at the time had given up on BOB DOLE. A doctor from Chicago decided to try some things that were virtually experimental and gave his services. The people of Russell, KS, donated their nickels, dimes, quarters, and dollars in the cigar box at the pharmacy down on the corner to cover the expenses.

BOB DOLE made a commitment that he would be an individual of service. We need that kind of determination. We need that kind of grit. We need individuals who have looked the very most serious of all circumstances in the face and have said, "With God's help, we can overcome, we can prevail." And that is BOB DOLE.

Well, America needed BOB DOLE when, in 1945, he was willing to give himself totally. They needed him when he went to the U.S. House of Representatives, they needed him when he became a Senator, and it needs him today.

All of us know the statistics. A child born today will end up paying \$187,000 in interest on the national debt if we do not do something about it. BOB DOLE has devoted himself not just to a balanced budget—sure, he sent two balanced budgets to the President this year—but to the structure of a balanced budget; that is a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

BOB DOLE knows that American families spent about 3 percent of their income on taxes in the 1950's, and now we spend almost 40 percent. He understands that Americans have an ability to spend on themselves and to do for themselves, if Government will stand aside. He understands that, for a long time, Washington has acted as if Government were the answer—faith in Government, governmentalism. He knows that is not the solution, that Washington's one-size-fits-all solution is not the way to solve this Nation's problems. He knows that when we placed that faith in Government, instead of ourselves, we injured ourselves.

BOB DOLE really is going to go to the American people and say: You have the quality, the character, and the capacity to do those things that are necessary to shape the next century constructively. I am delighted that he has so much commitment to this responsibility that he would say, "I walk away from the U.S. Senate in order to offer myself to the American people."

When the American people learn about BOB DOLE and get to know him the way we in the Senate know him, they will ask and demand that he be President of the United States. It will be a pleasure, as a Member of the U.S. Senate, to remember his outstanding service to the people, not just in the military, in the House and the Senate, but as the leader of this Republic. I am grateful for the opportunity to make these remarks regarding our majority leader.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, fellow Senators, I think what I will do is start with wit. I think everybody remembers BOB DOLE for a lot of things. I am going to mention five or six that make him my great friend. But I want to hearken back to a budget debate in 1990 that was a brief moment when we were going to have a shutdown even back then for a very short period of time. And the tourists in the community were all kind of in turmoil because of various things

that were going to be closed. And Senator DOLE said the following: "If you are hanging around with nothing to do and the zoo is closed, come over to the Senate. You will get the same kind of feeling, and you will not have to pay for it."

Mr. President, nobody should think that a statement like that in any way denigrates this great man.

I am really at a loss to say goodbye to him. But I am quite convinced that he is leaving as a legend. He leaves a legacy of leadership second to none in the entire history of the U.S. Senate. He leaves a legacy of laws and concerns that are so broad and so deep that I am doubtful whether his story ends in looking over the entire panorama of Senators from the beginning. I am very doubtful that they will find a Senator with such a legacy.

Let me start with senior citizens. In 1983, Social Security was going bankrupt. Who took the lead in the Senate to make it solvent for 30 to 40 years? Senator BOB DOLE. When it comes to the young people of America, some people choose to talk about programs. I choose to say BOB DOLE's deep and abiding concern for our young people is epitomized by his constant fight to live within our means so that we do not have to have our children and grandchildren pay our bills. Everything, from seniors to children and everything in between, has received the attention of this great man.

In fact, I will find it difficult. I think my feet will find me walking down that hall and my feet will find me going into that office because I have done that so many times when we needed leadership.

The legacy of leadership that he leaves will be sorely missed, and only history will indicate its true depth. Besides having wit, without which it is tough to run the Senate, he had courage. Can anyone forget the night when we wheeled Pete Wilson in? He had an appendectomy. We brought him in here from the hospital bed so we could get the vote, and so that Vice President Bush voting from the Chair could assure us of what would have been a balanced budget long before today that failed not because of BOB DOLE's leadership but because of something else.

So anybody following him better know that they better be honest; they better tell the Senate the truth for he knew no other way.

As he leaves, there is a bit of sorrow and even sadness, at least in my heart. But in a very real sense I am very, very happy because I think the American people now have a chance to meet, to know, and to understand the BOB DOLE

that we know. If they get that chance, he will be the next President. He will be the next President of this great land where the same leadership that he gave to us will be there for everyone.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I join my many colleagues in expressing my congratulations to Senator DOLE for a historic career in the Congress of the United States, which ended with his resignation today, and I also express my regrets that we will no longer have ROBERT J. DOLE as our majority leader and as our Republican leader.

I speak for both the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which I represent, and in a sense, also for Russell, KS, because Senator DOLE and I both grew up in Russell, KS. I moved to Russell from Wichita when I was 12 years old, so I have known Senator DOLE for a good many years. My father, Harry Specter, was a friend of his father, Doran Dole. My dad was in the junk business, and the only scale big enough at the time to weigh the junk yard truck was the Dole scale and elevator run by Bob Dole's father. Our brothers, Kenny Dole and Morton Specter, both passed away at the same time, approximately 3 years ago.

Senator DOLE's story is a story like Horatio Alger, except that BOB DOLE's story, compared to Horatio Alger, looks like Horatio Alger was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Both the Doles and the Specters, figuratively, lived on the wrong side of the tracks. It is a true story that the Dole family, during the depression, moved out of the first floor of their home to live in the basement to help defray expenses at a very tough time when Kansas was a dust bowl. BOB DOLE grew up and worked at Dawson Drugs at the soda fountain. There is sort of a legendary and famous story about how he would flip the ice cream and catch it behind his back. I recounted that story not long ago on a campaign appearance for the Presidency in Delaware County. BOB added that sometimes when the ice cream fell to the floor, it became a chocolate shake. He went to college—a tough thing to do in the early 1940's. Russell High School had the State debating championship, but BOB DOLE chose not to be a debater. He was a renowned high school athlete.

And then we all know of his heroics during World War II, and of his injuries and how he laid his life on the line. He did not suffer loss of life but did suffer loss of limb, and came back with a phenomenal rehabilitation. So he has a real understanding of what it is like to pull yourself up by your bootstraps when you have neither bootstraps nor arms to

pull yourself up by; and has a real feeling for the disabled; and a real understanding of the need for medical care; and a real understanding of what it is like to be an underdog. That historic, monumental rehabilitation has been recounted on many occasions.

Then he became a State legislator while going to law school. He came back and was county attorney, in Russell, KS. He told the story today about how his parents had been Democrats and how he became a Republican, checking the local registrations. I originally heard the story in Russell, about how he was courted by both parties to become their nominee for county attorney and then checked the registration in Russell County and found it was 2 to 1 Republican. And as Senator DOLE has said previously, as a matter of conscience he instantly became a Republican. And then so much of the rest is history: Elected to the House of Representatives in 1960 serving four terms, and then to the U.S. Senate in 1969.

I have had the privilege of serving with him in this body for the last 15½ years. I watched him, as the chairman of the Finance Committee, and he did a really extraordinary job in that capacity. It was in that capacity that I think Senator DOLE earned the confidence of his colleagues for the leadership position that he sought in 1984.

I recall the 1982 tax bill, when Senator Baker, then the majority leader, stood at the leadership position, and at 11:45 p.m. on that complex bill said that there were 63 amendments pending, amendments like mushrooms grew overnight, and that we were going to plow ahead. Standing beside him was Senator DOLE, the chairman of the Finance Committee. Senator Baker said Senator DOLE thought we ought to persevere. We worked through the night, as it was Senator Baker's custom to do on occasion. There were, perhaps, half a dozen rollcall votes, many more voice votes, many amendments dropped. At 6:30 a.m. we walked out of the Chamber having finished an extraordinary bill, which showed BOB DOLE's leadership.

Then we had the extraordinary election for majority leader in 1984, contested by Senator Ted Stevens and Senator Pete Domenici and Senator Dick Lugar and Senator Jim McClure. We had to have a series of ballots. First one dropped and then the next and then the next. And finally—and I happened to be sitting next to Senator DOLE on the left-hand side of the Chamber in the rear of the whole Senate when Senator DOLE won by a narrow margin of 28 to 25; two votes

changed and Senator DOLE went on to be the leader. I was in the photo in the scene when Senator DOLE shook hands.

He was an extraordinary leader in many, many ways. Always a conciliator, always with a velvet touch. Some of us were not too easy to lead, in terms of the votes. But never a demand, never a ruffled feeling, never a sense of pressure or, certainly, not undue pressure.

I recall legislation changing the Grove City decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, as illustrative of what Senator DOLE would do. Senator Packwood and Senator Hatch were on opposite ends of the issue. Suddenly Senator DOLE came up with compromise language. In unison, Bob Packwood and Orrin Hatch said, "But that is unsatisfactory because it will leave the issue open to controversy as to what it means." Senator DOLE smiled and said, "That's the perfect solution." It wasn't quite that language, but Senator DOLE got it worked out.

Today's speech by Senator DOLE, I think, was historic. I hope he can continue to speak with the same easygoing manner, the same light touch, the same sense of substance, and at the same time, the same sense of humor. Because I think if Senator DOLE does that, he will really establish a rapport with the American people for his next challenge.

In a sense, Senator DOLE's farewell address to the Senate has significant similarity to George Washington's farewell address. It was a different time, a different tempo, different tenor, but I think it was a historic farewell address. This Chamber was filled with respect and admiration, and, really, love.

I do not know, if on prior Senate occasions, there has been a recording of the time sequence for the length of applause, but that event speaks for itself as Senator DOLE moved from one part of the Chamber to the other, surrounded by his colleagues, both Democrats and Republicans; many of the colleagues expressing themselves on more than one occasion.

Then a few of us who were privileged to be his fellow Republicans in the Republican caucus had an opportunity to hear Senator DOLE's last speech in the Mansfield Room. The balcony, now named for Senator DOLE, as we have paid tribute to a few of our colleagues by memorializing their presence, became that accolade.

Then, at 3 or a little after 3, a number of us were waiting outside in the boiling Sun to watch him walk down the Senate steps for the last time, at least the last time on the day of his resignation. The steps were filled with well-wishers,

staff, and citizens from all walks of life. He came down and it was a symbolic transition from the U.S. Senate, where he had achieved such heights, walking out as citizen DOLE, to see the people of America.

When he finished saying goodbye to his colleagues on the steps, he moved across the yard to greet Americans who were waiting to see him, smell him, touch him. From there he moved over to the large crowd that was assembled between the two chambers. I think it was a very, very significant and a symbolic move, as he has left the U.S. Senate in his quest for the Presidency of the United States.

It was obviously not an easy decision for ROBERT J. DOLE to make, to leave the embellishments and accouterments of office, as majority leader, one of the loftiest positions in the Government of the United States or in the world. But he did so in his quest for what he saw as a higher calling.

In the contemporaneous time period with his departure, he addressed one of the toughest issues in America, the issue of abortion, which has been the most divisive issue facing America since the Civil War, with his characteristic and traditional Solomon-like judgment. It is a political issue, but worthy of a moment or two, leaving the Republican platform intact to accommodate one segment of the party and offering the olive branch, the spirit of tolerance and the big tent to another segment of the party. Almost, in a sense, squaring the circle and accommodating almost seemingly irreconcilable differences. But that has been the life of Senator DOLE. That has been his tradition as a young man growing up on the plains of Kansas where he learned, really, fundamental American values—accountability, integrity, honor, and trust, serving his Nation so well in war and serving his Nation so well in peace.

Seeing him go is a tough thing for all of us who have known him, in many ways over the years. We wish him the very best as he continues in his quest to serve America.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, today we pay tribute to a man who has served his country ably and well for well over 50 years, and who will be remembered for his leadership of an institution that is not easily led.

From his humble beginnings in the town of Russell, KS, BOB DOLE has taken seriously, and has exercised responsibly, his call to serve. While those of us who have served with him in this institution are disappointed to see him go, and will miss him, he has greater challenges and rewards ahead. I believe BOB DOLE will go on to engage this Nation

in a critical debate over the next few months about where America is headed as we approach the turn of the century. The United States, and the office of the Presidency, need BOB DOLE's leadership desperately. The words "noble" and "man of integrity" are not often used to describe the current occupant of the White House. Yet they are words that come to mind immediately to describe BOB DOLE.

BOB DOLE did not shirk his responsibility to fight for his country during World War II. He accepted it, fought bravely in Italy, and nearly paid the ultimate price—his life, for his country. BOB DOLE is now willing to sacrifice his political career in order to meet the challenge of defeating Bill Clinton, restoring fiscal sanity to American Government, and restoring honor to the office of the Presidency.

BOB DOLE has been well prepared through 27 years of Senate service to assume the Presidency. He has led Republicans through long years in the minority, and has more recently led us to some significant accomplishments in our effort to roll back Government and ever-increasing Government spending.

BOB DOLE's skills are not well known to most Americans, because many Americans are unfamiliar with what it takes to make this side of Congress work. The Founding Fathers set up the U.S. Senate as an institution to protect the rights of the minority. This is a place where, in fact, a Senator adhering to minority viewpoint has much greater power in many ways than a Senator whose view reflects the will of the majority party. One Senator can hold up landmark legislation simply by taking to the floor and refusing to relinquish it. A significant minority, 41 Senators of 100, can thwart the will of the majority party simply by refusing to cut off debate.

BOB DOLE understands these challenges. As minority leader for many of the 9 years I have been in the Senate, he used the rules effectively to protect the rights of a significant minority. This was referred to in the media as gridlock, but it is really the way the institution was designed, to protect the Nation from the passions of the moment and to provide for reasoned, reflective debate.

Since assuming the role of majority leader, he has managed to overcome challenges raised by the Democratic minority, and hold his troops together to pass significant legislation. Under his watch, the Senate has passed and sent to the President the first balanced budget in a generation, meaningful welfare reform, the Congressional Accountability Act,

legislation preventing unfunded mandates on State and local entities, and regulatory relief. The President has vetoed the two most significant of these initiatives: namely a balanced budget and welfare reform.

The speeches we give today in honor of BOB DOLE sound a lot like eulogies, but they are in reality reminiscences of a stage in BOB DOLE's life. He will go on to do even greater things. He will continue his long and distinguished career of service to country by holding its highest office, and will restore to that office the respect and honor of the American people.

Mr. FAIRCLOTH. Mr. President, as we all know, BOB DOLE will resign from the Senate to run for the Presidency today.

It was a courageous decision—but also a sad one for the Senate.

I am personally proud of Senator DOLE. I think it is the right decision.

I strongly believe that when the American people are given the chance to know Senator DOLE and his wife Elizabeth better—the polls will change dramatically—and he will be elected President.

Senator DOLE was raised in an era in America when hard work and strong values were rewarded. This is an era that we can have once again in America, if BOB DOLE is elected President.

When Senator DOLE's country called on him to serve—he went, and almost gave his life. He didn't flee the country and protest against it from overseas.

When his family struggled in the depression—they didn't seek a Government handout—instead they rented their own home and lived in the basement to get by.

He didn't allow his war injuries to sideline him in a hospital for the remainder of his life—instead he picked himself up and rose to one of the highest positions in the Government and became a candidate for Vice President and now a candidate for President.

BOB DOLE will bring to the Office of President the values of his upbringing. He will not spend the taxpayers' money irresponsibly. He will not put this country further into debt. He will not coddle criminals that threaten our communities. He will not tolerate drug use in the White House or tolerate a disrespect for our Armed Forces.

This is the BOB DOLE that has been our majority leader. And, I am confident this is the man that American people will want to be their President.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I want to echo my colleagues' gratitude to a remarkable Senator and majority leader, BOB DOLE. Few Members of Congress can boast similar years of commitment to our country. In fact, Senator DOLE's entire life has been dedicated to public service; from his brave service in World War II, to his service in the Kansas State Legislature, the U.S. House, and for the past 27 years our U.S. Senate. He has devoted his life to serving the people of Kansas and our country. I truly admire his agility in handling the people's business in this body, the U.S. Senate.

It will be difficult to imagine the Senate floor without BOB DOLE. We have always had a cordial and collegial working relationship. I have admired his wily way of moving legislation. He often commented on my way with a quip.

I think it's fair to say that members of both parties have learned from BOB DOLE. His mastery of Senate procedure, and his skill at moving legislation, are matched by few in this Chamber.

I thank Senator DOLE for his service in the Senate. In an age when over half of married couples can't stay dedicated to each other for 10 years, it's remarkable for someone to stay dedicated to an institution as tempestuous as the U.S. Senate for 27 years.

With deep admiration and respect for a trusted colleague, I wish Senator DOLE all the best.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, BOB DOLE first came to Congress at a time when the world—and he himself—was still recovering from the wounds of war, and America, catapulted into world leadership, was about to enter one of the most difficult periods in our young history as our Nation became bitterly divided over the Vietnam conflict.

These events shaped the man who came to Washington to represent his home State of Kansas back in 1960. And, from my experience in working with him over the last few years in the U.S. Senate, it is clear that BOB DOLE never forgot the values those experiences taught him. He has left an imprint on this body that deserves our recognition and our thanks.

Having nearly given his life for his country in the battle for freedom, BOB DOLE brought strong convictions about honor and public service with him to the U.S. Congress.

And, having seen this Nation spill blood in battling its own conscience, he understood that—even in the rough and tumble world of politics—we can not afford to forget the warnings of our predecessors: United we stand; divided we fall. BOB DOLE's tenure as majority leader reflected these convictions.

He leaves the Senate having made an indelible mark on this body with his ability as a leader, his skill as a statesman, and his commitment to the service of his country.

I have not always agreed with BOB DOLE, but I have never found his door closed. That, to me, says more about the man than anything else. In my view, the mark of a true statesman is his willingness to listen to all sides of an issue in a search for common ground. But the mark of a leader is the ability to move people forward in spite of our differences in search of progress.

Although I have not known BOB DOLE for very long—I came to this body in 1993 and worked with him, first as minority leader, then as majority leader—I have come to hold high respect for him, and think of him fondly. These are very tumultuous times, and his was no easy task.

I have been particularly struck, time and again, by his willingness to seek solutions by forging agreements—even in circumstances where he had the votes to win on an issue and did not need to negotiate.

I remember when the issue of moving the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem arose last year in Congress. Senator DOLE had all the votes he needed to pass a resolution supporting the move. And yet, he listened to those of us who had concerns about the impact the wording of this resolution would have on what, at the time, was a very delicate phase of the peace negotiations in the Middle East.

He did not have to listen. He chose to listen, and he chose to address our concerns. And we passed better legislation as a result. That is leadership.

I have been struck by his forthrightness as majority leader—his word was his commitment, and his commitment was a matter of honor. These have been difficult times. But, although he and I did not always end up on the same side of an issue, I knew BOB DOLE cared more about the integrity of the democratic process than he cared about short term political gain, and that he respected each and every Senator's place in that process—because we represent the America people.

No, we did not always agree. But even on issues where we disagreed, I always knew where I stood, and I knew I could trust his word.

ROBERT DOLE will be remembered for his lifetime of service to the American people, and for helping to shape the course of our Nation during some of the most pivotal times.

He deserves our praise and our thanks, and we wish him and Elizabeth well.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, when Americans came home from World War Two the time reserved for celebrating their hard won victory was of necessity brief. Joyous though those celebrations were, they had to give way quickly to the hard work of repairing the damage done to families and communities by the long separations and tragic losses which war visits on the victors as well as the vanquished.

But Americans, having defeated the Axis Powers, were upon the moment of that success obliged to assume the new responsibility of leading the free world's resistance to the imperial ambitions of our former ally, the Soviet Union. By so doing, they undertook a mission of immense proportions and difficulty, but great historic significance and nobility.

For it was the Americans who fought so valiantly from Guadalcanal to Normandy who would then devote their lives to ensuring that the second half of this century not collapse into the bloody calamities or succumb to the aggression of freedom's adversaries that made this century one of the most violent and tragic times in recorded human history. At both the mid point and the end of the 20th century, these Americans ranked among the greatest generations of our countrymen. They are accorded that distinction for their dedication to their country's cause and humanity's hope, and for the dimensions of the victories won by their devotion, selflessness, ingenuity and courage.

Even in this distinguished company, BOB DOLE stands out. When he returned from war he could not, as many of his comrades could, immediately pursue the veteran's dream of building a peaceful and prosperous life. He had to first rebuild himself. The exemplary courage and determination he brought to his own recovery is the stuff legends are made of. And they are also America's good fortune for they are the same virtues he offered in his subsequent years of service to the advancement of our country.

In these days when more and more young Americans are attracted to the mores of the detached and indifferent cynic, to the affectations of Hollywood anti-heroes, BOB DOLE's life

is a rebuke to those corrupting influences on our popular culture. When I am asked by anxious parents: where are today's American heroes by whose example I can instruct my children?; the list of such Americans I can offer in response is still a long one. But I can identify no better example than the man to whom we wish good luck today. BOB DOLE is what an American hero is supposed to be.

His sacrifice in war and his hard road to recovery earned BOB DOLE the peace and quiet to live a life of personal pursuits, of individual attainment and success. But he chose instead to chase his country's dreams. And in America's historical mission to contain and defeat Soviet imperialism and to wrench from this violent century some greater hope for humanity's progress in the next. BOB DOLE brought the patriotic optimism of the young soldier off to war, but he brought also the veteran's appreciation for the dimension and seriousness of the task before us. He enlisted again in the war against totalitarians, and again he is in the front ranks of those who earned the victory.

BOB DOLE's Senate leadership was essential to the efforts of Presidents Reagan and Bush to win the cold war. He built majority coalitions for the defense build up of the 1980's, helping to restore the readiness and modernization of our Armed Forces which had been so badly neglected in the previous decade.

He has been a consistent and skillful advocate for ballistic missile defense beginning in 1973 with his support for the Sam-D, the predecessor to the Patriot missile, continuing with his support for SDI and ending most recently with his sponsorship of the Defend America Act. In his determination to provide Americans with an affordable and adequate defense from the greatest danger facing our country, BOB DOLE has shown the vision and the will required to meet the security threats that will confront policymakers in the 21st century.

Senator DOLE organized congressional support for Reagan Doctrine policies which gave critical assistance to freedom fighters confronting Soviet aggression from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. Together with his support for our defense build up and a strategic defense system, Senator DOLE's commitment to sustaining the front line resistance to Soviet imperialism hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union, and made possible the liberation of millions whose rights had long been denied them as citizens of captive nations.

As cracks in the Soviet empire became the breach that brought down the Berlin Wall, BOB DOLE hastened the final dissolution of the Soviet Union by sponsoring the Direct Aid to the Republics Act which provided direct assistance and trade relations to the Soviet Republics, bypassing Moscow, and further weakening the Kremlin's control over its subject peoples.

In the first crisis of the post-cold-war world, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, BOB DOLE cautioned President Bush to seek congressional authority for Operation Desert Storm, and then employed his peerless legislative skills to win majority support for authorization over a very determined opposition, sending a message of American unity to Saddam Hussein.

More recently, BOB DOLE's consistent, principled support for the legitimate Government of Bosnia and the strong Senate majority he built for his position forced our own Government and our allies to replace their previous indecision and indifference with the resolve to enable the Bosnian people to resist aggression, and determine for themselves their nation's fate.

Mr. President, my time is nearly up, and the brevity of this tribute has required me to offer only an abbreviated, very incomplete list of BOB DOLE's many important contributions to the security of the United States. Suffice it to say, that BOB DOLE is a statesman who has worked tirelessly and effectively to protect other Americans from having to pay as a high a price for love of country as he was once asked to pay.

Before I close, Mr. President, I would like to offer a personal expression of gratitude to my leader.

I have had the honor in my life of being commanded by a great many brave, resourceful, and decent leaders, but none more so than our friend, BOB DOLE. A long time ago, in another walk of life, I lived for a period of time without liberty. I and a great many men whose courage and honor enabled me to endure that experience wanted nothing more than to keep faith with our country and for our country to keep faith with us. When well-intentioned Members of this institution unwittingly attempted to break faith with us by denying support for the war necessary to ensure our eventual liberation, BOB DOLE led the opposition to that effort. For 7 weeks he forcefully debated a cutoff of funding while so many of America's sons remained the prisoners of our enemies. All the while he waged that debate, BOB DOLE wore a bracelet that bore my name. I have never properly thanked him for the

great honor he did me. I wish to do so now. For myself, for my comrades who came home with me, and for the many thousands who did not, thank you, BOB, for the honor of your concern and support for us. We fought in different wars, but we kept the same faith.

BOB DOLE leaves the Senate now, and all of us, Democrat and Republican alike, know in our hearts we will not soon see his like again in our ranks. But he leaves only to continue his service to America from another office. I take considerable comfort from that. For I know that the tasks that confront us as we consolidate our cold war victories and make for our children and our children's children another, better world than the one in which we lived most of our lives require the service of an American who appreciates from his experience and from his heart the indispensability of American leadership. This is a daunting responsibility, which is shared by all of us. But I am reassured that we will not be found wanting in our assignment by my confidence that BOB DOLE will soon be our leader again and that our Nation will still benefit from the service of this honorable man.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, today BOB DOLE will leave the Senate. I have served with him for nearly 18 years, during which time, at different times, he has been the ranking member and chairman of the Finance Committee, minority leader, and majority leader.

Over the years I have disagreed with him often, but I have also worked with him on many things, from one of my first amendments in the Senate on the strategic petroleum reserve to closing tax loopholes in 1982 to tax reform in 1986 to maternal and child health care issues to GATT agreements to aid to the Bosnian Moslems and countless other issues.

BOB DOLE is a good man and an extraordinary legislator. Although he is personally shy, he knows how to build a political consensus, use power, make things happen. He keeps his word, which is an essential ingredient in building trust. He listens well, a trait of the very best legislators.

Any time you are trying to build a bipartisan majority, which is more the way it used to be in the Senate than the way it is now, you have to be able to listen. You have to understand intuitively where someone's bottom line is. And when an agreement will not be reached, you cannot view the other person as flawed, corrupt, and stupid, and expect that tomorrow they will forget your attitude. I do not remember

BOB DOLE ever acting out of a grudge or perhaps even harboring one. He never burned his bridges.

One afternoon in my office more than a few years ago, Senator DOLE and I visited with a Russian politician named Boris Yeltsin whose visit I was sponsoring. Yeltsin had been over an hour late and we were 25 minutes into our discussion when one of his aides informed him he was an hour late for a meeting with

Secretary of State Baker, to which Yeltsin responded by saying, "Humph, who cares about an appointed minister when I am meeting with those who are elected by the people."

To which DOLE responded, "He's got his priorities right."

That was the voice of BOB DOLE, the democrat, the man who has a deep and abiding respect for the will of the people. Time and time again the people of Kansas gave him their votes. Although Senator DOLE has given his life to public service, I sense he would be one of the first in this body to admit that a legislator's accomplishments are like sand castles built at the edge of the ocean surf—short-lived and often forgotten.

Therefore, the only thing that any of us as Senators have is whether those who worked with us gave us their respect, and those who elected us felt well-served. In Senator DOLE's case, I think the answer to each is yes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, last year I indicated to my colleague from West Virginia, Senator Byrd, that one of the real privileges of my being able to serve in the U.S. Senate was to serve here while he served in the U.S. Senate. I told Senator Byrd that. I was thinking last evening that I feel the same way about Senator DOLE. It has been an enormous privilege to serve in the Senate at the same time that Senator DOLE has served in this Senate. He has demonstrated an enduring commitment to public service that represents the kind of public service that we owe a substantial debt for in our country. He is truly the Cal Ripken of public service in the Senate year after year after year, doing his job and doing it the way the American people hope public servants will do their jobs.

I am here today only to say I wish Senator ROBERT DOLE well. The Senate will miss him. Those of us who have had the privilege of working with him honor his commitment to public service.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, from his earliest days on the sports fields through his military career to his days in the Senate, BOB DOLE's destiny was and is leadership. How greatly has he enriched the lives of all of us here in the U.S. Senate. Like my good friend, Senator Bradley, I was there on the Yeltsin trip. I remember that. I also remember accompanying Senator DOLE to a hilltop in Italy, near the small village where he was struck down by enemy fire. But the hand of destiny reached down, the hand of Providence, and brought him back to serve this great Nation, to serve the world, and to become a great leader.

He will take his place—modestly, he might not acknowledge this—but he will take his place with Everett Dirksen, with whom our distinguished senior colleague, Mr. Byrd, served; with Howard Baker and with Hugh Scott. In that row of great Republican leaders, he has earned his spot.

Commander in Chief, a position to which he aspires, and a position in the Constitution of the United States he has fought to preserve on the floor of this Senate from the first day that he stepped entered this Chamber, irrespective of who has been in that office. He has been a staunch defender of the prerogatives of the Commander in Chief. I was proud to join with him on January 12, 1991, when we stood together for the Persian Gulf resolution, to give the Commander in Chief the authority to use force in the gulf. That was a hard-fought battle, a debate ending in a vote of 52 to 47.

Most recently, in my own endeavors, he stood beside me. He did not have to do it. He stood beside one of his colleagues in the name of friendship and he said, "It's not all politics. It's friendship."

Mr. President, I close by reading a brief quotation that I carry with me at all times. It relates to BOB DOLE. Thomas Jefferson once said:

I had laid it down as law to myself, to take no notice of the thousands of insults issued against me but to trust my character to my own conduct and to the good sense and candor of my fellow citizens.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I rise to say farewell to my friend and longstanding colleague, the able Senator from Kansas, the Senate majority leader, BOB DOLE. BOB DOLE has responded to the call of duty throughout all of his adult life, and we are all the richer for his dedication and his work. His life and his service have made a difference.

American politics is a rough and tumble occupation, and we in this Chamber are all too familiar with the savagery,

the criticism, the negativity that have so infected political life in our day. But there are times when politics must be put aside, and the honest, heartfelt contributions that we each and all make as servants of the people must be acknowledged.

I congratulate the majority leader on his long and distinguished service in the Senate, and before that in the House of Representatives, and before that, in the Kansas Legislature, to which he was elected at the young age of 26. As one of his fellow Americans, I thank him for his service and his bravery during World War II.

It has been a privilege and it has been a pleasure to work with Senator DOLE in the leadership positions given to both of us by our colleagues, first when he was majority leader and I was minority leader, and then when our roles were reversed.

Senator DOLE and I are the only floor leaders in Senate history to move from majority leader to minority leader and then back again to majority leader. I guess it is a classic case of what comes around goes around; or what goes around, comes around. Often, I have pondered this turning of the Senate wheel, a continuing rotation of individuals of different temperaments and talents, of opposing beliefs and varied backgrounds.

I have been honored to serve in the Congress of the United States for almost 44 years. I have witnessed the comings and I have witnessed the goings of many fine men and women. Some were extraordinary leaders, like Joe Martin, of Massachusetts; Sam Rayburn, of Texas; Lyndon Johnson, of Texas; Everett Dirksen, of Illinois; Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania; and Howard Baker, of Tennessee; and Mike Mansfield, of Montana; who served as Senate majority leader for 16 years. Many made outstanding contributions to their country and were considered irreplaceable in their time. And yet our brief appearance upon the Senate stage is only temporary. It is applauded, remarked upon and then forgotten, washed away like footprints in the sand by the next turn of the wheel and the next wave of events.

But through it all, the Senate endures and goes on like Tennyson's brook—forever. It is far, far greater than the sum of its 100 parts.

Senator DOLE, in his four terms in the House and five in the Senate, has been a serious and successful legislator. He was the 1,645th person to have taken the oath of U.S. Senator. He has served as leader of his party in the Senate

longer than any other Republican—10 years, 11 months and 20 days, today. BOB DOLE has served longer as a Republican in Congress—35 years, 5 months and 8 days—than any other current Republican Member of the Senate and House. Additionally, he is the only Kansas Senator to have chaired the Senate Finance Committee.

He has earned the respect of his colleagues. He has been a hands-on leader, often working personally with other Senators and staff to craft legislative compromises and solutions to difficult national questions.

As Republican leader, both when he served as majority leader and as minority leader, he was always available to work on solutions to problems of both a national and international nature. He gave his time, including the hours spent away from the Chamber and the Hill, wrestling with those solutions.

I have fond memories of the time that we worked together in the 100th Congress, when I served as majority leader and he was the minority leader, and we succeeded in crafting important legislation, including the landmark Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. Together, we developed a new trade tool for the United States called “the super 301 law,” which required annual reviews of foreign trade practices, the identification of priority foreign country practices against American products, and the triggering of automatic investigations against such countries’ practices.

Senator DOLE has been particularly attentive and active in the foreign policy and national security areas. While we have not always agreed on specific policies, he has been a major contributor to our Nation’s policies regarding the Soviet Union before its collapse, arms control, Bosnia, and the Gulf war with Iraq, to name a few important examples.

When he was majority leader in 1985 and I was minority leader, together we created the arms control observer group to monitor arms control negotiations and treaties with the Soviet Union. Together, we led a Senate delegation to the opening of United States-Soviet arms control negotiations in Geneva that year. We also traveled together at the request of President Reagan to Moscow to celebrate the historic exchange of instruments by Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev ratifying the INF treaty.

In the order of domestic policy, Senator DOLE has been a long-time central figure on farm legislation. He has amassed an impressive record of service on behalf of the disabled and

the handicapped. He has particularly advanced the cause of handicapped children.

While I have enjoyed working together with BOB DOLE, and sometimes have equally enjoyed working at odds with him on various issues, I am saddened that he is leaving the Senate. He will cast a long shadow as he goes.

It isn't enough to say in our hearts  
That we like a man for his ways;  
It isn't enough that we fill our minds  
With psalms of silent praise;  
Nor is it enough that we honor a man  
As our confidence upward mounts;  
It's going right up to the man himself  
And telling him so that counts.  
So when a man does a deed that you really admire,  
Don't leave a kind word unsaid.  
In fear to do so will make him vain  
And cause him to lose his head.  
But reach out your hand and tell him, "Well done,"  
And see how his gratitude swells.  
It isn't the flowers we strew on the grave,  
It's the word to the living that tells.  
And so I say to my friend, BOB DOLE, "Well done."

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me begin by complimenting the distinguished Senator from West Virginia for his eloquence. Following his words is a very difficult task.

Senator DOLE has said that he wants to be judged now as just a man. But I think history will judge him as something more—a good leader, a good Senator, a good American. When you are from a small State in the Midwest, there seems to be a sense of pride in someone who makes it to the top the hard way, with hard work, with fairness, with adherence to principle.

Regardless of politics, religion or education, when someone starts at the lower rung and makes it all the way up, there is a pervasive feeling of ownership, of affinity that he is one of our own, a Midwestern sense of self-respect that he is like us, and now just look at where he is, what he has done and how he has done it. That is especially true when adversity hits. When someone rises above adversity to make it against the odds, the admiration grows greater. The greater the adversity, the greater the adherence to principle and decency, the greater the admiration.

Maybe that is why someone from South Dakota, someone of different politics, different religion, different education can reflect on the admiration that I hold for BOB DOLE with the sincerity that I do now.

I have had the good fortune to work closely with the majority leader now for 18 months. The conditions for a good working relationship could not have been much worse. We had just lost the majority. He was the likely nominee to run against a Democratic President, and the House Republican leadership, now also in the majority, had proposed a Contract With America. Of course, the events over the past year and a half could easily have led to bitterness and personal animosity of major consequence. I have no doubt that in virtually any other set of circumstances, there would have been no other result.

The fact that it did not occur, and in spite of it all we remained friendly, is due to BOB DOLE and who he is. His civility, his pragmatism, his quick wit, his self-effacing humor have not only served him well these past 45 years of public life, but have served his colleagues and his country well, too. His sense of fairness and decency is a standard by which all people in public life should be held. He believes in the institutions of democracy and has helped guide his party and this body in a way that has enhanced them, too.

While our philosophical differences are great, his willingness to do what is difficult has been a source of admiration and respect for us all. His courage in standing for principle has been evident from the start.

It was there when he broke ranks with his party to support the landmark civil rights measures of the 1960's, most notably the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Acts of 1965 and 1982.

It was there when he championed landmark nutrition programs with a visionary leader and a giant from South Dakota whose name was George McGovern.

It was there in 1991 when he and our colleague, Tom Harkin, arguably did more for the disabled than anyone in our Nation's history.

And it was there in this Congress when, against all political advice, he fashioned a resolution on Bosnia that led to broad support for our troops being stationed there.

I am grateful to Senator DOLE for that leadership, for the decency and fairness he has demonstrated to me over these past 18 months. I have learned from him. It has been an invaluable education.

It has always impressed me that BOB DOLE would come to my office for a meeting—the seasoned leader coming to the newcomer, the majority leader, coming to the minority leader's office. I thought it was yet another demonstration of BOB

DOLE's grace and demeanor. I know now that it was. I also learned that in doing so, this man, with the experience of thousands of such meetings, could always be the one to determine when the meeting was over.

I regret that we did not accomplish more together in these last 2 years. Obviously, bad timing was a factor. Our accomplishments have been eclipsed by our partisanship in the eyes of the American people. Still, nothing should cloud America's view of just a man from Kansas who began with little, who in fighting for this country lost almost all that he had, who came back to help lead his party and his country with courage and civility, who leaves this place with the gratitude of us all.

While I cannot wish him ultimate success at his next political venture, Linda and I wish Elizabeth and BOB DOLE well in their new life ahead. May it be filled with good health and much happiness. I yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I rise on behalf of all my colleagues in the Senate, Democrat and Republican, to say thank you to Senator DOLE for his years of service in Congress, House and Senate, but especially the Senate, especially for his leadership, for his willingness to really embody what leadership is all about.

The man from Russell, KS, has indeed done very well. The man from Russell, KS, has overcome a lot of difficulties, and truly been a national hero. I was with Senator Warner, Senator Mack, and Senator DOLE in Italy where Senator DOLE nearly lost his life in Castel Diano, and I realized what real leadership was all about, that a young man from Russell, KS, risked his life, almost gave his life, to reestablish freedom in a faraway land. I saw the love and respect that the people had in northern Italy for Senator DOLE, and my respect and admiration for him only grew. It has grown as we have shared many fine years in serving together, and I thought about this, most of our colleagues here have only known Senator DOLE as the leader or minority leader. Some have had the pleasure of serving with Senator Baker and Senator Byrd, as majority leader, but to our leader, we want to say thank you for your service not only to Kansas but to our country, for reaching out in bipartisan fashion and making great changes for this country.

I remember when you were elected chairman of the Finance Committee, tax rates were 70 percent. When you were finished, they were 28 percent. The economy really grew.

You forged bipartisan working relationships with everyone. You are well liked by every Member in this body.

To our leader, I say that you embody what we think is great about a leader. That is character. That is integrity. That is loyalty. You have earned the respect not only of your colleagues, you have earned the respect of all Americans.

To our leader, again, a man from Russell, KS, you are our friend. You will always be our friend. We wish you and Elizabeth every success this year.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to immediate consideration of Senate Resolution 258 that I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report.

The Assistant Secretary of the Senate read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 258) to designate the balcony adjacent to rooms S-230 and S-231 of the United States Capitol Building as the "Robert J. Dole Balcony."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, the resolution that I now send to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator Daschle is a resolution that follows a great tradition in the Senate where we name rooms, sometimes buildings, after our colleagues. We have buildings—the Russell Building, Hart, and Dirksen, all named after outstanding Senators.

On the first floor of this building we have the Hugh Scott Room named after a former Republican leader, and down the hall the Mansfield Room, another great leader who served the longest as Senate majority leader, and we also have the Howard Baker Room that is now the Office of Senator DOLE. All these honors were a very fine and noble tribute.

But the tribute we name today, or the one we are making today is naming the balcony adjacent to the Office of the Republican Leader as the Robert J. Dole Balcony. It was Senator DOLE who asked this balcony be made accessible to legislators and to the leaders. I can tell you that there has been a lot of good legislative work done on that balcony. I can also tell you that sometimes the balcony is called "the Dole Beach."

To our leader, we wanted to have a lasting remembrance, because you are part of this Capitol. You are part of this institution. You are one of the reasons why this institution is greatly respected, because of the respect we have for you.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 258) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 258

*Resolved*, That the balcony adjacent to rooms S-230 and S-231 of the United States Capitol Building is hereby designated as, and shall hereafter be known as, the "Robert J. Dole Balcony".

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able majority leader, SENATOR DOLE of Kansas, is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. I appreciate very much the resolution just passed. Will it be in big letters or neon? I know it cannot have any political advertising on it. Just have the name out there in lights the next few months. I thank all of my colleagues.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF SENATOR ROBERT J. DOLE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to go back 136 years ago this summer. A committee arrived in Springfield, IL—Senator Simon probably knows the story—and it formally notified Abraham Lincoln that the Republican Party had nominated him to run for President. History records that Lincoln's formal reply to the news was just two sentences long. And then as he surveyed the crowd of friends gathered outside his home, as I survey the crowd of friends here in the galleries and on the floor, he said, "Now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking each of you by the hand." So I guess, as Lincoln said then, 136 years ago, if all of us who are leaving this year—and I am only one, and I know we have the same thoughts and the same emotions—if we can all go out and shake hands with all the people who were responsible for us being here, it would take a long time.

You begin with your family. You, obviously, begin with your parents, your brothers, your sisters, and you think about all the support they have provided and all the good things that happened. And you think about the Senate. You think about your family, your remarkable, wonderful wife

and daughter, who have seen victories and seen defeats and have put up with, as all our spouses and children do around here, with late hours, not being home on weekends, and all the demands that go with serving in the Senate.

So I am very honored to have my wife Elizabeth and my daughter Robin in the gallery today.

[Applause.]

I know they join me in expressing our deep appreciation to everyone here and the people of Kansas. As all of us go back who are leaving this year, thinking about leaving in a couple of years, or whatever, you think about the people who sent you here

and the people who tried not to send you here—once you are here, you forget about those. [Laughter.]

And they are all your constituents, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Independents. And four times, my friends in Kansas, Republicans and Democrats and Independents, I believe, gave me their votes for the House of Representatives and five times they have given me their votes to the U.S. Senate. I think to all of us, such trust is perhaps the greatest gift that can come to any citizen in our democracy, and I know I will be forever grateful, as everyone here will be forever grateful, to our friends and our supporters who never gave up on us, who never lost their confidence in us. Maybe they did not like some of our votes, or maybe they did not like other things, but when the chips were down, they were there. We all think of all the phone calls and all the letters and all the visits of people who come to your office with big problems and small. Or you think about the town meetings you have attended. I have attended, as have some others here, town meetings all over America. They are pretty much the same. They are good people, they have real questions, and they like real answers.

I always thought that differences were a healthy thing and that is why we are all so healthy, because we have a lot of differences in this Chamber. I have never seen a healthier group in my life. [Laughter.]

And then there are those on our staff. Sometimes we forget to say thank you. I have had one member of my staff for 30 years, and others for 19, and so on. They have been great, and they have been loyal, and they have been enthusiastic. Their idealism and intelligence and loyalty have certainly meant a lot to me, and I think a lot to other people in this body, and other staff members, and the people they work with on a daily basis. Many are on the Senate floor or in the

gallery today. I just say, thank you very much. We have had a little fun along the way, too. It gets kind of dull around here from time to time, so you have to have a little fun. When you really want to have fun to get away, you can go out to the beach—which is now my “beach,” and I will try to pack it up this afternoon. All of those who served in the Senate—and I see some of my former colleagues here today—and all those who serve the Senate, whether the Parliamentarian or the page, I thank you for all of us for your tireless service.

I do not want my friends in the press gallery to fall out of their seats in shock. But let me add in acknowledgment of those who have worked here in this building I also salute you. I think it is fair to say that we do not always agree with everything you said or wrote, but I know that what you do off this floor is as vital to American democracy as anything we do on it. And we have to keep that in mind.

So I say that it has been a great ride. There have been a few bumps along the way. I have learned a lot from people in this room. I have even gone to Senator Byrd when I was the majority leader to ask his advice on how to defeat him on an issue. If you know Robert Byrd as I do, he gave me the answer. But it was not easy. I mean, this man is determined. I know that in his first book, his great works about the Senate, he writes about when I became the majority leader. He very candidly writes in his book that he had his doubts about this BOB DOLE because I might be too partisan, or I might not work with the minority leader. But I have heard him say a number of times since that I demonstrated that I was not that partisan. And if I understood one thing, as my successor will understand, it is that unless the two leaders are working together, nothing is going to happen in this place. We have to trust each other, as Senator Daschle and I have, as Senator Mitchell and I have, as Senator Byrd and I have. And I also have great respect for Senator Mansfield and Senator Baker, though I did not have the privilege of being in the leadership at that time.

I say to all those who have been in the leadership positions, it is a difficult life. After 2 o'clock today when somebody calls me about bringing up their amendment, I will say that it is all right with me; bring it up any time you want, and I will not stand in your way. [Laughter and Applause.]

I am looking at one of the giants in the Senate right now, Senator Thurmond. And I looked at others on the way in, like Senator Byrd. I thought about Senators Baker, Dirksen,

Russell, and many, many more, Democrats and Republicans, who love this place, who have made it work. I repeat frequently the statement of Senator Dirksen—and I do not know whether he made it on the floor—who said, “A billion here, a billion there, and soon it will add up to real money.” If only he could come back today, it would be “a trillion here and a trillion there.”

Then there was Hubert Humphrey. Nobody ever understood how BOB DOLE and Hubert Humphrey could be such good friends. We did not have a problem at all. And he used to say of his own speeches, “I never thought they were too long. I enjoyed every minute.” [Laughter.]

I remember we were in the hallway one day talking about the talk shows. And, of course, I was only watching them in those days, but he was on one every Sunday. It used to be issues and answers for the normal guest. But for Hubert it was issue and answer—then the time was up.

And then there was Senator Mansfield in just the reverse. When he was on a Sunday talk show, it was “yep,” “nope,” “maybe.” Ten minutes into the program, they were out of questions. [Laughter.]

I remember Russell Long. I remember during the Reagan landslide, I was going to be chairman of the Finance Committee. I did not know how to tell Russell—and I did not. I said, “Who is going to tell Russell?” Nobody was going to tell Russell. Dave Durenberger was there, and I remember the first vote we had. I got to sit in the chair, but when they called the roll, they called the minority side first and then the other side. They said, “Mr. Chairman,”—this was my first time—and he voted “aye.”

It is a true story. Then there is Phil Hart and Dan Inouye. We all met in Battle Creek, MI, at the Percy Jones General Hospital—Lieutenant Colonel Hart, Lieutenant Inouye, and Lieutenant DOLE. We were all patriots. The best bridge player at Percy Jones Hospital was Dan Inouye. Probably one of the best men I ever knew was Phil Hart. He had a flesh wound in his right elbow area, and from morning to night he spent his time running errands or getting tickets for patients to the Detroit Tigers games. His wife was Jane Briggs. It was Briggs Stadium—Briggs owned the Tigers at that time. There was not anything that Phil Hart would not do—not only there but when he came to the U.S. Senate. So I left my proxy with the last of the Percy Jones General Hospital caucus, with Dan Inouye. I wrote him a letter today, I said

you've got my proxy. If anything comes up regarding Percy Jones General Hospital, which is closed—

[Laughter.]

vote me present.

[Laughter.]

I could go on and on. I am not like Senator Byrd because nobody can do it the way Senator Byrd does it.

But I think of all of these people who have come and gone and of all of the new bright stars that are here today on both sides of the aisle, and there is one thing that you do know for certain. This is a great institution.

I have learned another thing that we have all learned in this Chamber and this town. Your word is your bond. If you do not keep your word around here, it does not make much difference what your amendment may be, or whatever it may be. And it is important to all of us. As far as I know everybody that I know on either side observed that rule. It is true in any business or in any profession. It is more true in politics because the American people are looking at us, and they want us to tell the truth. It does not mean that we have to agree. It does not mean we cannot have different motivations. I learned that leadership is a combination of background and backbone. I learned a lot about that from the likes of Senator Byrd and others that I watched and watched.

I know that Senator Warner is the first person to ever mention to me—one day we were at the same place having lunch. He said, "You ought to think about running for leader." I said, "Me?" So I thought about it. [Laughter.]

I thought Ted Stevens was going to be the leader. Where is Ted? Something happened on the way to the vote. [Laughter.]

I walked out of there surprised. When Howard Greene held up his hand, I knew that I must be the leader.

So I would just say that we all know how the political process works. Some people are cynical. Some people think it is awful. Some people do not trust us. But the people who watch this thing day in and day out have a better understanding.

Some people ask me. I remember the Speaker—the Speaker is present—telling me just 10 minutes ago, he really understands now more about the Senate. We have different rules. I love the House of Representatives. I never wanted to be in the House of Representatives. I wanted to be in the Senate. I wanted to be in the Senate where you can have un-

limited debate, where any Senator on either side on any issue can stand up and talk until they drop.

The record is held by the Presiding Officer, Senator Thurmond.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Twenty-four hours and eighteen minutes. [Laughter and Applause.]

Mr. DOLE. That is why you are seldom asked to be an after dinner speaker. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I think sometimes around here we think we have to have everything. "We have to have total victory. I will not settle for less. It has to be my way, or no way." Well, Ronald Reagan said once, "If I can get 90 percent of what I want, I would call that a pretty good deal." Ninety percent is not bad. You can get the other 10 percent later. It is a small amendment then. [Laughter.]

Better understand that—take the 90 and then work on the 10.

I want to say, too, that I read that my resignation and my decision to leave caused astonishment in some quarters, and I do not begrudge anyone their surprise. But I would just want to disabuse anybody about the Senate. This is the great opportunity, and there are hundreds and hundreds and thousands and thousands of people who would give anything they had to be a Member of this body. That is the way it should be. It is very competitive.

So I have said the truth is that I would no more distance myself from the Senate than I would from the United States itself. This is a body that is the reflection of America. It is what America is all about. We come from different States and different backgrounds with different opportunities and different challenges in our lives. And, yes, the institution has its imperfections and occasional inefficiencies. We are like America; we are still a work in progress in the U.S. Senate.

So I would say to my colleagues that I remember way back when I ran for the Kansas Legislature. We had a Democratic law librarian who thought young people ought to get involved in politics. She found two Republicans and two Democrats, and talked us into running for the State legislature. We did not know anything about politics. We did not know what party we were in. We were students; veterans going to school under the GI bill. I thought about which party to belong to. I have said in jest, from time to time I went back to my hometown and went up to the courthouse and found

out there were more Republicans than Democrats. And I became a committed Republican. [Laughter.]

It is not quite accurate. But my parents were Democrats.

I remember the first time I was ever approached by a reporter. Here I was a brand new law student, a brand new legislator. I did not know anything about anything. They said, "Well, what are you going to do now for your district?" Or something of that case. I said, "I am going to sit around and watch for a couple of days, and then stand up for what is right."

Well, that is what we all do around here. I hope I have done it over the years.

I will take a minute or two to indulge in some of the things that we all have different interests in. I have been deeply involved in agriculture, as many of you have here, because Kansas is a farm State. When I came to Congress, I was on the House Agriculture Committee. I have been on the Senate Agriculture Committee ever since. So I am proud of having served the farm families of Kansas and around America who make a lot of sacrifices.

This year we did not have a wheat crop, hardly at all, in Kansas because of the drought. I am advised by Senator Dorgan that they are not going to have much of one because of the rains and the water.

So farmers make a lot of sacrifices. I remember back during the Vietnam debate. Some of us were here. Some were on each side of the issue. The so-called Cooper-Church amendment that went on and on and on, week after week after week on whether we ought to withdraw our troops, or shut off funding, which I thought was wrong. As I look back on it, I think I was right because we had courageous men like Bob Kerrey, John McCain, and others in this Chamber who were risking their lives, and they deserved our support. That was a big debate at the time.

I have also been proud to be involved in nutrition programs. Somebody mentioned that earlier today. I remember working with Senator McGovern on that, and there was a conservative article saying I cannot be a conservative because I know George McGovern. I think George McGovern is a gentleman and has always been a gentleman. But we worked together on food stamps. I will confess, when I made my first tour with George McGovern, I said, "This guy is running for President." I was not convinced. There were a lot of skeptics in this Chamber; probably some on each side. You cannot have truer motives. It is always something political.

But after being on that trip about 2 or 3 days, I changed my mind. Senator Hollings from South Carolina was in the forefront of that effort. He remembers how bad it was.

So we worked together on food stamps, the WIC Program, and the School Lunch Program, particularly when it affected poorer Americans. I think, as I look at it, that no first-class democracy would treat its people like second-class citizens.

I remember standing on this floor managing the Martin Luther King holiday bill. We had the majority. It was a proud day for me. It is now a national holiday.

The first speech I ever made on the floor was April 14, 1969, about disabled Americans.

There are a lot of people in this room who have worked on this program. I know Senator Kennedy and Senator Harkin and Senator Durenberger, when he was here, and Senator Jennings Randolph before—maybe before many of you came—was in the forefront. We stood with many who could not stand on their own, and the highlight was passing the Americans With Disabilities Act. Forty-three million Americans—they are not all seriously disabled, but there are many in wheelchairs, many who cannot even sit up. It was a very impressive sight to be at the White House the day that bill was signed by President Bush, and I am forever grateful. I know Senator Kennedy and Senator Harkin are. Have you ever seen so many wheelchairs at the White House at a signing ceremony? Never. And now more and more Americans with disabilities are full participants in the process. They are in the mainstream.

So, I remember in 1983—I know Pat Moynihan remembers—we were standing right over in this aisle. We had a bipartisan commission on Social Security. We had met week after week, month after month. It was about to go down the drain. We had about given up. Everybody was disgusted. We were getting short-tempered. We were Democrats and Republicans. At the time the late John Heinz was a member of the commission. As member of the Finance Committee, I was a member. Senator Moynihan was a member. And Senator Moynihan—I think just by chance or fate or whatever—and I happened to meet in this aisle on my right. We said we have to try one more time to rescue Social Security—one more time.

It was not a partisan issue. And we did. That afternoon we convened three more people, we had five of the commission, and it was not long until we were back on track. We finally

made it happen, and 37 million people have gotten their checks on time.

I think I read in the Washington Post just this weekend, Social Security is going to be in pretty good shape until the year 2029. So that is a pretty good fix. Maybe, as I said earlier in the day, that is a pattern we can follow for Medicare for the long-term solution: Take it out of politics as we did on Social Security, make it work, make it solvent. And the people who get the credit are the people who get the checks—37 million of them. So, we reached across partisan lines.

So, I worry a little about the future. I worry about our defenses. I know there are a lot of very talented people here who are going to continue to do that. I am not here to make a partisan speech or even a partisan reference, but I would hope that we would keep in mind there are still threats around the world and also keep in mind that we are the envy of the world.

I learned, meeting with a lot of leaders, foreign leaders, as leaders get to do in this business—the chairmen of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senators Helms and Pell and others, Senator Lugar when he was chairman—I remember when the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet empire collapsed, a lot of people started coming to America. They were leaders. They were young and they were old and they were men and they were women, and they did not come for foreign aid. The cynics said, “Oh, they are coming after more of our money.” They knew we did not have any. But for the first time in 70 years, in some cases, they had a right to travel. They could get on an airplane without checking with the government and waiting for a year or 2 years or 3 years. They could go to church, they could vote—all these basic rights that we take for granted. And they came to America.

Some are now Presidents, like Lech Walesa, some are leaders of their party. As they came to our offices, and I am certain it was true in every other office, they did not ask for money. They wanted to come to America to see America. They wanted to take a look at America. And I can recall almost everyone who left my office, sometimes with tears streaming down their cheeks, saying, “We want to be like America.”

We are the envy of the world. That is why so many people want to be like we are.

So, we have lit Liberty’s torch with a glow that can truly light the world. That is what America is all about. We are

much more than a place on a map. We are the United States, and we are a beacon of hope. We are a magnet for the oppressed and a shield against those who would put the soul itself in bondage.

I think we did that in Kuwait, and we may be called on to do it again. But I would guess one thing. I would hope, when they catalog all the amendments and all the bills and do all the commentaries, whenever it is all over for us here, that we have left our children something other than a legacy of debt. Our children are important. None of us have a perfect solution, but there has to be some solution here where we can come together, Republicans and Democrats, because everybody loves their children. Everybody loves their grandchildren. We have all these young pages here. We have an example every day of young people who want to get ahead, who are willing to work. They just want the opportunity.

I think, if I could hope that anything might happen, it probably will not happen today, but this year or next year—I felt strongly about the balanced budget, but not enough people did. But that will be around.

So I would close with, again, thanking all of my colleagues. I do not believe—I am just trying to think back—I do not believe we have ever had any real disagreements. I remember one time, I remind the Democratic leader, that I offered an amendment that you thought you were going to offer, and I made a mistake. I was not trying to one-up the Senator from South Dakota. So I withdraw my amendment. Then he offered the amendment. I think that is called civility.

So, I would close with the words of my hero, Dwight Eisenhower, because he was our supreme commander. He also came from Abilene, KS; born in Texas but quickly moved to Kansas. He was only 2 years old. It took a while. But, in any event—this is his quote.

As we peer into society's future, we—you and I—and our Government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow.

We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

I think those words are just as good today as they were 35 years ago when President Eisenhower spoke them. We can lead or we can mislead as the people's Representatives, but whatever we do, we will be held responsible. We are going

to be held responsible and accountable. I am not talking about 1996. I am talking about any time over the next century.

So the Bible tells us that to everything there is a season, and I think my season in the Senate is about to come to an end. But the new season makes this moment far less the closing of one chapter than the opening of another. We all take pride in the past, but we all live for the future.

I agree with prairie poet Carl Sandburg, who told us:

Yesterday is wind gone down,  
a sun dropped in the West.  
I tell you that there is nothing in the world,  
Only an ocean of tomorrows,  
A sky of tomorrows.

Like everybody here, I am an optimist. I believe our best tomorrows are yet to be lived. So I, again, thank you.

God bless America, and God bless the U.S. Senate.

[Applause, Senators rising.]

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, there is no question that some of the most eloquent speeches I have heard since I have been in the Senate were presented this morning by Senators on both sides of the aisle as a tribute to our good friend and majority leader, BOB DOLE. They really were very impressive in terms of the relationship that Senators have had with Senator DOLE and their love for him and for this institution. Many Senators have enjoyed working with Senator DOLE and have learned a great deal from him. Certainly, I am one of those that has been studying at the feet of BOB DOLE. It has been something to behold. He is truly a master of how to get things done. We can all learn from that. I hope that I am one that has learned and will remember those lessons.

I served in the House for a number of years after having worked for a Democratic Congressman named Bill Colmer, the chairman of the Rules Committee. Until this very day, when I remember the lessons I should have learned from that old gentleman, I do well. When I forget those lessons, I usually get in trouble. So I think that as we go through life and as we go through political life, as we work in Government, and as we go through our daily activities in the Senate, there are certain giants like BOB DOLE that we can and should all learn from.

Madam President, there is a little known custom, I guess, in the Senate for Members to carve their names in the drawers of their desks. In fact, when constituents come on the

floor when we are not in session, that is one of the things they find most interesting. They pull the drawers out and see who signed these desks.

When you look into some of these desks, you find the great—and sometimes not so great—names of the past. They are a veritable rollcall of our country's history.

In 28 years in the Senate, BOB DOLE did more than make his mark upon a congressional desk. He made his mark upon this institution, not just its legislation, but more importantly, its character.

He devoted most of his career to the Senate, but not because this Chamber and its business were an end in itself. For BOB DOLE, serving the Senate was serving his country.

That service took precedence over most other considerations in his life.

Indeed, it took precedence over his Presidential campaign—until today.

The reason BOB DOLE will not be with us on the Senate floor after today is no great secret.

The reason is that he was convinced he would better serve his country by restoring leadership to its Presidency than by handling the day to day affairs of the Congress.

We all know it was hard for him to leave, and it was hard for us to see him leave. It affected us all, and it reminded us once again who we are and what we are about in this institution. Those who really know BOB DOLE know that he is leaving not out of ambition for higher rank, but out of determination to finish the fight and be in a position to do all that he can do for his country.

That fight, in terms of his country's future, is every bit as important as the fight which gravely injured the young BOB DOLE in 1944.

There are some who think of duty as a burden, heavy to bear and best shrugged off onto someone else.

There are others who embrace duty, and carry it proudly, and do not put it down until the journey is done.

In walking out of this Chamber today, BOB DOLE carries with him a lifetime of duty.

As we saw him exit this door, we all felt an emotional surge, and every Member of this Senate knows he will not put that responsibility and duty down.

No one would understand better than BOB that not every Senator wants him to succeed in his present mission. Indeed, a goodly part of this body will move Heaven and Earth to prevent that success.

That is not perfidy. It is democracy.

It is something BOB DOLE went to war to defend, and something he still can appreciate more than most of us.

But I dare say, despite the political and partisan divisions on this Senate floor, as we quite often experience, all of us understand something historic is happening here today.

Something none of us will soon forget.

It brings to my mind two other reluctant departures in our Nation's past.

The first would be Washington's reluctant leaving of Mount Vernon to assume a position he did not seek, but which his countrymen insisted he take.

The second would be Lee's agonized departure from his post of military honor to fulfill what he considered a higher duty.

Were he here, BOB DOLE would modestly dismiss any comparison with Washington or Lee—or any other of American's great statesmen of the past.

He would rather let the future judge such things, and so should we.

Whatever the outcome of this year, whatever the course of its conflicts and controversies, the future holds a place for BOB DOLE as a giant of the Senate, a man set apart from most by a quiet passion for his country that we are only now beginning to understand.

But Lord willing, we will benefit from it for years to come.

Mr. EXON. I just want to say a few words about my friend BOB DOLE. I suspect my feelings are not significantly different by what has been thought and what has been said by my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. So aside from the BOB DOLE that we all know so very, very well, I just want to say that I was pleased to be here and to hear that excellent speech that Senator DOLE gave as his farewell address in the U.S. Senate. It was sad in lots of ways, and yet it was so reassuring to see someone of the integrity, the ability, the character, and the good nature of BOB DOLE spelled out in that speech so very, very well. I hope that many, many people in the United States heard that speech by my friend and colleague, the man from Kansas.

I have worked with him so very, very long on so many issues. Many times we have been on the same side, but on many of the items we have been on opposite sides. But never, as Senator DOLE mentioned in his speech this morning, has he ever, to my knowledge, violated that cardinal rule of the U.S. Senate—unwritten, which is just as effective:

A man's word or a woman's word is their bond. In all of these nearly 18 years that I have had the pleasure of my association with BOB DOLE, I have never known BOB even to give a hint of breaking his word, because if there was ever a man in the U.S. Senate for whom we all know his word is his bond, that is BOB DOLE.

On a personal note, I just want to say when I saw BOB walk out after his address, it took me back to times in all of our lives when there have been breakups. I suppose the first was when we graduated from grade school and that old gang of ours broke up and went on through our educational process. And certainly it is true. When you left the service of the United States of America, that old gang was broken up. That old gang that BOB DOLE was with was suddenly broken up when he nearly gave his life in combat, in defense of the national security interests of the United States of America and the free world. But I thought of that breakup when I saw BOB walk out that door an hour or so ago.

BOB DOLE meant so much to me because, despite our differences from time to time, we always had an excellent personal working relationship. He came into Nebraska on two or three occasions to support my opponent in one of my races. But never did BOB DOLE say anything bad about Jim Exon, even though he could have probably found some legitimate things that he could and maybe should have said. But that was not BOB's way. BOB came into Nebraska, and he campaigned for my Republican opponent—not against Jim Exon. I think that is the mark of not only a great statesman but a very effective leader, which he was of his party as majority leader on that side, but also someone that you could be truly proud of and call your friend.

Little known outside the Senate, I suspect, was BOB's strongest characteristic, and that was his sense of humor. I am not sure that the public at large has understood that. But I have had an ongoing relationship—very friendly—with BOB DOLE on many, many occasions. In fact, this year when he was running for President of the United States, I suggested to him—and he knew it was facetious—that I might consider a draft to be his Vice Presidential running mate, if he was interested in that. BOB knows that I am a Democrat—always have been and always will be, and we had lots of jokes about that. But over the years of friendship, over the years of serving on very tough issues, sometimes we were maybe at sword's point, one would think, when we were debating a measure of some importance on the floor of the U.S.

Senate. BOB DOLE never lost his sense of humor. He never forgot his sense of humor. And I think that is what helped carry him through probably that life-threatening wound that he received in battle and probably through some of the more heated debates that have taken place here on the Senate floor. I have never seen BOB DOLE do anything but smile when someone said something or told him something that he thought was humor.

So I am saddened by the fact that a coworker for whom I have great respect, has made a choice that I think was the right choice for him to make, especially with regard to the heavy responsibility that he carries for his party, and he will carry in the Presidential election this year. In that regard, maybe I can sum up my feelings, friendship, and understanding with BOB DOLE by a statement that I made to him in one of our more humorous conversations maybe 6 months ago right in the heat of those very tough Republican primaries for President of the United States. I said to BOB DOLE, "You know, BOB, if we have to have a Republican President"—then I repeated it—"if we have to have a Republican President, I hope it is you." People that do not understand humor might think that was a cutting thing for Jim Exon to say, but BOB DOLE knew what I was saying. BOB DOLE knows that myself and all, likely, on both sides of the aisle respect not only the man's talent but the man's sense of responsibility and his sense of humor which has endeared him to those of us on both sides of the aisle.

Godspeed, BOB DOLE, to you and your wonderful wife, Elizabeth. You are a great couple. And whatever the future holds, we will always hold you in high esteem.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Nebraska for his kind remarks about our friend BOB DOLE, which were very eloquent. I think he expressed it beautifully for a lot of Democrats. I think everyone in this body has tremendous esteem and affection and love for BOB DOLE. He is one of the all-time great Senators. There is no question about it. He will go down in history as one of the all-time great Senators.

Mr. President, 20 years ago, when I was first sworn in as the junior Senator from Utah, BOB DOLE was among the first of my Republican colleagues to come up and put his arm around me, and helped guide me and helped me to learn the ropes.

I rise today to thank him for that, and for his extraordinary leadership in the years since. When the citizens from

Kansas elected BOB DOLE as their Senator, they chose a man who epitomizes the qualities of mainstream America, a team player, a war hero who demonstrated tremendous courage and perseverance both on the battlefield and afterward, a hard worker and an honest and decent man, a man whom all Americans can look up to.

By now, most of us are aware of the wounds Lieutenant DOLE suffered on that April morning in 1945. That was about the same time that my brother was killed in the Second World War. BOB DOLE could have been killed too, and almost was.

We have also heard about his amazing and long recovery. But less is known about how BOB DOLE was injured. Richard Ben Cramer's book, "What it Takes," tells us how:

DOLE got his men down to the low stone wall. DOLE could have stayed in the middle [of the platoon]. But he knew his job, and he did it. He was out in front, with the lead squad.

They were pinned down quick. They were pinned down in the field, when a farmhouse on the left opened fire: a Jerry machine-gun nest . . . the men in the field were hamburger.

DOLE had to get that machine gun. The lead squad was going to have to flank that house and get that nest of Krauts [sic]. Sergeant Carafa assumed he'd be going out with the squad, but DOLE said, "Sergeant, I'll take 'em."

BOB DOLE saw many men die trying to knock out that machine gun. It was that morning, trying to take it out, that he was wounded. BOB DOLE could have let someone else go out with the squad. BOB DOLE could have stayed behind and provided cover. BOB DOLE could have stayed in the middle. Instead, BOB DOLE was out in front.

BOB DOLE has been out in front ever since. He became a skillful legislator. He knew how to get things done around here. But he also knew that duty required him to take action when it wasn't always in his own best interest or when he saw public policy going down the wrong path.

Take, for example, his leadership on addressing the crime issue. Throughout his career, BOB DOLE consistently supported legislation to fight crime and help the victims of crime. From the Organized Crime Control Act of 1969 to the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, BOB DOLE has fought to bring accountability to the criminal justice system. But, in 1994, Senator DOLE stood up for what he thought was right and opposed the so-called Crime Control Act of 1994 because it was a pork-laden, big dollar, Great Society social spending boondoggle. Some of our colleagues thought we had lost our minds when we opposed a

so-called crime bill in an election year. But BOB DOLE did it because it was the right thing to do.

He worked tirelessly for comprehensive habeas corpus reform. He worked to crack down on frivolous inmate lawsuits and was at the forefront of reform when, in 1984, he cosponsored the Sentencing Reform Act, which brought truth-in-sentencing to the Federal system.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE has been a leader and a fighter for civil rights from the beginning of his career. Senator DOLE knows full well that prejudice and artificial barriers can hold a person down. As a Member of the other body, he voted for landmark legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was a leader in the effort to extend the Voting Rights Act in 1982. In 1967, then Congressman DOLE voted for the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. In 1990, Senator DOLE supported the expansion and clarification of this law to protect older workers from the loss of their employee benefits.

Senator DOLE led the passage of the Martin Luther King holiday bill. It was a bill I voted against, and I consider it the worst mistake I have made in my 20 years here. I thought that we should not add another holiday due to both the public and private sector costs involved. But, frankly, in hindsight, I made a mistake.

BOB DOLE, however, did what was right, and he brought that bill up and helped to pass it.

He played a key leadership role in enacting the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act. I worked hard on that bill, and I know what he did. I was in the late night meetings. As the ranking Republican on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, I was in the leadership meetings. I have to tell you, without BOB DOLE, that bill would not have passed. The ADA extended civil rights protections and opportunities to millions of Americans with disabilities. I can remember when it passed, he and I had tears in our eyes because it was such a monumental day.

Yes, BOB DOLE has been there for the big fights, let me tell you.

BOB DOLE recognizes that rights inhere in individuals, not groups. In 1995, he introduced the Equal Opportunity Act, which prohibits racial, ethnic, and gender preferences in Federal employment, Federal contracting, and federally administered programs. He sparked a healthy and timely national debate on affirmative action. In his view, every Amer-

ican should be treated with equal rights under the law, without preference based on race, ethnicity, or gender.

BOB DOLE helped build the Republican Party that we have today. He helped build the Republican majority we have today. There were no litmus tests under BOB DOLE's leadership. He successfully knit together Senators from Alaska to Virginia to form a working team whose sole purpose was to achieve the goals for America that we all held in common—goals that I personally believe we hold in common with the American people.

We are going to miss BOB DOLE in the U.S. Senate. I suspect even his worthy adversaries on the Democratic side have come to admire his determination, skill, and faithfulness to the people he represents. I believe there is unanimous agreement in this body that BOB DOLE served with honor and distinction as one of the greatest Senators in the history of this Federal Republic.

I have to say something here that I am sure BOB DOLE does not know, but I am going to say it publicly because it means so much to me. My brother died shortly before BOB DOLE got wounded in the Second World War. My brother was very dear to me. I was only 10 years old when he died. When we received the news, I immediately got a white streak of hair on the right side of my forehead because it was such a shock to me.

He was killed in the Ploiesti oil raid, which, of course, was the pivotal oil raid of the European war because it knocked out all of the Vienna-Austrian oilfields that Hitler depended on. But Jess' death was a tremendous shock to us.

When I came to the Senate, BOB DOLE put his arm around me. He looked like my brother, to a large degree. My brother had the same color hair, was about the same height, about the same build. My brother was a football player as well. He looked a lot like my brother. I have always considered BOB DOLE, for good or bad, to be my brother.

I have tremendous respect and admiration for this man, this fellow who has given so much to his country and who, if everybody in America knew him—knew him like we do—there would be no question that he would be the next President of the United States.

I have to say I love BOB DOLE. Elaine does, too. We love his wife Liddy. She is a tremendous human being. As both chairman and ranking member of the Labor Committee, I worked with Liddy Dole, who served as President Bush's Secretary of Labor. I have to tell you I appreciated those

days and appreciated her kindnesses to me and her great work for the country.

Today, BOB DOLE is leaving the Senate to pursue a different calling. Yet it still is the calling of public service. He did not have to leave the Senate. Nobody could have pushed him out of here. It would have been safer to stay. But we have already learned that BOB DOLE does not stay safely in the foxholes. That is not what we expect of our leaders, and BOB DOLE, in my opinion, has what it takes.

Whatever the future may hold for BOB and Elizabeth Dole, I just want to wish them both happiness and Godspeed.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in recent years, many in the media, the public, and even some Members of Congress, have come to regard those who seek positions in the public sector with some amount of contempt and mistrust. Most of us in this Chamber know such characterizations are not only unfair and inaccurate, but do much to harm the sanctity and reputation of a body dedicated to debate and providing for the Nation.

The large majority of those who become Government officials are honorable individuals, but there are a handful of Senators in particular whose conduct and dedication to service are above reproach, and who stand as living contradictions to those who believe that this is an ineffective and partisan body. These Senators are men and women of principle who are dedicated to the noble cause of working to benefit all the people of the United States. Today, it is with great regret that I mark the departure of a man who sets a standard for service to the Senate and the Nation that is truly unmatched—the majority leader and Senator from Kansas BOB DOLE.

I doubt it came as a surprise to anyone in Russell, KS, when BOB DOLE first ran for elected office in 1951. The bright young war veteran and attorney had already established a well-deserved reputation for courage and hard work when he declared his candidacy for a seat in that State's House of Representatives. It was these two simple attributes that not only help BOB DOLE to win that election, but have helped to guide him through life of challenges, hardships, and accomplishments.

The heartlands of the Kansan prairies are where BOB DOLE learned about being tough and not giving in when in the same situation the average person might simply give up the fight. While this is a region of simple beauty, kind people, and strong values, during the time of BOB DOLE's youth

it was also a place that was rife with hardships for those who lived there. It was a place where hard work was not a virtue, it was a necessity for survival, especially during the Nation's most severe economic crisis, the Great Depression.

In his hometown of Russell, KS, BOB DOLE also learned about things such as patriotism and a commitment to serving the Nation. He was taught that these words represented more than mere ideas or ideals, they were part of the responsibilities of citizenship in this great land. During World War II, BOB DOLE served his country as an officer in the Army, and when he was ordered to lead an attack on a German-held hill in Italy, Lt. BOB DOLE never had any question about his duty. It was this dedication to duty, a commitment to serving the Nation, and pure, unadulterated courage that sent Lieutenant DOLE up that hill, and it was those same qualities that not only saved his life after being gravely wounded by hostile fire, but gave his life purpose in the years following his near life-ending injuries.

As he lay in a hospital bed, it took a man of fortitude, determination, and courage to face 39 months of surgery, convalescence, and rehabilitation. It took courage, fortitude, and determination for BOB DOLE to face the fact that his dream of becoming a doctor and helping others had ended. It took courage, fortitude, and determination for him to make the decision to not make his disabilities a handicap, but to force forward with life and to dedicate himself to serving others through public service rather than medicine. It took a man of fortitude, determination, and courage to learn again how to do all the things that you and I take for granted; to go back to school in order to finish his undergraduate degree and earn a law degree; and, to begin his career. Simply put, it took grit to survive what BOB DOLE survived and to essentially start life anew.

Since entering politics and public service, BOB DOLE has never looked back and he has never faltered in his duties. He has approached each position he has held with enthusiasm and has earned a reputation for thoroughness, fairness, and honesty. These qualities, along with those outlined earlier, endeared him to his fellow Kansans who sent him on to positions of progressively more importance and responsibility. From the Kansas Legislature, he served as Russell County attorney, and then as a U.S. Congressman for four terms before coming to the U.S. Senate in 1968. It is here that I met BOB DOLE and immediately took a liking to this serious-minded fellow veteran who had a pragmatic ap-

proach to the issues before the Nation, and a fire in him to serve.

Over the next 28 years, I became quite fond of Senator DOLE as a colleague and a friend. I was pleased to watch him grow into his position as a Senator and to become one of the leading spokesmen for our party not only in this body, but throughout the Nation. His abilities as a public servant did not escape many, including President Gerald Ford, who selected Senator DOLE to be his running mate in 1976. The longer BOB DOLE served in the Senate, the more prominent and critical his role became in the legislative process. His razor sharp mind gave him an encyclopedic familiarity with legislation and legislative procedure, both which he put to good use as he ascended the ladder of Senate leadership. Furthermore, his years of experience as a Member of Congress gave him an insight into the affairs of the Nation that could be matched by a few with whom he served, and made him a valued adviser to fellow Senators, and to Presidents. In short, BOB DOLE was, and continues to be, a man of tremendous abilities and background whose experience allows him to have an impact on the governing of the United States that is unique and nothing short of beneficial.

It seems hard to believe that BOB DOLE is leaving the Senate. After almost 30 years of prominent and dedicated service, he seems as much a part of this building as the statute of Armed Freedom which sits atop the Capitol and guards the District and the Nation. More important and significant than merely enduring the rigors and battles of the Senate for almost three decades is that during his life and in his tenure in Congress, BOB DOLE has made a difference in the history of the United States. Among other things, he has stood tall for a budget that will not saddle future generations with an unfair debt; he has fought hard to give our men and women in uniform the resources they need to keep America free and safe; he remained firm on the need for drawing the line against the crime and criminals that prey on innocent Americans; he did not flinch in working to contain our former Communist enemies; and, he has worked hard to ensure that the United States maintains the most dynamic economy in the world. Time and time again, BOB DOLE has been on the right side of the issues, working to create legislation and policy that is beneficial to the citizens of this Nation, and leading this body toward a vision of an America that is safe, wealthy, and full of opportunity as long as there is a United States. It is with no small regret that I say I will miss my

colleague, my leader, and most importantly, my friend, BOB DOLE. I wish him well and thank him for his service, and for the example he has set for selflessness, patriotism, and humility.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, today a giant in the annals of the U.S. Senate, Senator ROBERT DOLE of Kansas, the Republican leader, has chosen to leave this great institution to pursue and, I believe to win the Presidency of the United States. The Senate will never be quit the same; for Senator DOLE has that rare and admired quality of making things happen, getting things done, and moving this tradition-layered institution forward.

All of BOB DOLE's adult life had been spent in service to the American public and today he has not ended that service. He is just entering the final phase of his public service—campaigning for the highest office in the land.

Mr. President, for the past 16 years, I have been privileged to represent the people of the State of Alaska in the Senate. And throughout my tenure in the Senate, BOB DOLE has been a friend to the people of Alaska and a leader who has always been sensitive to the special needs of our young State.

BOB has traveled extensively in Alaska. And he understands that unlike States that entered the Union in the 18th and 19th centuries, Alaska, which has only been a State since 1959, is far more dependent than other States on decisions made in Washington.

Almost 70 percent of Alaska is owned by the Federal Government. Fifty-four million acres of Park Service land is in Alaska—68 percent of all Park Service land in the Nation. Fifty-seven million acres of designated wilderness is located in Alaska. That's over 60 percent of all wilderness lands in the country.

And 76 million acres of Fish and Wildlife Service land is in Alaska—That's 85 percent of all Fish and Wildlife Service land in the United States.

The purpose in providing these statistics is to reiterate to my fellow Senators that almost any economic activity that is done in Alaska can only get started if the Federal Government does not stand in the way. BOB DOLE has always understood that.

BOB DOLE also understands that our natural resources can be developed in a responsible manner using our best technology without harming our environment.

BOB DOLE does not sell America's technology and ingenuity short—he believes that it is better to harvest our abundant resources in an environmentally responsible manner rather than sending our dollars and jobs overseas by importing resources.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE has served as the Republican leader for more than 11 years—longer than any Republican leader in history. He has had to juggle and balance the interests of States as different as Florida and Alaska in order to get legislation from the drawing boards to President's desk.

Throughout all of the time I have known BOB, he has never sacrificed what is important to Alaska's 600,000 citizens in order to get a piece of legislation adopted. In fact, it was BOB DOLE's leadership that ensured that for the first time last year, Congress authorized oil exploration in ANWR.

And when BOB DOLE moves to the White House next year, Alaskans can be assured that the roadblock to our economic development will finally be removed. He knows that America's economic security cannot be assured so long as we are dependent on foreign countries for more than 50 percent of our energy needs.

Mr. President, Alaskans will miss Senator DOLE's leadership and sensitivity to our State's needs. I will miss him as a person and friend that I have grown accustomed to talking with every day. BOB DOLE's destiny will take him to even greater challenges and responsibilities next year. And I know he will always keep Alaska's special needs in mind whenever he makes decisions on economic policy.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we have just said goodbye to the majority leader, who has just retired. He has left the Senate with great support from those of us who have known him and really do have a great love for BOB DOLE.

I have known him since he was a Member of the House. I was not a Member of the House, but I knew he was there in the House. BOB DOLE and I came to the Senate at the same time. As he leaves today, I am, as he just said, the sole survivor of the class of 1968. He has been a great friend of mine. I have been on the floor before to say how I felt about BOB DOLE.

I have also remarked about the fact that he has also been a great friend of the State I represent. He assisted us greatly in the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act, which paved the way for the trans-Alaska pipeline. He assisted me many times in matters pertaining to the

oceans—the Fishery Conservation Act, which protects the fisheries off our shores. He voted with us on the Alaska Lands Act, on issues that we tried to change in that bill in 1980. He and Elizabeth Dole were very helpful in assisting us on the Alaska Railroad transfer. As a matter of fact, as I have told many of my friends, their Christmas card that year was the photograph of the Secretary of Transportation and her husband standing at the back of the superintendent's car on the Alaska Railroad. That was Elizabeth's trip to Alaska, and BOB was traveling with his wife in her official capacity. He was of great assistance to me at the time that we had the terrible disaster of the Exxon Valdez oil spill. I could go on and on and talk about things that BOB has done with me.

What I really want to talk about, though, today is BOB DOLE as a leader. As he said to some of us today, he believed that, as the leader, he tried to reach out to those of us here in the Senate who might disagree with him, and reach out to Americans. Recently, we had a report of a poll in my State that showed BOB DOLE is more popular than almost any of us who are elected officials in Alaska. He is well known in the north country because they know that he has gone out of the way on the campaign trail to go as far away as Alaska. I am one of those.

There are not very many of us remaining here now who saw service in World War II. Part of my role has been to work as chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee to assure that we keep the mandate we received from the Constitution to provide for the common defense.

BOB DOLE has never, ever voted against those of us who believe in a strong defense. He joined all of us who worked together in the Reagan years to see to it that we could rebuild our national defenses—really our total military capability—at the time that the Soviets were going into an enormous military monolithic Communist dictatorship. He was quite successful in getting the Senate to help President George Bush at the time of the Desert Storm victory. He knows the value of defense. One of the issues he is talking about now, as he leaves us, is our missile defense system.

He has told us himself today about his role in the Disabilities Act. He has worked with us in child nutrition, and he certainly has been responsible for the family tax credits coming back to where they should be. We hope to really increase those in the future. As was remarked here on the floor by our leader, he has reduced the tax rates in our country from

a maximum of 90 percent to a maximum of just over 30 percent—for most Americans, 28 percent.

But I am really full of memories today as we have seen our leader leave us because, as he mentioned in his statement, in 1984, I, too, was a candidate to become the leader of the Senate. After several votes, it came down to a contest between Senator DOLE and myself.

During the counting of the vote, he came over and congratulated me and thought that I had won. To the contrary. He won the election by a narrow vote. At that time, I asked for recognition and asked Senate Republicans to vote unanimously for Senator DOLE because it was clear we needed a united Republican group in the Senate to move forward. In retrospect, I think that was probably one of the smartest moves I ever made and one of the best votes I cast—to assure that BOB DOLE was elected the leader of the Republican side unanimously. He has shown us what he can do.

I want the Senate to know how much he demonstrated his philosophy of reaching out. After that election, he asked me to come see him, and he told me that he had some things in mind. For instance, one of the things he wanted to do was have the Senate more involved in the oversight of the arms control negotiations that were going on at that time. He asked me to chair the arms control observers group which he created at that time. He got the support of the minority, and we created a bipartisan group that played, I think, a very successful role in working on arms control negotiations.

He also came to me—I think this is probably not too well known in the Senate—and said that he was disappointed that the move to bring television to the Senate had failed, and he asked me if I would work with others in the Senate to bring that about. It was at that time a privilege, really, to represent the leader in meeting with Senators from the other side and on our side of the aisle. There were some Senators who changed their positions when they realized that the new leader was very sincere and wanted to have the American public know what was going on in the Senate.

I think that the Senate has been changed by television coverage in the Senate—some good and some bad, but mostly good. I believe it has demonstrated for the country what is ahead of us if BOB DOLE is successful in his new quest, because he does reach out for people. He makes sure that everyone involved around him has a meaningful role and listens. He listens to advice. If there is one thing that I think can be assured in the days ahead, it is that candidate DOLE

is going to listen to America and America is going to listen to candidate DOLE. For myself, I can think of no better thing for the country than to know that we go to the beginning of the new millennium with a new President.

So I hope, Mr. President, that this day, this decision that my good friend has made to leave this Senate, which he loves and we all love, proves to be the right decision for him and for the country. I know that he has not left our hearts because those of us who know him will be with him all the way along the trail.

As the statement made by Theodore Roosevelt was read today in our meeting, as we gave him the bust of Teddy Roosevelt, BOB DOLE has known both victory and defeat, and he has shown his courage and his ability to stay the course. I believe he has what it takes. I hope he will know victory in the days ahead.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise to salute the energy, intelligence, and personal strength of a man who is leaving a remarkable career in the U.S. Senate, the majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE.

Many of my colleagues have worked with Senator DOLE far longer than I, but it didn't take me long after I arrived here in 1993 to develop a healthy respect for his skill as a legislator and for his ability to lead his Republican colleagues. Moreover, it quickly became clear to me that Senator DOLE is a man shaped and defined by his ability to meet challenges without flinching and to overcome them.

He has been accorded well-deserved praise from both sides of the aisle, and his colleagues on the other side have demonstrated their respect for his abilities by making him the longest-serving Republican majority leader in the Senate's history.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE's government career since he joined the Senate in 1968 is widely known and respected. He has played a pivotal role in the passage of several pieces of important legislation, including, for example, the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act in 1990.

For many years, Senator DOLE was a supporter of legislation to protect civil rights. For example, his efforts were crucial in the passage of the renewal of the Voting Rights Act in 1982.

His imprint is also on the Food Stamp Program, on Social Security, and other important measures.

One legislative achievement that may not get much notice, but which helps some of our Nation's most vulnerable people,

is Senator DOLE's support for the Program of All-Inclusive Care for the Elderly, or PACE. Senator DOLE and I share an interest in this innovative long-term care program, which is a nationwide effort to integrate services for certain elderly Medicare and Medicaid patients. PACE has managed to provide an extensive array of services while saving money, both laudable goals.

On another issue—committing United States forces to Bosnia—Senator DOLE and I were in disagreement, but even though we were on opposite sides of the final vote to send American troops there, I recognized his efforts to work for bipartisanship and to take a risk to support what he regarded as the necessary action in this area.

Mr. President, it is unfortunate that, during an election year, the Senate is so often consumed by partisan tensions and maneuvers. Nevertheless, the U.S. Senate is an institution where it is possible to reach across the aisle and find common ground.

Senator DOLE has devoted many, many years to the Senate and to working on issues of enormous public interest. He has earned the respect and admiration of all of his colleagues, Republicans and Democrats alike.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE will be long-remembered in the U.S. Senate, and this Chamber will simply not be the same without him.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today the Senate loses one of its true legislative craftsmen. When I came to the Senate, BOB DOLE had already earned a reputation as a legislator, a Republican who could cross the aisle to work with Democrats to solve problems and reach compromise. This is the essence of the Senate. I soon learned that the reputation of the Senator from Kansas was well earned. Over the years my respect for his ability to craft a legislative solution has grown. We will all miss his skill.

We will also miss BOB DOLE for his sense of humor. The Senate can be a place of high drama, high pressure, and sometimes high dudgeon. BOB DOLE, who has himself shown a real bite from time to time, and who is a tough fighter for his point of view, more often than not is able to defuse the situation, and sometimes disarm his opponents with a quip or a flash of his wit which leaves them laughing.

But, most of all, Mr. President, BOB DOLE will be remembered in the Senate as a man of his word. There is no greater compliment which one Senator can pay to another.

In this body, a Senator is only as good, only as reliable, only as effective, as his or her word. Senator ROBERT DOLE has earned the respect of all who have served with him in this Senate.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, there are few true heroes in this country, but one who has lived in our midst for many years is BOB DOLE, who has accomplished so much in his life and is going off to accomplish more. He was a hero in war who now and forever will bear the scars of his service to his country. And he is a hero in peace—a man who can maneuver through the legislative trenches with grace and daring, avoiding minefields and pitfalls, running the gauntlet while dodging bomb blasts from his opponents.

He leaves us today to enter a new battleground, where, I have no doubt, he will prevail with the same creativity and tenacity that had made him such an able Senate leader.

BOB DOLE has the experience, the temperament, and the judgment to be President. He is a man of honor and courage who understands the workings of Government at the highest levels but has never lost his understanding of common men and women. That's because he is a common man, who through the sheer force of his intellect and industry has reached uncommon heights.

There are, of course, many stories that could be told to illustrate the spirit and fortitude that has brought BOB DOLE to such heights, but two of my favorites date to 1952, the year he was elected county attorney in Russell, KS, and began his political career.

One night after BOB was elected, a man named Huck Boyd was driving through Russell after midnight and saw the light still on at the county courthouse. Huck Boyd was editor of a weekly newspaper and thought there might be a break-in, so he pulled over to investigate. It turns out that BOB DOLE, the new county attorney, was still working at his desk. And it also turns out that Huck Boyd was Kansas' member of the Republican National Committee, and was so impressed by this hard-working young man that he started talking him up throughout Kansas as a future political superstar.

But the quote I like best comes from the story of the 1952 county attorney election itself. Two young men who had come back from World War II were running—BOB DOLE and Dean Ostrum. Dean was a bright young man who had enjoyed many of life's advantages and was the son of perhaps the best lawyer in Russell. BOB DOLE didn't have all the ad-

vantages of life, had seen more adversity in 29 years than most people see in a lifetime, and was the son of Doran Dole who worked in a local creamery. As the campaign wore on, BOB outthought and outthustled his opponent, won by 200 votes, and launched his political career. The quote I like is from Dean Ostrum years after the campaign was over:

“How long was my day? I don’t know, but it wasn’t as long as BOB DOLE’s I’m sure of that.”

Forty-four years later that statement still rings true. No one I know has ever outworked BOB DOLE.

One of the reasons I believe so strongly in BOB DOLE’s candidacy is because we share common views and values. We believe that consensus and compromise make for good government. We believe that rigid ideas and hardened positions drive people apart and lead to stalemate and paralysis. We believe in Ronald Reagan’s theory of the big tent—that the Republican Party is a caring and compassionate organization that welcomes people of all backgrounds, a party that does not demean minorities by ridiculing their ancestry, a party that speaks of hope and promise and does not exploit fears and anxieties.

We believe in a strong national defense, that America cannot be the world’s policeman, but neither can we afford to become a prisoner of world events. Some want to walk away from the world, but BOB DOLE knows the world won’t walk away from us.

We believe that the best protection for American industry and workers is to open up our minds through education, training, and competition—not by shutting down our ports. We believe we must prevent illegal immigration but not punish those who seek the blessings of America by complying with our laws.

BOB DOLE, like Ronald Reagan before him, has dedicated his life in public service to tearing walls down around the world and not putting them up around America.

We also share a common belief that for government to operate most effectively—or in this day and age some might say to operate at all—it is necessary for policymakers to understand that goals cannot always be achieved at once. Progress must often come in small steps. BOB DOLE understands that principle better than most and he has the judgment, gleaned from years of experience, to know when those steps can be taken safely—or when one more step will send us hurtling over a dangerous precipice.

BOB DOLE understands that power and responsibility must be returned to the States. We have a \$5 trillion debt that is gobbling up our children's economic future, and we know we have to slay this monster or it will surely slay us.

The man who stood for so many years beside us in the Senate does not appear to be wearing armor. But he is. It's made of a composite stronger than anything that can be manufactured by campaign strategists, pollsters, or spin-meisters. It's made of a belief in God, country, family, honor, and duty.

I have known BOB DOLE for more than 20 years as both a friend and a leader. He is a man of good heart and good humor who calls forth the better angels of our nature.

As President of the United States, he will make America safe and sound for us and our children. As President of the United States, he will help make the world safe for America.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, as BOB DOLE leaves the U.S. Senate today, we are participating in a celebration unlike anything we have witnessed in the Senate for many years, and are unlikely to see again in this century. The abundant flow of affection in the midst of applause and tears are testimony to our recognition of BOB DOLE's investment in the Senate, our recognition of the hold his leadership has on our perceptions of the Senate, and the meaning of statesmanship, public service, and patriotism.

Senator BOB DOLE of Kansas was easily reelected to a fifth term in the U.S. Senate. After 8 years of service in the U.S. House of Representatives, he is in his 28th year of Senate service. On most days in the U.S. Senate and in most battles, BOB DOLE has been the voice and the very visible, energetic leader of the Republican Party.

BOB DOLE is the personification of hard work, constructive intelligence, personal loyalty and the determination to succeed against all odds.

His life has been filled with honors and recognition for significant achievements. But perhaps the defining moments of his life were those he spent on a mountainous Italian battlefield.

The troops he led as an Army infantry lieutenant were exposed to deadly enemy machine gun fire. He led the charge to eliminate the enemy emplacement. He absorbed withering fire which tore his body and almost ended his life.

His heroism was recognized promptly. But his ability to force feeling and movement into his wounded body, to restore some hope that he could feed himself, dress himself, and

function as a working, contributing man, took years of agonizing treatment, therapy, and persistence beyond comprehension.

BOB DOLE is intellectually and physically tough because his very life and being have depended upon that toughness. But those same fateful experiences have undergirded his compassionate championship of all handicapped Americans who have counted upon him to extend a strong hand back to pull them into the fullness of life in America.

From his early days in Russell, KS, BOB DOLE has understood the struggle of many families to keep food on the table. He has been the Senate champion for thoughtful nutrition programs, including comprehensive knowledge about food stamp distribution and a host of food programs for the working poor of our country.

I first met BOB DOLE when he was Chairman of our national party, and later as our Vice Presidential nominee in 1976. In the days following that election, I called BOB DOLE to thank him for his leadership and to ask for his help in fulfilling my first Senate campaign pledge, namely, to seek a seat on the Agriculture Committee. Even at a time of his own personal discouragement, he was characteristically helpful to me. I was seated at the end of the minority side of the table as the most junior member. I have witnessed for 20 years the mastery of BOB DOLE as a farm legislator.

His energy level is astonishing. His capacity to entertain new ideas and his generous ability to boost other people have strengthened my enthusiasm for this remarkable Kansan.

He deserves the opportunity to serve our Nation as its President. The Nation deserves his Presidency, which could be a term of remarkable achievement based on his innate courage and wisdom, and his universal experience with public persons and public issues.

I will be one who strives to help him realize new dimensions of leadership, because I have witnessed his integrity and I have confidence in his judgment. For the moment, I believe it is most important simply to recognize that to applaud BOB DOLE is to applaud the vitally important concept that good people arise in America to assume great responsibilities. Our country is stronger because this Senator always saw his duty and inspired so many Americans to follow him.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join in wishing the majority leader well—but not too well—as he takes his leave of the Senate.

He and I have differed on many occasions on many issues during the many years we have served together. But we have also been able to find many opportunities to work well together on many different issues of both foreign and domestic policy, and I have great respect for his ability as a Senator and Senate leader.

Of course, I liked it better when he was minority leader instead of majority leader.

In fact, we have worked closely on many significant issues over the years. I think particularly of the Americans With Disabilities Act in recent years. Senator DOLE was a strong supporter from the beginning. He stepped in early and often, and prevented many abrasive confrontations on that bill. As a result, it was enacted with broad bipartisan support in Congress, and has become one of Senator DOLE's and Congress' most notable achievements.

Senator DOLE and I also worked well together on other civil rights bills, on voting rights bills, on child nutrition legislation, and a range of other issues. In addition, we served together on the Senate Judiciary Committee for 6 years at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, and I was consistently impressed with his day-to-day ability on the issues and his tireless energy and dedication.

I also have many warm memories of the daily radio debates we did together for 4 years in the 1980's on our program called "Face Off." We were usually, but not always, facing in opposite directions on the issues, but Senator DOLE's intelligence and wit always shone through, and helped make the daily analyses both enlightening and enjoyable.

Often, even in the most contentious debates in the Senate, his excellent sense of humor was particularly effective, and he used it skillfully to defuse the tensest moments.

Now, Senator DOLE leaves the Senate with a record of many accomplishments that have served the Senate well, the Congress well, the State of Kansas well, and the people of America well.

I join Senators on both sides of the aisle who have found it a great privilege, a great honor, and a great education to work with Senator DOLE over the years. We admire his leadership and statesmanship, and we value his friendship. We respect him, and we will miss him very much in the months and years ahead.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise today, as have my Senate colleagues, to pay tribute to the distinguished Senate majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE of Kansas.

Mr. President, the great American patriot Henry Clay, who also served as a Member of the House and the Senate, once said, "Of all the properties which belong to honorable men, not one is so highly prized as that of character."

He was right. As imperfect beings, we all strive to cultivate virtuous qualities—we endeavor to be kind; we are mindful to be courteous; in trying times, we struggle to maintain a sense of humor, but character, as the fiery turn-of-the-century evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, once so bluntly defined it, "is what you are in the dark."

Character is not something one can put on, like a new set of clothes. It is not something one trots out on special occasions, like courtly manners. It is not something one can pretend to possess. Yet, despite its ethereal quality, character is unmistakably apparent. It is the steady hand in times of crisis, the quiet voice in times of stress. It is courage in the face of adversity, strength of purpose, when all else seems to fail. It is a "property," as Henry Clay put it, whose value is beyond measure, a characteristic no amount of money can buy.

Mr. President, ROBERT DOLE is a man of character. A man who has remained true to his convictions; a man unafraid to defend his beliefs; a man who says what he thinks, and means what he says. He is a doer, not a talker; a fighter, not an equivocator; a leader not a dodger.

Today he leaves the U.S. Senate and the battlefield he's loved so well for so many years, the Senate floor. But he goes not gentle into the good night. He leaves on one last mission. He leaves to engage perhaps the most important battle he will ever fight—a battle not just for the heart and soul of America, but—more importantly—for the future of America. A battle that will lose or save America for the next generation; a battle to accomplish what all generations except ours have done before us—leave America a better place for our children and our grandchildren.

Mr. President, it is a battle that must be fought; a battle that must be won. And I can think of no one better to lead the mission than BOB DOLE.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, today Senator DOLE becomes citizen DOLE. He has every right to be proud of that hard, courageous decision. We in the Senate have every reason to be sorry for it.

Senator DOLE leaves a legacy of lasting influence. He led this body to historic accomplishments, including the rescue of Social Security and the first balanced budget in a generation. He led his party, 2 years ago, to historic victory. And

now he has accepted one more opportunity to serve—one more chance to lead.

This is the common thread that runs through an uncommon life—leadership. He has provided a definition of the term.

Senator DOLE has mastered the art of consensus. He knows when a breakthrough depends on one well-placed word. He knows how to cool tempers and emphasize agreement. He knows how to turn the chaos of this process into tangible achievements. These are rare and important qualities.

But this is only half of the story. I have seen another side of Senator DOLE's leadership. He once put it this way:

I believe there is a place for honest negotiation in politics. It is an essential part of Democracy. Every political movement, and every public official, however, must locate a place where compromise ends—a core of conviction where we keep our conscience. There comes a time when even practical leaders must refuse to bend or yield.

For Senator DOLE that core of conviction is basic and clear, permanent and solid: safe streets, strong families, military strength, fiscal responsibility, a decent public culture. These commitments are nothing new and everything important. They are rooted deeply in the soil of the midwest in the lessons of a small town in his experiences of suffering and service. BOB DOLE understands the secret strength of America, because he embodies it.

Senator DOLE understands that Americans value freedom and responsibility, but must still care for one another in times of crisis and need. He understands the fears at the edge of poverty, because he felt them in his youth. He understands the price of liberty, because he paid it himself. He fights strongly, because he believes deeply. We have come to depend on this core of conviction, based on the lessons of a life.

In his legislative career, Senator DOLE has displayed both elements of true leadership: consensus and conscience, flexibility and firmness. He is an example to all of us who work with him—who follow him—who respect him. Leaving the security of the Senate is just another example of the moral courage we have come to know the essence of leadership at the moment of testing.

T.S. Eliot wrote, "in my end is my beginning." This is the end of a distinguished legislative career. It is the beginning of a new mission. That mission takes Senator DOLE beyond this body, and we regret it. But I am convinced it will take

him to the White House. Senator DOLE—citizen DOLE—has only begun his service to this Nation.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I rise to honor and remember our distinguished majority leader, our colleague, and our friend, BOB DOLE, as he prepares to leave the Senate.

When you work with or around BOB DOLE, you soon realize: He has consistent values and an unwavering commitment to them.

He's been in there fighting for a balanced budget—not because of some green eyeshade interest in the numbers, but because he knows its a moral issue.

He's been fighting for years, consistently, for a balanced budget constitutional amendment because he understands this is a principle of fundamental fairness, and he understands how the Constitution really works, protecting the basic rights of the people by preventing the Government from abusing its powers.

I've worked with BOB DOLE on other constitutional issues, from protection of second amendment rights to private property rights.

When Congress passes the 28th amendment—the balanced budget amendment—some time in the near future, even though he will have left the Senate, it will be, in part, a monument to Senator DOLE's years of hard work.

I remember many events, many battles, high points and defeats, as BOB DOLE and I have worked together for the balanced budget amendment.

When I was in the House, in the early 1980s, Charlie Stenholm, a Democrat from Texas, and I started CLUBB—Congressional Leaders United for a Balanced Budget.

Pete Wilson was our Senate Co-Chair and BOB DOLE was a charter member.

When we met with taxpayer groups, and stood on the steps of the Capitol with mail bags full of hundreds of thousands of letters and petitions from Americans everywhere—BOB DOLE was always there with us, promoting the balanced budget amendment.

CLUBB worked with taxpayer groups to schedule Members of Congress around the country to meet with local leaders, State legislatures, and others on behalf of the balanced budget amendment.

I remember back to 1985-86 and how it impressed me that, here was the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, a man busy with every issue before Congress—and he took the time and

effort to travel whenever he could, wherever he could, to bring the balanced budget crusade to Americans everywhere.

And last year, after our constitutional amendment fell one vote short, and then again this year, he showed that the Senate could break with history and make history, could muster enough courage, under his leadership, to actually produce a balanced budget.

Citizen, Senator, Majority Leader BOB DOLE has worked, fought, and spoken to the Nation for the balanced budget amendment because he cares about the future of our Nation; because he cares about our children, and what kind of opportunity we leave for them; because he cares about having a country that provides for the security of our seniors and the best possible jobs for our working men and women.

Many, many aspects of BOB DOLE's life have demonstrated how much he cares about people, especially the helpless, and about our country.

Much has been said about his record as a war hero and his war injuries. And, of course, much has been said about his public service.

Unlike many in politics, he has not just sympathized with people's pain, he has been there.

Doctors first said he would not live because of his war injuries. Then they said he would never walk again.

But he did much more than walk—he soared on the wings of self-sacrifice and service to others.

Because of the values he learned growing up in Russell, KS, because of the lessons of life, he understands people and cares about people.

This understanding has shown through in his leadership here in the Senate, where he has been perceptive about the strengths of his colleagues and what things are important to them.

It has particularly struck me how he, as leader, has always looked to match those strengths and interests with the tasks at hand to give his colleagues leadership opportunities, and to accomplish something good for the Nation.

The Senate will miss his leadership, his dedication, his integrity, and how he cares about people.

And in the coming months the Nation will learn much more about those qualities, and will call upon him for one more heroic mission.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Senator from Kansas.

The significance of this day should not be diminished by reference to or discussion of the gentleman's future pursuits. They should more importantly reflect the tenure and service that he has already given his State of Kansas, the office of majority leader, the institution of Congress, and this country as a whole.

Mr. President, I remember my first direct interaction with BOB DOLE in 1993 as we crafted fundamental entitlement reform to the supplemental security income system. I could talk today of our work in shaping the direction of our Nation's social policies, more recently during a very intense debate here last fall on a comprehensive welfare reform package. I was honored to have been of assistance to him in managing the floor discussion, and it was during this debate that Senator DOLE's guiding hand was once again exhibited in maneuvering this body through one of the more contentious and important discussions of national policy.

As the youngest member of this body, however, it is with a different perspective that I would like to focus my remarks today. Many of BOB DOLE's most significant experiences, especially his service in defending this country in World War II, largely precede my 38 years. His 35 years of service and leadership in Congress roughly bridges the span of my life. And while I have only had the honor to serve under his direct leadership in the Senate for a year and a half, I have indirectly benefited from BOB DOLE's sacrifices, courage, and convictions for the better part of my life.

Today's speeches have been filled with personal reflections, tributes to service, and legislative and policy histories that all have been influenced by the gentleman from Kansas. As moving and genuine as these reflections have been, time and history will truly capture and attest to the magnitude of Senator DOLE's service and the importance of his departure.

Rapid change in the character and makeup of both Chambers has marked my 6-year service in the U.S. Congress. Since my election in 1990, the U.S. Congress has experienced not only one of the largest single year turnovers since the 1974 elections, but has also ushered in a historic change in the majority parties of both houses.

And in the midst of this profound change, individuals like the Senator from Kansas have remained a stabilizing force to this institution. As it is far too easy to get lost in the direction of our own careers, we must not allow ourselves to lose sense of those who have shaped the institution of Congress and those who have left a lasting imprint on the direc-

tion of our Nation. History will undoubtedly record Senator DOLE as one of those people.

As the longest serving majority leader in the U.S. Senate, Senator DOLE possesses an instinctive ability to navigate the Senate's process of forced compromise. While at times during this session these abilities have served as a source of personal consternation, I readily acknowledge that these are qualities that a leader must exhibit to carry out the duties and responsibilities of this Chamber. These are qualities that a leader must espouse to bridge the ideological differences that manifest themselves in the direction of our policies.

Clearly, the history and service of Senator DOLE's 35 years in Congress is an inspiration to all of us and a challenge as we, in his absence, try to foster and maintain the integrity and direction of the institution of the Senate.

The hallways of the Senate will long be filled with the images of Senator DOLE's presence and the echoes of his trademark late night walks from this Chamber, through the Vice President's lobby, and to the majority leaders office overlooking America's Mall of monuments to this Nation—the view across what will now be known as the Bob Dole balcony.

Mr. President, it is indeed a distinct honor to congratulate and thank the Senator from Kansas for his service to our country. I rise with the distinction of being a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania and the honor of being a colleague of the Senator from Kansas. I rise with the privilege of representing 12 million Pennsylvanians in the rich tradition and history of Senators Hugh Scott, John Heinz, and Harris Wofford, who have had the honor to serve with Senator DOLE at this very desk before me, and have been enriched by the shared service and experiences. But most importantly, I rise as a personal beneficiary of the Senator's sacrifice, his service, his steadfastness, and his wisdom.

In closing, Mr. President, I stand today with the privilege of speaking in some small way for those Pennsylvania voices in sharing our blessing for the continued strength, courage, and conviction in life's pursuits for Mr. DOLE and his family.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise for a final, heartfelt tribute to Senator DOLE.

In another unselfish act on behalf of his country, Senator DOLE will leave the Senate where he has so well served the people of Kansas in order to better serve the American people as our next President.

Mr. President, by any definition, BOB DOLE is a great man—a man whose entire life has been dedicated to serving his country with honor, with courage, and with integrity.

BOB DOLE is an American hero. He fought to defend this country during times of war. And throughout his career he has fought for policies to ensure prosperity and security at home and peace around the world.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE has remained dedicated to the same causes and principles that led him into public service over 40 years ago. He is a man certain of his core values, and anchored to his unwavering principles of service to country, honoring individual freedom, and bettering the lives of every American.

Mr. President, BOB DOLE represents what's right about America: integrity, courage, compassion, and patriotism.

Mr. President, it will be difficult to imagine the Senate without BOB DOLE's strong presence and skillful leadership. BOB DOLE's monumental legislative achievements—first as a legislator and now as leader—are the direct result of his strongly held convictions, his forceful advocacy, his skill at debate, and his respect and tolerance for other Senators' views, perspectives, and experiences.

His native State of Kansas and the many noble causes he has championed over the years have benefited from his legislative skills. As his colleagues, we know—and history will record—that he has had an indelible influence on this body, our Government, our people, and our times that will be felt well into the next century. He will leave an imprint deeper and stronger than few Senators in history can rival.

Mr. President, some personal comments on Senator DOLE are unavoidable at this moment. How could a Midwestern-Kansas conservative from a rural and agricultural State become friends and have so much in common with an ethnic second-generation Italian from Long Island?

In BOB DOLE's own words:

Al D'Amato and BOB DOLE—at first glance it seems like an unlikely friendship. One was raised on his mother's pasta in the heart of America's largest city. And the other was raised on his mother's fried chicken on the plains of rural Kansas. But when New Yorkers sent Al to the United States Senate in 1980, it didn't take me long to discover that we had a great deal in common.

Both of us call them like we see them. Both of us believe in the neighborhood values that made America great—values like hard work and personal responsibility. Both of us don't give up without a fight. And both of us have never forgotten from where we came.

Mr. President, these insightful words are from BOB DOLE's introduction to my book. They reveal BOB DOLE's basic decency, his solid foundations, and his strong character. These are the qualities that attract people to BOB DOLE and the reasons he is so admired.

Mr. President, as my dear friend, colleague, and leader, BOB DOLE, departs the Senate to pursue the Presidency; he leaves with my continued admiration and support. His unique and historic journey has taken an unexpected but necessary turn. With his beloved Elizabeth beside him in his quest for the Presidency, I know my friend has made the right choice.

Mr. President, the Senate will miss BOB DOLE and I will certainly miss my friend.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, one of the stories BOB DOLE likes to tell in speeches and interviews has to do with the events in the first 2 weeks of 1983 when, quite literally, the Social Security system was saved. As with many tales told on political campaign trails, it is not one hundred percent accurate. We all recall that opening passage from *Huckleberry Finn* in which Huck tells us that we will recognize him from the book about Tom Sawyer which was written by Mr. Mark Twain, "and he told the truth mainly."

Which BOB DOLE does. The only part of the tale he leaves out is his own role. It could not have happened without him. To the contrary, he made it happen.

I was there. I so attest. It was January 3, 1983. A new Congress was convening. I had just been sworn in for a second term. This was agreeable enough, indeed, hugely so, but there was a cloud over the occasion. I had gone on to the Finance Committee in 1977 and had worked on the Social Security Amendments of that year, under the superb leadership of Gaylord Nelson. We had realized the actuarial troubles the Social Security Trust Fund would face with the curious demography of the baby boom on the still-distant but recognizable horizon. We put in place a number of F.I.C.A. tax increases to provide for this. And thought our work was done. Then came the second oil shock and the great inflation of the late 1970's. For the first time in our history price increases ran ahead of wage increases. The Trust Funds sank to the point of approaching insolvency. In 1981, the new director of the Office of Management and Budget, David Stockman, warned the country to expect the "world's largest bankruptcy" on a date certain in the near future. It wasn't as bad as that, but Robert J. Myers, the former chief actuary, knew

it was bad enough and he passed this on. President Reagan called for and Congress created a Commission on Social Security Reform, headed by Alan Greenspan. We met all through 1982, but could come to no agreement on what to do. The year ended, the Commission ended, an inconsequential report was drafted.

But something had, in fact, happened. BOB DOLE, a member of the Commission, had listened. He always listens, as Senators know. But this time he was listening to information quite at odds with all he had ever heard. That Social Security was not a crazy New Deal Ponzi scheme certain to go broke one day. That day being at hand. Which is what so many members of his party were willing to believe. No; he learned, largely from Myers, there were difficulties but they could be resolved and should be resolved.

On that January 3 morning, Senator DOLE had an op-ed article in The New York Times. I ask unanimous consent that it be reprinted in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, January 3, 1983]

REAGAN'S FAITHFUL ALLIES

(By BOB DOLE)

Washington.—In this city, which makes history but prefers headlines, today's hottest story is President Reagan's problem with his allies on Capitol Hill. But those who believe that they see a divisive split between the President and Congressional Republicans ignore Ronald Reagan's many achievements, misunderstand the role of Congress, and exaggerate the tension between the Presidency and Congress that has naturally existed since the Founding Fathers found room for both in the Constitution.

It is important to understand that Presidents of both parties have always had differences with their friends on Capitol Hill. Thomas Jefferson had to endure a Speaker of the House who was not only a fellow Democrat but his own son-in-law and who had the irritating habit of publicly charging members of the Jefferson Administration with corrupt land speculation.

Abraham Lincoln found his military decisions criticized by his own party's select committee on the conduct of the war, and his nascent plans for Reconstruction road blocked by the so-called radical Republicans.

Theodore Roosevelt's pioneering efforts to regulate commerce and preserve the natural splendors of the West ran counter to the property-loving instincts of Republican legislators.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw the wave of his personal popularity crest in 1937, when disgruntled Democrats shot down his plan to pack the United States Supreme Court.

Lyndon B. Johnson failed to unite Democrats behind the Vietnam war and, in the end, abdicated. So did Richard M. Nixon when many of his strongest supporters made clear their distaste for his handling of Watergate.

Earlier still, Mr. Nixon watched as two Supreme Court nominees were torpedoed by Republican Senators.

Jimmy Carter's term was rendered all but irrelevant by Democrats of the Kennedy stripe. Now, after two years of remarkable leadership, the equal of anything seen in this city since the heyday of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, it has become fashionable to claim that Ronald Reagan's mastery over Congress has become frayed and that his options for future guidance have narrowed to little more than graceful acquiescence.

Much of this is the product of journalistic boredom or perhaps, Democratic wishful thinking. Those interested in the sounds of genuine partisan division ought to pitch their hearing to the tunes of Mondale and Glenn and Hart and Hollings and Askew and Cranston.

What's more, those now debating responsibility for next year's agenda all too easily overlook Ronald Reagan's achievement in setting the decade's agenda. They forget that the President has already engineered a major shift in relations between the individual and his Government. And, in their own preoccupation with current headlines, they obscure a personal history of political resourcefulness and a gift for compromise familiar to anyone who has examined Ronald Reagan's Governorship in California.

So, before Republicans start believing the fashionable theory of a White House-Capitol Hill split, we ought to remind ourselves that we are led by a persuasive chief executive, that we enjoy strong, experienced leadership in both houses of Congress and that the issues confronting us present as much opportunity as peril.

Social Security is a case in point. With 116 million workers supporting it and 36 million beneficiaries relying on it, Social Security overwhelms every other domestic priority. Through a combination of relatively modest steps, including some acceleration of already scheduled taxes and some reduction in the rate of future benefit increases, the system can be saved. When it is, much of the credit, rightfully, will belong to this President and his party.

Similarly, the mashed-potato circuit echoes to the plaintive cries of born-again protectionists who address the symptoms and not the illness plaguing our economy. Whether through local-content legislation or export subsidies, they would scuttle free trade and risk a global war, with tariffs and other trade barriers as lethal weapons. Wrong as they may be in their prescription, these new economic isolationists have struck a responsive chord in a nation deeply worried about present and future employment. Again, the trade issues provide Republicans at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue with the potential to reach out to working people, to demonstrate not only verbal concern but practical solutions.

The nation's headline writers like to call President Reagan The Great Communicator. Historians, I'm convinced, will label him the Great Reformer. It is his willingness to question this city's conventional (and costly) wisdom that Republicans must emulate as we tackle priorities too pressing to put off. No one is more eager to extend the Reagan revolution and to avoid political trench warfare in the coming session than Congressional Republicans.

The atmosphere within which the new Congress convenes will be shaped by perceptions that, in politics, are sometimes the equivalent of reality. And it is as a supporter of the President's objectives that I express concern about perceptions of his program. Clearly, they will not be improved so long as the Congress, public and news media discern an imbalance between human needs and military hardware. When the Constitution mandated the Federal

Government to provide for the general welfare, it said nothing about the generals' welfare.

The problem of perception might also be improved by a closer partnership between the White House and its natural allies on Capitol Hill. A modest but useful first step would be more frequent and constructive give-and-take sessions with G.O.P. leaders. For we, no less than his own department Secretaries and other personnel, belong to the President's official family. And we, no less than they, wish the next two years to be as successful as the last two.

Certainly, tackling Social Security and trade issues will engender controversy. But the alternative is momentum surrendered and an anxious public disillusioned. This President has always insisted that purely political considerations will not affect his judgment. That is one more reason why he is free to propose and achieve reforms on a historic scale. By doing so, he insures that he will not have to wait for history to express gratitude.

Those who say that the bloom is off the rose for Ronald Reagan forget that the rose is a perennial. With a little imaginative gardening now, it will blossom handsomely in 1984.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, note that paragraph about Social Security. “. . . The system can be saved.”

I had read it. I went up to Senator DOLE on the floor and said, “BOB, if you think that, and I think you are right, oughtn't we give it one more try?” He asked me if I could meet with him the next day. Both of us were planning vacations, but this came first. At 4 o'clock next, Tuesday, January 4, we met in his office. I give you now the events of the next 13 days. They are written from my daily schedule, but think BOB DOLE all along.

Tuesday, January 4, 1983, 4:30 p.m.: Senators DOLE and Moynihan meet with Robert J. Myers re Social Security.

Wednesday, January 5, 2:00 p.m.: Senator Moynihan meets privately with Alan Greenspan, Congressman Conable and Robert J. Myers re Social Security.

4:30 p.m.: Meeting at James Baker's residence with Senator DOLE, Cong. Conable, Robert J. Myers and Alan Greenspan.

Friday, January 7, 8:30 a.m.: Meeting at Blair House re Social Security.

2:30 p.m.: Senators DOLE and Moynihan meet with Robert J. Myers.

Saturday, January 8, 9:30 a.m.: All-day confidential meeting at residence of James Baker—also with Richard Darman.

Tuesday, January 11, 5:15 p.m.: Confidential meeting at Blair House.

Wednesday, January 12, 3:15 p.m.: Meeting re Social Security at Blair House.

Friday, January 14, 10:30 a.m.: Meeting with David Stockman, Richard Darman and Robert Myers in Senator Moynihan's office.

Saturday, January 15, 11:00 a.m.: All-day meeting re Social Security at Blair House—Agreement reached.

Monday, January 17, 7:10 a.m.: Senators DOLE and Moynihan, and James Baker interviewed on ABC “Good Morning America” re Social Security.

Indeed, I have a handwritten note in my Economist Diary, “Noon Jan. 3, 10:00 p.m., January 15, 13 days.”

Thirteen days that changed the world for a good many Americans. They were DOLE days and should never be forgotten.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, though I cannot join my Republican colleagues in wishing Senator DOLE success in his next endeavor, I join with Senator Daschle and all of my colleagues in wishing the distinguished majority leader and his wife and daughter good health and every happiness in the future. To leave his beloved institution after such a long and illustrious public service career—for whatever reason—is, I am sure, difficult, but there is no greater reward than the legacy of honorable public service.

Though we may not have agreed on many issues in the time we have served together in this body, there is one in particular we agreed on and we worked together to make it happen. The Brockton, MA Little League became a national model for the establishment of a challenge division for little leaguers with disabilities, thanks to the efforts of Senator DOLE. He is a fellow veteran and a man of proven personal courage and deep political conviction. He has been an integral part of the history of this institution and he will be missed.

Whatever our politics, whatever our philosophy of Government, this Nation, the democratic process, and the U.S. Senate are well served by those who have both the courage to survive against the odds in the face of extraordinary personal hardship, and the common sense to seek reasonable compromise for the survival of the Nation. The distinguished majority leader's life has indeed been one of personal courage and political compromise. His record of public service speaks for itself, and as he leaves here today, we wish him well. As colleagues, we must put politics aside for a moment, remember the man and his career, and say to the distinguished major leader: Thank you for the lesson in service and democracy that you have given us.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, today we recognize the departure of a great friend and colleague, Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE, from the U.S. Senate. In honor of his departure, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a poem by Albert Caswell, a longtime guide for the U.S. Capitol, which pays tribute Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE MEASURE OF A MAN

(By Albert Caswell)

What is the measure of a man?  
Today, high atop the Senate we sit and understand.  
What is the measure of a man?  
It's not power, wealth, or looks, but how we conduct our lives.  
This alone, is what put us in the record books.  
What is the measure of a man?  
In the Senate this day, comes a great leader of character and class,  
Who climbed every mountain the Lord put in his path.  
What is the measure of a man?  
For against all odds, time and again, his back to the wall,  
One ROBERT DOLE, heart of a lion, has always stood tall.  
What is the measure of a man?  
Yet for all his strength and all his glory,  
His warmth, kindness, and humor tell the story.  
What is the measure of a man?  
He walks in, stillness in the gallery, listen closely, hear the silent  
tears.  
Historians and friends sadly know, a man of his stature will not come  
our way for many years.  
What is the measure of a man?  
For on this day, June 11, 1996, ROBERT DOLE gives up his greatest  
love of all,  
To answer our nation's cry for leadership, he hears the call.  
Today, we see and understand,  
What is truly the measure of a man.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, today has been a very interesting day for our former leader, BOB DOLE. While the U.S. Senate suffers what I believe is a tremendous loss today with the departure of the majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE, I can tell you it is a great day for America. I believe that. For, while Senator DOLE leaves behind a legacy of extraordinary leadership and commitment to this institution, his departure promises the American people a much more important commitment to this country. But, perhaps more important, his departure gives the American people a better opportunity to learn more about a man that I and many of my colleagues greatly admire and have come to know. So I would like to spend just a few minutes to describe the man that I have come to know, with whom I have worked, and I hope the American people will come to know over the next few months.

BOB DOLE, Senator DOLE, is a man of his word. You can trust him. He is a plain speaker and not one for flowery oratory. He believes in what he says. He means what he says. He does not try to be everything to everybody. He stands for a few important principles—not everything.

Senator DOLE is honest and he is very straightforward. He is loyal. He is a doer and he is not a talker. His values are constant; they do not change from day to day. He knows who he is, where he comes from, where he wants to go, and his word is his honor. He is a man who chose sacrifice over self, finding strength at an age when others sought the leisure of self-expression.

Briefly, BOB DOLE is a man of courage, a man of character, a man of integrity. These measures of the man are what sets BOB DOLE apart and what has led his colleagues in the Senate to entrust him with leadership time after time.

It will be these same characteristics that will distinguish for the American people who they should trust to lead them in the years ahead. While it may be easy for others to constantly change what they stand for in order to distinguish themselves on the issues, character, courage, and integrity are not mantles of convenience. They cannot be adopted at will, converted by choice, or otherwise assumed. They are bedrock principles.

They are like a fingerprint, intractably a part of you, easy to trace and difficult to fake.

Over the next few months it will be for the American people to ask the same question that the Senate has, who do they trust to lead this Nation? I believe the answer will be the same ultimately. It will be Senator DOLE.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, on behalf of the people of Ohio, I join all my colleagues in paying tribute to a legislative giant who left the stage of the U.S. Senate just a few moments ago.

The BOB DOLE America saw earlier today is a person we all in the Senate know: A man of character, a man of integrity and a man of utter devotion to the future of this country.

It is strange in politics, it is really an oddity in politics that a person's public image sometimes differs from his or her true qualities. That sometimes is the case with BOB DOLE.

I have watched some of his press conferences earlier in the campaign and particularly read some of the earlier stories and newspaper articles about him. When I did that, I realized there was something missing, that this really was not the BOB DOLE that I have seen for the last 18 months.

The BOB DOLE that I have seen was the real BOB DOLE, the individual, the leader, the war hero, the consensus builder and a man of enormous compassion. In listening to his speech earlier today on this floor, I did see those qualities

clearly on public display, as did the American people. This is BOB DOLE, many times a man of few words, but a man who shows tremendous character and leadership in his actions.

Upon joining the Senate a little over a year ago, I became a BOB DOLE watcher. I had the opportunity as a Member of the House for 8 years to watch him from afar, but I have had the opportunity now for a little over a year to see him up close and watch how he operates and watch how he gets things done. I have seen him, as we all have, preside over four different meetings at once, moving from room to room to room and never lose track of what is going on.

BOB DOLE is someone who keeps in mind the big picture. I think the majority leader of the U.S. Senate always has to keep the big picture in mind. Yes, he has to understand details, he has to understand the nuances of legislation, how you get bills passed, but he also has to keep in mind the big picture: That you have to ultimately get the job done, that you ultimately have to get the bill passed, that you ultimately have to get things to happen.

This is the BOB DOLE I saw earlier today. Earlier today, BOB DOLE told how he and Senator Moynihan and others made the last, brave attempt to reform Social Security in 1983, with the result that Social Security is safe for another generation.

That leadership ability is still there. I had the opportunity to see that many, many times in the last year, year and a half, but my favorite example that I use to illustrate BOB DOLE's leadership is the welfare reform bill that we passed. Unfortunately, the President ultimately vetoed the welfare bill, but the bill we passed in the Senate, BOB DOLE was able to get 87 votes for.

I do not think anyone in this Chamber, anyone in this country, none of the political experts a year ago, a year and a half ago, if we had been talking about welfare reform, would have thought BOB DOLE could have brought a welfare reform bill to this Senate and could have gotten 87 votes. What an achievement—what an achievement.

BOB DOLE was able to deal with the Governors, trying to put that together, certainly no easy task, and the Senate, equally difficult. And he put together a fair and balanced welfare reform measure. He was able to accomplish this amazing feat, because he never lost sight of the need to ultimately reform a system that has long failed the people it was intended to help.

Mr. President, here is a man who is capable of making tough decisions and right decisions. As he pointed out in his speech earlier today, the Senate is not like the House of Representatives. The Senate leader has fewer tools to control the Senate than the House Speaker possesses in the House. The Senate leader rules—not rules—really leads by consensus. He cannot dictate, he must lead, and I have seen, as we all have in this Chamber, BOB DOLE lead.

I have been to more than one meeting with Senators, and Senators only, where a Senator complained that he or she had not been consulted on an issue or had some other complaint to the leader, Senator DOLE, about how things were going, what he had done, not done. I had seen BOB DOLE look at them, as only BOB DOLE can, and say, “Well, if you want someone else to lead, if you want someone else to be a leader, that’s fine, but you elected me to lead. As long as I am the leader, I intend to do just that.” And that was the end of the conversation. That is BOB DOLE. That is leadership.

But, Mr. President, my admiration for BOB DOLE goes far beyond his ability as a majority leader. It is personal as well. BOB DOLE has the insight born of someone who suffered an enormous and unexpected tragedy. He was a star athlete who went off to war and came back with crippling injuries. This is not campaign hype of anything. Senator DOLE would rather downplay, and always has throughout his life, the struggles that he encountered when he came back and what he had to go through when he came back from World War II. He would rather downplay what he struggles with every day, since he was literally blown apart in World War II.

We all expect in life to lose our parents, even a spouse. Certain things you expect to happen, but there are other defining tragedies that go beyond the normal course of events, that go beyond what we are taught to expect. I have thought about this often since suffering the loss of our daughter, Becky. I, too, am also very reticent to talk about such a deep and personal tragedy, but I cannot help but admire the way BOB DOLE has worked through his own suffering. He understands daily pain, and I take great comfort from seeing this in him. He understands that life is not fair. Through dealing with pain, he has learned to understand himself, and these, Mr. President, are not bad qualities to have in a leader or in a President.

The President who comes to mind who reminds me the most of BOB DOLE in some ways is Franklin Roosevelt, who

also faced physical disability with silent courage. Like Roosevelt, BOB DOLE's identity and his understanding of life were forged by pain. When Senator DOLE made the historic announcement last month that he would leave the Senate, the room was very crowded. It was so crowded that where I was, I could not see the expression on his face as he made the speech, but I could hear the emotion in his voice. BOB DOLE has the two seemingly opposite qualities of toughness and compassion. He had to be tough to leave the Senate. Most people do not leave voluntarily after spending a lifetime to get here. But he showed his more emotional side, too, when he made his announcement. His voice quivered during his announcement, not an easy public display for him, and he was even more emotional when he broke up during an earlier private meeting with us.

But as difficult as this decision was for him, I believe he will find it liberating to have left the Senate. I recall my own decision to make a second run for the Senate after losing the first time. I realized at that point that if I lost the second bid that my political career was over. If I lose this race, what happens? The same is now true for BOB DOLE who said he has "nowhere to go but the White House or home."

BOB DOLE had fixed in his own mind that his time as majority leader had passed and that the time had come for another challenge. Once he made the mental leap from the Senate Chamber, it was time to act.

This is the real BOB DOLE. And as he said goodbye to us then and again today, his friends and coworkers, BOB DOLE looked like a leader. He looked like a President.

Mr. President, I, like the rest of my colleagues, will always remember the demeanor and courage of this great statesman as he said farewell to the U.S. Senate.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, 15 months ago I told BOB DOLE I would enthusiastically support his quest for the Presidency of the United States. We see in his quest for the Presidency that he now has left the Senate of the United States. I think all of us have so many emotions that we are feeling today. I know the Nation, the Senate, and I would regret the day when the clerk would call the roll and the name of BOB DOLE would no longer be called. That day has now arrived.

It would be easy to dwell on the truth that the Senate will lose a man that history will hold in a place of great honor. Rather, I think it is more important that we celebrate BOB

DOLE's victories, his leadership, his humor, and his ability to get things done.

Mr. President, I want to discuss for a moment, then, a personal experience that I had with Senator DOLE. It was with great pride and honor when Senator DOLE designated my legislation to stop unfunded Federal mandates, S. 1. As we all know, the significance, of course, is that this denotes a majority leader's stamp of approval in his priority on legislation. A majority leader does not want his bill that he has designated "No. 1" to fail.

Having said that, it is all the more remarkable that he chose my legislation because I had only been here 2 years. I had no track record. It would have been far safer for Senator DOLE to choose some of the seasoned veteran Senators, such as Senator Domenici, Senator Roth, or Senator Hatfield, to carry this type of legislation. Not only did he choose my legislation, but he then designated me to be the floor manager, a responsibility I had never, ever done before.

I say this not in any way to somehow bring attention to myself, because I say this with all humility, to make it clear that BOB DOLE was not taking the normal course of action. It was indicative of his leadership of reaching out to others who may not have had all of the credentials, all of the experience, but who do have a passion to get something positive done.

He transfers his belief in a person so that that person will not ever want to let BOB DOLE down. I believe that is what he will do for all of America. He will tap that spirit in others and help them to reach new heights. It is one thing to have the ability to do something yourself, as BOB DOLE has that great ability, but it is a greater achievement to instill in others that same can-do spirit and then go and do it. But you must have someone who believes in you.

BOB DOLE believes in people. BOB DOLE believes in America. He instills in others that desire to reach within yourself and to do something great. It is a high honor to be elected by your fellow citizens to serve in the U.S. Senate. To then have been able to serve while BOB DOLE was here magnifies that honor.

When we had the debate on Senate bill 1, Senator Robert C. Byrd described the new majority leader, BOB DOLE, to his Democratic colleagues by saying, "The leader over there is tough. Wait and see. He will use the rules on me, and I respect that, and I admire that."

Well, yes, BOB DOLE is tough. He is tough, but he is also wise. When duty calls for him to be bipartisan, the man knows how to be bipartisan. But he also knows when it is time to be partisan, and he can be partisan. He is tireless. How many times have we been here on the floor of the U.S. Senate at midnight, and many of us are starting to find that our energies are sagging, and there is BOB DOLE, crisp, with his humor that props us up, keeps us going. There is BOB DOLE, who has a solution.

I am going to miss hearing BOB DOLE telling Senators to work it out, work it out, work it out. If it could not be worked out, he would always say, "Do you have the votes? Let us vote." For my part, BOB DOLE taught me the importance of working with and listening to all Senators and of seeking solutions that do not abandon principle. I want my children, Heather and Jeff, to learn from BOB DOLE that they can overcome any adversity—any adversity that comes their way. I cannot think of a more honorable man that I would entrust the future of my children to.

Finally, a word to Elizabeth and BOB DOLE. I hope you leave the Senate with a deep and abiding satisfaction of mission accomplished, job well done. My wife Patricia and I will keep you in our prayers in the coming months, and we will ask for God's peace and protection for your family. We look forward to working with you—you, who I believe will be the next President and First Lady of this great country.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in wishing our majority leader a senatorial farewell. His contributions are well known, his integrity is unquestioned, and his service has been an example for each one of us on both sides of the aisle.

I want to just comment about the service factor in his life and how we are all drawn to those who serve—whether it is a Boy Scout who walks a hobbling grandmother across the street, or a community clothing drive, raising money for charity, or a PTA member spending hours at local meetings. Service we admire, service we respect, and service from our elected officials we always expect.

Majority Leader DOLE is no exception. Kansans expect him to represent their interests. Republicans expect him to lead the party, and Senators—well, we expect him to guide us through the joys and trials of partisan politics. So, as a U.S. Senator, I have often expected him to serve me as well. Long before leaving this Senate, BOB DOLE had my admiration. Long before he led this Senate, he had my respect, and I am

led to believe that long before he was decorated as a war hero, I would have wanted BOB DOLE as my friend.

The issues we debate during the 104th Congress we have debated before. Like a pendulum, important issues swing away from us, and eventually they swing back. Every so often, we see a leader who is able to stop the pendulum, who is able to lead us into a solution that gives the pendulum a bit of a rest. For the causes of the disadvantaged and disabled Americans, Senator DOLE has proven to be such a leader. And for the need to reduce our deficit, he has few equals.

As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I have seen the work that he has done. I have seen the money come in and, with greater detail, I have seen the money go out. Senator DOLE's legacy is his willingness to fight for the welfare of today while just as eagerly vying for the welfare of our children and our grandchildren for the future.

So, in 1968, he joined the ranks of this body, and in 1996 he leaves. I shall not wish him a happy retirement, for no matter what lies ahead, he will not retire. I expect his service will always continue. I wish him well. Antoinette and I both pray that BOB and Elizabeth's future will be strewn with God's blessing.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, not far from the Capitol, on Constitution, across from the Navy Memorial, is a building that houses the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and other major artifacts of our beginning. On the outside of the building, it says, "The Past is Prolog."

As I have heard the eloquent statements throughout the day and throughout the past several weeks about our majority leader, this has come to mind, because the future is always guided and shaped by the past.

BOB DOLE is a man of this century. BOB DOLE's life experience is that of a giant figure in American history. The experiences of his life are immeasurable. The knowledge that has been accomplished by it would be hard to calculate. The capacity that it represents has a far and long reach. So when the Senator from Kansas came at midday and gave us his farewell address, you could measure some of the energy and reach and capacity of this world figure, of this American figure, by the response that he received on both sides of the aisle, and throughout America, I am sure.

I have always said that whenever I think of BOB DOLE, I think of the heart and soul of America. I think we saw that

expressed over these last several days. He truly is the embodiment of everything that we have come to think of as America—the fortitude to overcome adversity, perseverance, patience, strength, agility, entrepreneurship, problem solving, getting things done. He leaves with the love of his family of colleagues, all who have wished him a safe and secure journey. He characterizes what is yet before him as “one more mission.” I think that statement properly casts what lies before him, but it also reminds us of what he has endured. He is a man who has endured and built the American mission. He brings to his task, as I have said, immeasurable resources.

I believe, as Senator Simpson alluded, that as Americans come to know him as his colleagues do, they will readily embrace this man and his mission and his love for America. I loved it when he gave that famous address as he announced that he would retire from the Senate. He said, with no disrespect to the Congress, that his life had not been about the Congress. He said, “My life has been about America.” Gratefully, it still is. So I join those in wishing him a safe journey and Godspeed.

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise at this time to speak in concert with so many others who have spoken today about the career of Senator BOB DOLE who today moved on to a new role and new responsibilities and left behind a legacy that is virtually unsurpassed in the history of the Senate. Obviously, the accomplishments that BOB DOLE achieved, both as a leader in the Senate as well, in his earlier career, as a Member of the House of Representatives, have been chronicled pretty thoroughly both by the media as well as by Senator DOLE himself today. It is a legislative record that any of us would be, I think, immensely proud to have at the end of our careers here in this institution.

So, what I thought I might do instead was to just spend a minute or two talking about the personal side of BOB DOLE, the side that many of us here in the Senate know but which is maybe not as well known to the American people.

I have certainly come to know BOB DOLE as a friend. He is somebody who, from the very day that I arrived in the Senate, had a door that was open to me, and I know it was open to others in the freshman class that makes up this 104th Congress. He is a man who did not view himself as a senior Member and we as, somehow, junior Members not to be on the same playing field, but somebody who viewed us

all as Members of this institution, as equals, who treated us that way, as he treats everybody.

He is a man of great compassion, a person who, through his own life's experiences, I think, probably cares about and sympathizes and understands the problems that his fellow citizens have more than virtually anybody else in national leadership. He is a person who, I think, personifies the words trust and honesty and integrity more than anybody I have ever worked with in the political process or in the private sector. I have never known anybody who has served with BOB DOLE who has not said that his word was good, that his word was always one that you could count on. That is clearly a reason why he is held in such high esteem on both sides of the political aisle.

These qualities, his capacity to be a good friend, his compassion for his fellow citizens, the honesty, the trust and the integrity that he brought to his service here in the Congress of the United States, make him a giant, in my opinion, a giant who will be remembered far beyond the balcony which today was named after him. But he will be remembered along with the names of Webster and Clay, Johnson, Mansfield, and others who have served and who are remembered as the important ingredients in the formation of our democracy and its continuation.

I would just say this. Although my tenure in the Senate has lasted only a year and a half, I am extraordinarily proud that I had the chance for that year and a half to serve with BOB DOLE. I happen to be one of those who believes that his career in public service is not coming to an end today but that in just a few months he will be back in a different role, working together with us. But I am proud that I had the chance to serve as a fellow Member of the U.S. Senate with him.

Some people come to this Chamber and perhaps never are given the opportunity to work closely with one of the giants of our Nation's history and of the Senate's history. I feel very lucky and fortunate to have had that chance, even if it was only for a year and a half.

I wish him and his family great good fortune as they move on to a new challenge in this political campaign, and the best of luck and best wishes for the future.

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to our friend, BOB DOLE. It has been my pleasure over the years to hold over 30 joint meetings with him in my State, in my time as a Congressman and as a Senator and when he was

running for South Dakota's early primary. There were at least 30 meetings. I learned a great deal from BOB's service, and I learned that his tireless energy was always an inspiration to me. In fact, he would always shake hands with everybody at the end of those meetings, regardless of how long it took. But he offered a great deal of substance when somebody asked him a complicated question. He would give the full Senate answer, so to speak. I believe that he will go down as one of the great Members of this Chamber, in terms of legislative accomplishments and contributions.

I was one of the first Senators to commit to him for majority leader or minority leader—whichever was the case, because at the time we did not know for sure. I was one of the first Senators to endorse him for President. I think his career in the Senate represents the best of Senate life. I guess everybody knows about his wit and his determination. I could never believe or comprehend how he had so much energy. He literally went 7 days a week. He would be as energetic on Sunday night when he was coming back to Washington.

I also visited at least 15 States with him during the time he was a Presidential candidate or chairman of the party or when I was a Congressman, and he did the same thing there, too. He was not a golfer or a tennis player. He just worked all the time. I have never seen anything like it. He would fill up the whole weekend with work and visits. To him, it was service. I just would not have that much energy because I need a day off now and then. I pay tribute to him because he is one of the great Members of this Chamber that I have served with, and it has been my pleasure to work side by side with him.

I have a number of other reminiscences, which I will place in the Record. During this short time, let me also say that I have felt a great deal of friendship and still feel a great deal of friendship with BOB DOLE. He is a person with whom I could always talk to if I was struggling in some of my campaigns, or whatever. He would always be there to help. Just recently, he invited me along on four stops in several States with him. His energy is as great as it has ever been.

BOB DOLE is a great man. He will be a great President, and I will miss him very much here in the Senate. It feels lonely around here without him already, without his quips, and so forth. I came in a little late at lunch today and he said, "You are late, Pressler. We are going to count you late." He was full of quips all the time. I pay tribute to my friend,

BOB DOLE, a great U.S. Senator, who will be a great President.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, we witnessed today the departure from the Senate of one of the giants of American history. On a day like this, obviously, all of your memories come back to you. I remember the first time I met BOB DOLE. It was in this room in the early part of 1969. I was a fuzzy-cheeked staffer back here on what was then these big stuffed couches. BOB DOLE was a freshman Senator. Since desks on the floor of the Senate were assigned on the basis of seniority, he sat near the back. I remember him as being the most popular of the freshman Republicans with the staff. Why? Because he was nice to us. This is a place where, as many know, some Senators are a little full of themselves and frequently are not all that nice to staff. BOB DOLE was not only nice to us, his humor was often practiced on us before he related some of it on the floor.

In short, you could sense from the beginning, from the day BOB DOLE walked in here, that he was something special, that he was not going to be just your average Senator. So like everybody else, I watched his development over the years. I left as a staffer and went back home to do my own thing. My next recollection of BOB DOLE was in 1980, his first campaign for President, which was not conspicuously successful. I remember picking him up one day in Kentucky and taking him to a meeting and watching him tirelessly work the crowd. He had to have a sense that his campaign was failing. But as Woody Allen said, "Eighty percent of life is showing up." BOB DOLE was driven. He always showed up. He continued to push.

The next time I saw him was in 1984, 3 days before the Senate race in Kentucky. All of a sudden, the word had spread around that this challenger in the Senate race in Kentucky might have a shot. BOB and Elizabeth Dole came in, and we wheeled around the State in their plane, and they gave me the boost I needed at the end to get over the finish line.

In short, like everybody else here, I have had a number of reminiscences of this great American. On a day like this, they all come back. It seems like there is a giant sort of gap here in the Senate with his departure. Today was a bitter-sweet day for all of us. I think it is kind of a mixture of exhilaration for him that he goes out on this new challenge, undeterred by all of the restraints that are obvious here, but at the same time he regretted his departure. I only add: God-

speed, BOB DOLE. I think we will be seeing you in Government once again.

Mr. SMITH. Madam President, today I rise to join so many of my colleagues in a tribute to my friend and my leader, Senator BOB DOLE, who, as we all know, is leaving the Senate today, June 11, 1996.

As a former history teacher, I could not help but sense the historical significance of this day. It really was a flashback to the old days of the great oratory that took place on the Senate floor, with the likes of Calhoun and Clay and others, when BOB DOLE took the podium that he so many times has stood at and addressed the U.S. Senate. You could hear a pin drop in the Chamber and in the gallery, not always the case here on the Senate floor, with a lot of hustling and bustling and talking and people not paying attention.

That was not the case today. Senator BOB DOLE took that podium, addressed the country, the Chair, his colleagues and friends, many, many staff in the galleries, and the Chamber was hushed and quiet and everybody was listening—as well they should, Madam President, because when the history books are written, they will write about the great Senators who have occupied this Chamber: Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Bob La Follette, Robert Taft and, yes, Daniel Webster. Daniel Webster used this very desk, Madam President, that I now have the privilege of speaking from.

It reminds me that we are just a brief blip on the radar screen of time; here for only an instant. But BOB DOLE is one of the great ones, and he will be remembered as one of the great ones.

As a history student, I tried to catch a sense of what was happening. I looked at faces, watched people in this Chamber, as I watched, at the same time, Senator DOLE. Without singling anybody out by name, I could not help but notice one page, a young lady, standing here on the floor of the Chamber during that speech and after the speech with tears running down her cheeks. It really was a very moving tribute to the kind of person BOB DOLE is, because he commands the respect of not only his colleagues but every single man, woman, youngster, page. He could talk to a page as easily as he could talk to a President or world leader. That is what makes him such a great man.

Today, he left the Senate to move on to other things. I remember many emotional private goodbyes that he shared with his colleagues. I remember when we had the meeting when he told us he was leaving. Most of us did not expect

him to do it. If we were honest, we would say we did not expect him to say that. We thought he might leave the leadership post but not the Senate. But when he did it, and the way he told us, we knew it was the right thing. We knew it was right, because he needed to be out there debating, not other Senators on the floor of the Senate, but the President of the United States for the Presidency. We all knew that.

Today, I think you saw with the type of speech that BOB DOLE gave the kind of person he is: humble, gracious, and humorous, that great sense of humor. In all the tough battles we have here, he still finds that humor, which has always been a remarkable characteristic.

So he is leaving the Senate. But he left today after that speech with the longest applause that I have ever seen given anyone in this Chamber or in the House Chamber. I have seen Presidents when we have gone to the State of the Union—great Presidents—receive a lot of ovations. I have never seen anybody receive a longer ovation than BOB DOLE received here today, and that is a tribute to this great man who was elected to the House of Representatives where, Madam President, you and I both served together. He was elected in 1960 and served four terms in the House before he was elected to the U.S. Senate, which really has come to be, the past 27 years, his home.

But he gave nearly 36 years of service to the State of Kansas and to the people of the United States of America. When you think about that many years of public service and reflect on the fact there is not one word or taint of scandal in any way, shape, or form, an unblemished, perfect political record, it is remarkable.

He served his country and the Senate and the people with humor, with humility, and we will never forget him.

His wife, Elizabeth, who has been by his side for so many years, is such a gracious woman and such an asset to BOB DOLE. Those who serve here know how important the support of your family is as you put in the long, long hours that we have to endure in the Senate.

BOB DOLE said today in his remarks, "My word is my bond." That is what it is all about. It is character. It is integrity and character. If you leave here, the legacy you leave, if no one says anything about you other than when he gave his word he kept it, you cannot do any better than that.

I tried to think about what I might say here as my tribute in my own way, because so many people have so many wonderful things to say about this great man. I just want to

share a couple of personal things, because they are important to me and I think it captures my feeling about BOB DOLE.

I come from a military family. My father served in World War II as a naval aviator and was killed at the end of the war, leaving my mother as a widow to raise my brother and me. She did that alone. I lost my dad, as I say, in World War II, and BOB DOLE nearly lost his life in that same war. Severely injured, he had to fight his way back, not only from the brink of death but after that, paralysis, and became a U.S. Senator.

But we, the sons and daughters of that generation, those of us who had parents who were in that war, World War II, we know, we are grateful. Perhaps we know and are a little bit more grateful than others for what they did and the sacrifices they made and how important they were to save the world from tyranny. It took heroes like BOB DOLE—and he was a hero, he is a hero—it took heroes like BOB DOLE to make that happen. We owe him, and thousands of others like him, a huge debt of gratitude for their service and their sacrifice to our country, because when the call came, they stepped up and they stopped tyranny.

So BOB DOLE did not get here the easy way. We hear a lot of stories about how everybody in the Senate is rich and everybody gets here the easy way and you live this great life, but BOB DOLE made it the hard way. You cannot help but admire and respect a man like that.

I turned to him in 1993 to be a part of one of the most personal and meaningful experiences of my entire life, and I want to share that with my colleagues and with the American people.

When my father died in 1945, it was 2 days before my fourth birthday, so I only have two memories of my dad. My brother has no memories of our dad, because he was less than a year old. I had always wanted to have my father buried at Arlington, but I never wanted to bring that subject up with my mother because he was not buried at Arlington and I did not want to put my mother through that experience of having his remains moved from where he was buried in New Jersey to come here to Arlington where I believe he would have liked to have been laid to rest. So I put it off.

Then in May 1993, my mother passed away. She used to say she was a one-man woman, and she was. She never remarried after she lost my dad. But she always would go by

the cemetery and she would say, "Put me there with him so that we can be together forever."

When I made the decision to bury my parents—both of them—at Arlington National Cemetery in May 1993, I asked Senator DOLE if he would have the time to come and give a few remarks at that service. Within a matter of minutes, the response came back: "Of course."

I asked BOB DOLE to say just a few words. I listened as this man made connections to my parents that I just could not believe anyone could do so spontaneously. He did not know my mother. He did not know my father. But I listened to BOB DOLE say very movingly of how my father had stood guard in the night and how he had made the ultimate sacrifice. I listened as he spoke of how my mother had stood guard here at home when my father went away to war. I listened, Madam President, and I knew how proud my father and mother were, looking down from Heaven to see this American hero, BOB DOLE, speaking at their memorial service in Arlington National Cemetery.

He even made the connection my dad served on the U.S.S. Wichita. He said, "Any man who would serve on the U.S.S. Wichita, named after a city in Kansas, had to be a great man." He made that ceremony so personal that many of my relatives came up to me afterwards and said, "Did Senator DOLE know your parents?" I said, "I think he did. I really think he did."

So holding BOB DOLE in the esteem I do, I was honored that only 8 months into my first term in the Senate, Senator DOLE selected me to be vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs. It was a great honor for me to serve in that capacity. I shall always be grateful to BOB DOLE for giving me that opportunity. Of course, he also selected me for the Ethics Committee, and I may hold that against him for a little while.

But, Madam President, in 1994, I had another moving experience. I attended the 50th anniversary commemoration of D-Day at Normandy. I saw there a sight that I will never ever forget. My wife Mary Jo and I went, and BOB DOLE went as well. He retraced his steps in Italy. To see him there back with those people who helped to save his life, and to walk those hills where he was wounded, and then to go to Normandy after he left Italy, to the beaches of Normandy with those rows and rows and rows of crosses, and to think of the sacrifices, and men in wheelchairs, men with lost limbs, hugging, saluting this man—it was a great honor just

to be there for the celebration of Normandy, but to be there in the company of BOB DOLE, I shall always be grateful to Senator DOLE for giving me that opportunity. I have never seen such admiration, gratitude, respect, and love as there was for that man. They loved him. They absolutely loved him.

Another just little thing, but last summer I had two young interns, just college kids, Jennifer Kilgus and Greg Annis. They were walking down the corridor of the Capitol, just taking a walk. They decided to stop in to the majority leader's office just to say they went in there, hoping maybe they might have the chance to meet BOB DOLE.

Not only did he agree to see them with no appointment, but in the midst of a very busy schedule he spent 15 minutes talking to them, two young interns in his office, giving them the thrill of their lives. That is the kind of man BOB DOLE is. That is why there were tears in the eyes of that page when BOB DOLE said he was leaving.

Finally, Madam President, as the senior Senator from New Hampshire, I cannot help but note that somehow BOB DOLE has managed to spend quite a bit of time in New Hampshire over the past few years. He lost a tough primary in New Hampshire but went across the Nation with a stunning series of smashing primary victories as he won the Republican nomination for President. Gracious in defeat and gracious in victory.

He has been to New Hampshire just to enjoy its beautiful lakes and mountains and countrysides. Perhaps, Madam President, you never know, there might even be a summer White House in New Hampshire someplace.

Final anecdote. I remember Senator DOLE, I believe 2 years ago, saying to me, "You know, my Elizabeth would really like to go water-skiing. But we would really not like to have a crowd around. Could you arrange that so that we didn't have to have a bunch of people with cameras so she could relax and enjoy herself?" And we did. She is a great water-skier, too.

So, Madam President, I join my colleagues in saying farewell, but not goodbye, to BOB DOLE. The last thing I said to Senator BOB DOLE on the floor of the Senate, as I shook his hand after his remarks, was, "I'll see you at your swearing in for President on the West Front of the Capitol on January 20, 1997." He said, "I'll be there." I said, "I know you will, Mr. President." I have been proud to serve with BOB DOLE in the U.S. Senate. I will be prouder still next year to fight

as a Senator to help President BOB DOLE pass the agenda that he dreams about for America.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, I will take just a couple of minutes beyond that which was allocated to me by the Senator from Nebraska to say that I, too, listened very intently to Senator DOLE's remarks today. I was touched and moved by them.

I will not go into his record, and I will not go to any length, but I want to say that BOB DOLE is someone whom I have admired over the years, with whom I have worked very smoothly. When he said it, he meant it. When he meant it, he said it. That is the way he operated.

He is part of a generation, of which I also am, and that is the generation of World War II veterans, a dwindling group, I regret to say. This year we will see several leave because, in addition to Senator BOB DOLE, Senator Hatfield, and Senator Heflin will leave, and the group tightens and shrinks. It is not a very pleasant prospect to contemplate. But, nevertheless, it is a decided loss to take away the experience, the knowledge, the reflection of those who served in World War II at a time when America was a much different place, at a time when the values were established by tightly knit families, by those who worried about the loss of a loved one or the injury of a family member in the war. It was a huge war with somewhere around 14, 15 million people from our country in uniform. It touched every family in America. There was not a family that did not have close contact with that war.

We were also the generation that benefited enormously—enormously—from an educational program called the GI bill that was afforded to people like me and many others who serve here, where it changed our lives. The military experience was one thing. I served in World War II, not under the same level of danger that Senator DOLE or Senator Inouye served, but people in my unit were killed. It changed our lives because of the experience of the war, the fear, the danger, the detachment from family. When I enlisted in World War II, my father was already on his death bed, a man of just 43 years of age. And a family of four became a family of two virtually overnight.

But the experience of serving my country, the opportunity to do so, the opportunity to get an education, is something that ought to be firmly implanted in everybody's mind in this place and in this country, where an education can change

one's life, as it did, I know for so many of my colleagues. Certainly, it did for me.

Without giving a personal biography, that is not my intent, just to say that we will miss BOB DOLE. We will miss his experience and we will miss his wisdom. I wish him well—not quite as well as the Senator from New Hampshire, but that is in terms of the upcoming Presidential election—I wish him, personally, well and I wish him and his family many good years of enjoyment and good health.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam President, I will not keep us long in the closing hours of the U.S. Senate in what will certainly be recognized and reported as a historic day.

Madam President, this evening I want to add to my earlier remarks two thoughts that I think are appropriate as many of our colleagues have come to the floor today to express their sadness, their reminiscent thoughts, and in some instances our joy that BOB DOLE is now free to lead our party, my party, the Republican Party, in his quest for the Presidency.

Over the last 2 years I have had the privilege of developing a unique relationship with leader BOB DOLE. I chair the steering committee here in the Senate, better known as the conservatives, or a group of conservatives, and there have been many occasions when I have been instructed by that group to go sit down with our leader and express our concern over a given issue.

It has been over the course of that time that I have gotten to know BOB DOLE for the person that so many have spoken to today: a man whose leadership, and his concern about our country and this institution, the Senate, was always foremost. He did so in style and dignity. BOB DOLE is one of those people who could tell you no with as much sincerity as he could tell you yes; that he would take your issue and carry it forward, or that he did not believe what you were discussing with him was appropriate at the time and that sometime in the future it might fit. That was the kind of person who I have grown to know and respect in my first term here in the U.S. Senate.

Another issue that BOB DOLE has been more than fair to this Senator on is the issue of my leadership on the balanced budget amendment. I had started that effort in the House in the 1980's, but it was some years after BOB DOLE had already presented the idea here in the U.S. Senate. I, along with the Presiding Officer at this moment, had felt the im-

portance of this issue and had worked hard to make it a national issue.

When I arrived here in the Senate in 1990 as the citizens of Idaho chose me as one of their U.S. Senators, BOB DOLE was very quick to say, "Larry, that is your issue, and we want you to lead." As our committee meetings went forward, or as there were press conferences, or as there were other gatherings in behalf of a balanced budget amendment, BOB DOLE attended them religiously. But with his seniority and with his prestige, he was always willing to step back and say to people like myself, or Orrin Hatch, or others, or Paul Simon, "This is your issue. You lead with it. You carry it."

When we convened the historic 104th session, as BOB DOLE become the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, he was very quick to say to me and others, "This is an issue that will be one of our lead issues this year, and I want you, Larry Craig, or Orrin Hatch, or Paul Simon, to lead me."

What I am saying is that in all of the opportunities that BOB DOLE had to be in the forefront, there were many occasions when he was very willing to step back and let others lead, and I think that is the sign of a leader. I think that is the expression of the confidence that he had in himself, but at the same time the willingness to share that with all of us as he saw the importance of broadening our base and carrying these issues forward.

I, along with every Senator in this body, will miss BOB DOLE as our majority leader.

But I say that I am excited about the future. And I am excited about the opportunity someday, as I believe I will have that opportunity, to say to BOB DOLE, "Mr. President, it is my pleasure to serve you."

ORDER FOR PRINTING A SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the tributes to Senator DOLE be printed as a Senate document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WEDNESDAY, *June 12, 1996.*

Mr. KYL. BOB DOLE's statement upon announcing he would give up his Senate seat to run for the Presidency—

that he is “just a man”—packs a lot in a simple string of words, as is his habit. This phrase captures the modesty, the simplicity, and above all the straightforwardness and honesty of the Senator from Kansas. Men like BOB DOLE achieve great things because they go at them directly, with no ifs, ands, or buts asking a lot of themselves and taking responsibility for the bottom line.

Senator DOLE’s more than 35 years of service to the Congress of the United States have been filled with great accomplishments because he never let up, he brought people of different views together to hammer out legislation, and he was an honest broker trusted by everyone. My father, Congressman John Kyl of Iowa, served with then-Congressman DOLE in the House of Representatives in the 1960’s and knew him to be a man of leadership and utter integrity. As Congressman DOLE, and later Senator DOLE, learned his job as a legislator, he never lost that sense of being “just a man” from Russell, KS. He is not one to be dazzled by the bright lights, the pomp, and the power of Washington. He came armed with the simple virtues of his Kansas constituents, and those same virtues are evident in him today. He remains the embodiment of the heartland of America—a place much maligned by sophisticates, perhaps, but a place that still has the moral strengths that we Americans define ourselves by: dedication to duty, plain but honest speech, and an awareness that limited government requires of office holders that they never take their power for granted. When BOB DOLE says that he is grateful to have served his fellow citizens, those are not empty words. We believe him.

In his parting statement today, he hold us that “there are some issues that transcend politics . . . and result in legislation that makes a real and lasting difference.” Whether it is a matter of supporting civil rights, doggedly backing our military troops in an unpopular conflict in Indochina during the 1960’s and 1970’s, or ensuring access to public places for disabled Americans in the 1990’s, he has often put aside partisanship and laid it on the line for the things he believes in. His statesmanship, his ability to come to closure for the sake of the common good, is well known to those of us who have worked with him inside this institution. But perhaps few outside of the Congress are aware of it. If everyone could know him as we do, they would see a man with an extraordinary capacity to see beyond the heated conflicts of the moment, to keep the big picture in mind, and to reach a consensus that yields practical results. If everyone knew him as

well as his colleagues do, they would see that BOB DOLE has everything it takes to be President of this country.

Of the Senate he now says, on the day of his departure, "It is a place that I have loved." Again, no rhetorical flourishes, just simple words of emotion, and all the more powerful for being unadorned. He reached the pinnacle of leadership among Senate Republicans, and for all too short a time has been leader of the Chamber itself. But he has walked away, and in characteristic style. BOB DOLE is at the peak of his powers. But he moves on, ready to take on the biggest challenge in a life full of challenges. He has demonstrated—and in a remarkably dramatic way—that he is not one to rest on his laurels; instead, he is the kind of man who does honor to every contest he enters.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator ROBERT J. DOLE of Russell, KS for his 35 years of service in the U.S. Congress. Tuesday was a sad day for the U.S. Senate, for we lost one of our great leaders. It was also a sad day for me personally, for I lost a trusted colleague and a valued friend in the Senate. As the Republican leader in the Senate for 11 years, Senator DOLE has left his fingerprints on every piece of legislation that has passed the Congress. His legacy will be remembered forever as one of vast legislative achievement.

I got my first glimpse of Senator DOLE's legislative abilities when I came to Congress in 1975. In the wake of Watergate, and the massive congressional turnover that ensued, I was secured the position of ranking member of the House Agriculture Subcommittee with jurisdiction over the dairy industry. As a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator DOLE and I worked closely together on many issues. I remember well the bonds we formed as conferees together on farm bills and working together to pass legislation for food stamps and child nutrition.

Later, as I gained seniority on the House Education and Labor Committee, we worked together again on disability policy. Senator DOLE's commitment and determination to the passage of legislation ensuring that all Americans, regardless of physical disability, had equal opportunity was inspirational.

In 1989 when I became a member of the U.S. Senate, I had the privilege of seeing Senator DOLE's leadership abilities first-hand everyday. I have watched with amazement his ability to pull legislative initiatives out of the fire, and prevail on issues from civil rights to Social Security reform. In

Vermont there's a saying, "You can't get there from here." Well, Senator DOLE proved that adage wrong time and time again as he has moved legislation through the Senate.

In an institution where you are only as good as your word, Senator DOLE prospered. His ability to build coalitions and form consensus on some of this Nation's most pressing issues is a testament to his integrity and character. In a world that has become ever more crude and impertinent, Senator DOLE has defined "the word" civility.

Tuesday was a bittersweet day, for although I'm sad Senator DOLE has left us in the Senate, I know he'll be close by as he seeks higher aspirations. I only hope that he knows that this is one Senator who feels that the U.S. Senate will never be the same without him.

MONDAY, *June 24, 1996.*

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, in my 22 years here in the Senate, I have had a chance to witness many historic events in this Chamber. When I leave the Senate, I hope to write a book about some of these.

One of the truly historic events was a speech given by our former majority leader, the senior Senator from Kansas, Senator DOLE. I think, Mr. President, that there will be historians who read the Record of that event; but in reading the Record they will read only the words. They will not really see the event. I would like to add, for those historians who may read that, that at the time Senator DOLE gave his speech, most of the Republicans and most of the Democrats were on the floor.

As the Presiding Officer knows, when Senators speak, even though we may all be on the floor, oftentimes we do not listen. This was an exception. Every single Senator on the floor listened, and listened carefully. They heard a speech that was vintage BOB DOLE—plain to the point, with flashes of the humor that we know so well. Even when he was corrected by the then distinguished Presiding Officer, the President pro tempore, when the President pro tempore spoke of his around-the-clock filibuster, Senator DOLE ad libbed. "And that is why you are not often invited to be an after dinner speaker."

There is far more than just humor in that there is real affection from Senators of both parties—affection for a man

who earned it. He earned it as one of the finest Senators I have had a chance to serve with. I have been here with great majority leaders, such as Senator Mansfield, Senator Byrd, Senator Baker, Senator Mitchell and, of course, Senator DOLE. I was thinking how good it was to be in a Senate led by Senator DOLE on the Republican side and Senator Daschle on the Democratic side. It is not just his leadership, but his role as a U.S. Senator that earned him respect and affection from both sides of the aisle.

I began serving on the same committee with BOB DOLE when I came here as a junior member of the Agriculture Committee. I watched how he worked with Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern, as well as key members on the Republican side, on nutrition matters—school lunch, school breakfast, and food stamps. After Senator McGovern and Senator Humphrey were gone, it fell on me to pick up our side of the aisle on that.

Throughout the years, there were a number of DOLE-Leahy and Leahy-DOLE amendments on nutrition that passed. I have worked with him on major farm bills. This last one was the DOLE-Leahy-Lugar farm bill in the Senate.

When Senator DOLE was ready to leave the Senate, I went to see him, and I spoke to him and told him that it had been a privilege to work with him and that there were an awful lot of people who were fed—hungry Americans—because of legislation we were able to work on together.

It certainly was not just me, by any means. I think of another giant in the Senate, Pat Moynihan, who stood in the well of the Senate, with Senators milling around, and had a conversation with Senator DOLE. It was in the early 1980's when we thought the reform of Social Security was dead. Senator Moynihan said to Senator DOLE, "Let us try one more time." And because the two of them worked first on what was best for the country—not necessarily what was best for each other's political future or the future of the parties—and they worked in a nonpartisan fashion, they saved Social Security. It required two Senators of that stature, with respect on both sides of the aisle, to do it, and Senators who were willing to put everything else aside.

So much will be written during this year, and each of our parties will support our nominee for President. No matter which way the Presidential election comes out, the country should understand that it benefited by Senator DOLE being in the Senate. I say this as a Member of the other party. I hope that all Senators, Republicans and Democrats, will re-

alize that the Senate itself is bigger than any one of us. We owe a duty not just to our political fortunes, but to the U.S. Senate and to help be the conscience of this great Nation. We have to work together, first and foremost, for what is best for the Nation, not each other.

I salute the good Senator, my good friend, Senator BOB DOLE, and I will miss him here in the Senate.

## Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *June 11, 1996.*

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, today is the day of the "great escape." The presumptive Republican Presidential nominee, ROBERT DOLE, is leaving the U.S. Senate after 35 years of service on Capitol Hill.

As a loyal Democrat, let me first salute Mr. DOLE. His service to his country, both in World War II and since, has been exemplary. He has been a legislative leader, one that is virtually unparalleled in terms of his own party's leadership, and he has been at the table when many of the most important legislative achievements of the last several generations have been enacted, and I salute him for that.

But I certainly do understand why he wants to escape from the 104th Congress, the Congress which the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Gingrich] called his "revolution."

Take a look at what Mr. DOLE is leaving behind as he leaves Washington, DC. First, the failure of this 104th Republican Congress to enact meaningful health insurance reform. Families that I speak to across the State of Illinois and around the country are justifiably concerned about the availability and cost of health insurance. There is a bipartisan bill, the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, that is languishing now between the House and the Senate waiting for enactment. Mr. DOLE will be leaving Washington without the enactment of this important health insurance reform legislation to help working families.

Second, Mr. DOLE is leaving town without a minimum-wage increase. That is something that is long overdue. Fortunately, 30 or 40 Republicans broke from Speaker Gingrich here in the House of Representatives and joined the Democrats in passing minimum-wage increase legislation just a few weeks ago, but Mr. DOLE will be leaving town without this bill being enacted into law.

He came into Chicago a few weeks ago and took off his tie, and put on a sports coat and said, "I'm just a plain individual out here running for President, just one of the people."

I hope he gets a chance in that capacity to meet some minimum-wage workers, and I hope they get a chance to ask Mr. DOLE why he left town without helping them and their families cope with the increasing cost of raising their families and providing for a sound future.

He will be leaving town without a balanced budget, and that is something which could have been achieved with bipartisan cooperation.

Mr. DOLE will be leaving Washington without this 104th Congress having acted to expand access to educational opportunity. Instead, the Gingrich-DOLE agenda cut back on college student loans for kids from working families. I do not understand that. I would not be standing here today if it were not for a college student loan through the Federal Government. My story has been repeated millions of times over in the United States: kids from working families who could not afford college tuition turn to the Government for a helping hand. Instead of providing that hand, the Gingrich-DOLE Congress has basically cut off educational opportunity for so many kids, not only at the college level but also at the lower levels.

There has been no real welfare reform when there should have been. We ought to be able to agree that this welfare system can be reformed meaningfully, that we can, in fact, have provisions that are tough on work but not tough on kids, and unfortunately the Gingrich-DOLE proposal was not one that really would reform welfare and help people come off of welfare and become taxpayers.

There are no tax cuts for working families that Mr. DOLE can point to from the 104th Congress. The Gingrich-DOLE Republicans have wanted to make tax cuts for the wealthy, to cut Medicare to come up with money to give to wealthy individuals.

But what the President has proposed is much more sensible: Let us give working families a helping hand to pay for the college education of their kids. Now, that is something that families all over America can identify with. People, when they have a new baby in the family, go over and greet the new baby and congratulate the new parents, and after a few minutes inevitably the conversation turns to, well, we better start saving some money for this little boy or this little girl and their college education.

President Clinton has a proposal to give working families a helping hand, a tax deduction or a tax credit to pay for college education expenses. Mr. Gingrich and Mr. DOLE will

hear nothing of this, and, as a consequence, Mr. DOLE will leave Washington without having done anything in the 104th Congress to help expand that opportunity.

There have been no improvements in pension security. A lot of workers across America are paying into pension funds wondering if the time comes when they retire that the money will be there. The gentleman from Georgia [Gingrich] has provided in his own bill opportunities for corporations to raid these pension funds. The people that I speak to, the workers I speak to, want security in those pension funds. It is a shame that Mr. DOLE is leaving Washington without the 104th Congress having addressed that.

And, finally, no improvements in environmental protection. In fact, the Republican budget that Mr. Gingrich and Mr. DOLE worked on would cut the number of Superfund sites that will be eradicated in this country.

It is understandable that Mr. DOLE is leaving Washington. Certainly we can understand why a presidential candidate would want to leave the scene of this political accident known as the 104th Congress.

WEDNESDAY, *June 12, 1996.*

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Senate majority leader ROBERT J. DOLE became a private citizen. He left us in Congress a legacy of integrity, honesty and character. Character is something that you develop when no one is around, as Senator DOLE did in his service to his country during World War II and the 39 months that followed as he struggled to regain his ability to walk. Honesty is something that he has provided to the American public even when it was unpopular. Integrity is something Senator DOLE has undergone with three decades of public scrutiny and three presidential campaigns. He has worked hard throughout that time to do the right thing.

Mr. Speaker, we will miss Senator DOLE on the Hill, but we will welcome him with open arms as he moves into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, as I stood on the floor of the other body watching my friend BOB DOLE say farewell, I was impressed, as always, by his remarks—which were delivered with his trademark sincerity and self-deprecating humor. But I was just as impressed with the re-

sponse he got from the crowd, which ran the gamut from Senators and House Members to capitol tour guides, pages, and Senate staff.

It was clear to me that everyone present, regardless of party affiliation, age or importance, held this man in high regard. There was a palpable sense of affection and respect in that room—the kind of affection and respect that is only given to someone who has earned it over the years.

I would venture to say that although most Americans know about BOB DOLE's leadership; his record of service; his keen intellect, and his commitment to making a difference for America, many of them do not know what the crowd in the Senate Chamber knew—that BOB DOLE is a man with tremendous heart, and that he has served the American people, and the institution of the Senate for many years with everything he had to give.

BOB is known around here as one of the kindest, most generous people in Washington—the man who knows everyone in the Capitol, from the plumbers and the carpenters to the Senators and the reporters—and treats everyone the same. He is known as a leader of great skill, vision, and rock-solid integrity, and he is known as a man with heart.

It was BOB's heart that led him to serve our Nation during war, and that gave him the strength to recover from injuries that would have killed many men.

It is his heart that makes him someone who is consistently rated as a favorite by Capitol employees, and who has gone out of his way time and again to help me since I came to Washington. It is his heartfelt belief in the American ideals of hard work, individual responsibility and helping others that has led him to work night and day to make a difference for this Nation.

BOB DOLE is a proven leader and a true American hero. He has the character, the courage, the compassion—and the heart—to lead this Nation into the next century, and I join with all his other friends, and colleagues in wishing him well as he departs Capitol Hill to move on to his next challenge.

## **ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS**



[From the Buffalo News, May 18, 1996]

BOB DOLE'S LEADERSHIP IN THE SENATE WAS ONE OF CONTRASTS; AND  
CONSENSUS

(By Elaine S. Povich)

In 1983, Senate Majority Leader BOB DOLE played a pivotal role in bailing out the Social Security system.

But in a bold budget-cutting move 2 years later, the Kansas Republican pressured the Senate to vote for a reduction in the Social Security cost-of-living raise—only to see then-President Reagan and the right wing of his own party abandon him and contribute to the loss of his Senate majority.

In 1981, DOLE engineered Reagan's tax cut, but he spent the next several years passing tax-increase bills, with acronyms like TEFRA and DEFRA, trying to make up the revenue that was lost.

DOLE was instrumental in bringing together unlikely coalitions to pass bills like the Americans With Disabilities Act and to secure aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. His 27-year Senate career, while notable for its achievements, is a study in such contradictions, capped off by his decision to leave at a time when the body is in disarray and desperate for the kind of leadership DOLE provided so well in the past.

The current Republican effort to roll back the 1993 gasoline tax and the Democratic effort to increase the minimum wage are in limbo, the budget is not passed and health care legislation is mired in controversy.

Even the race to succeed him is up in the air. Majority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS), is poised to move up to the top job but could face challenges from fellow Mississippian Thad Cochran as well as Senator Don Nickles (R-OK), or possibly Pete Domenici (R-NM).

Nonetheless, DOLE will be remembered in the Senate for using strong-arm tactics when necessary or patiently outlasting rivals to shepherd controversial legislation. He almost always looked lively and awake, even during legislative sessions that lasted all night.

"I think BOB DOLE will go down in the history of the Senate alongside the modern greats such as Lyndon Johnson and Robert Taft," said Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX), who has been a rival of Dole both in this year's Presidential campaign and in the Senate. "He is a great leader and a great legislator. "Dole is a consensus builder, and that's the basic glue that holds the Senate together," said Gramm, who earlier in this year's Presidential campaign had criticized DOLE for putting consensus over conviction.

Even his Democratic rivals respected his skill.

After the Super Tuesday primaries in March when DOLE had all but clinched the Republican nomination and returned to Senate business, Minority Leader Thomas Daschle (D-SD), told reporters, "Look at this week; BOB DOLE came back and things got done." That week, the Congress struggled out of a budget stalemate and passed several other pieces of legislation.

Wednesday, West Virginia Senator Robert Byrd, who like DOLE has served as both majority and minority leader, called his colleague "a tireless workhorse of a legislator." And Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey, who heads the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, said that while he disagrees with DOLE "on many of the major issues, I still find it easy to admire and respect the man and what he has done for the Nation."

When DOLE made a bad decision, even a whopper, he usually dismissed it with a quip and went on to the next thing. As part of a 1982 tax-increase bill, DOLE supported automatic tax withholding of 10 percent of interest and

dividends. The outcry that followed implementation of that legislation was so strong that Congress repealed it the next year.

“We made a little mistake,” DOLE commented wryly to reporters at the time.

According to Senators, it was DOLE who first realized how to put together a Republican coalition to stop President Clinton’s health care overhaul plan 2 years ago.

Ideological rivals such as Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D–MA), respect him in the old-style way that allows them to be congenial after hours. But there’s no question that recent Democratic efforts to stymie legislation led to DOLE’s increasing frustration and his inability to use the Senate as a platform from which to run for President.

Earlier in his career, working with Reagan, DOLE was able to gain approval of the aid to the Contras, something Reagan wanted. But DOLE also passed through the Senate sanctions against the government of South Africa in the 1980s—something the Senate wanted but Reagan did not.

And while he seems to be able to mold his positions on many issues in extraordinary deal-cutting ability, he has a couple issues that are heartfelt, including helping the disabled and aiding agricultural interests.

Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican who became a close DOLE adviser after Gramm dropped out of the race, said in an interview Wednesday that DOLE had another key quality—his “dedication to the office of President of the United States.”

McCain also noted that DOLE had the deep respect of both sides of the aisle.

“If there was a secret ballot for President among the Members of the Senate,” McCain said, “the vote would be 100 to zero.”



[From the Plain Dealer, May 21, 1996]

#### THAT WAS THE REAL BOB DOLE

(By Senator Mike DeWine)

The BOB DOLE I know is the person the country saw when he bid farewell to a 35-year career in the U.S. Senate to run for President.

In politics, one’s image quite often differs from one’s true qualities, and that certainly is the case with BOB DOLE. I watched his earlier press conferences and read the stories in the newspapers about him and realized something was missing. That something was the real BOB DOLE, the individual, the leader, the war hero, the consensus builder and the man of enormous compassion.

Listening to his farewell speech, I saw those qualities on public display when he used concise words to carry a larger message: that he has not just made up his mind to run for President but he intends to win. BOB DOLE is a man of few words, but he shows tremendous character and leadership in his actions.

Upon joining the Senate a little more than a year ago, I became a DOLE watcher because of my fascination with how he got things done. I’ve seen him preside over four meetings at the same time without losing sight of the big picture. He did not get bogged down in petty details, as some critics have claimed, but rather was able to do just the opposite by understanding what needed to be done.

As an example of his leadership ability, he pulled together a broad coalition to reach a consensus on welfare reform that passed the Senate by a whopping 87 votes (though unfortunately it didn't get past the President's desk). But DOLE was able to deal with the governors, no easy task, and the Senate, equally difficult, and put together a fair and balanced welfare reform measure. He was able to accomplish this amazing feat because he never lost sight of the need to reform a system that has long failed the people it was intended to help.

During his farewell speech, the majority leader showed what was so evident to those who have worked with him—he can make the tough and right decision. What few people recognize is that the Senate leader has fewer tools to control the Senate than the Speaker has in the House. The Senate leader rules by consensus of 100 of the biggest egos in the world.

I've been to more than one meeting where a Senator complained that he or she had not been consulted on an issue. The Senator's ego was bruised. DOLE would answer those complaints by saying, "If you don't want me to be the leader, then I won't be the leader. But someone has to make the decision."

My admiration for BOB DOLE goes beyond his ability as the majority leader. It is personal, too. He has the insight of someone who suffered an enormous and unexpected tragedy. He was a star athlete who went off to war and came back with crippling injuries. This is not campaign hype; if anything, he would rather downplay what he struggles with every day since he was blown apart in World War II.

We all expect in life to lose our parents, even a spouse, but there are defining tragedies that go beyond the normal course of events. I've thought about this since suffering the loss of my daughter, Becky. I, too, am reticent to talk about such a deep and personal tragedy but I cannot help but admire the way DOLE has worked through his own suffering. He understands daily pain, and I take great comfort from seeing this in him.

He understands that life is not fair. He has learned to understand himself through dealing with pain. These are not bad qualities to have in a President. The President who comes to mind, who reminds me the most of BOB DOLE, is Franklin D. Roosevelt, who also faced physical disability with silent courage. Like Roosevelt, BOB DOLE's identity—and his understanding of life—were forged by pain.

Because the room was so crowded last Wednesday, I could not see the expression on BOB DOLE's face during his speech, but I could hear the emotion in his voice. He has the two seemingly opposite qualities of toughness and compassion. That was true last week. He had to be tough to leave the Senate; most people do not leave voluntarily after spending a lifetime to get there. But his more emotional side was shown too. His voice quivered during his announcement, not an easy public display for him, and he was even more emotional when he broke up during an earlier private meeting with us.

As difficult as this decision was for him, I believe BOB DOLE will find it liberating to leave the Senate. I recall my decision to make a second run for the Senate after losing the first time. I realized that if I lost this second bid, my political career would be over. I thought, "If I lose this race, then what happens?" The same is now true for BOB DOLE, who said he has "nowhere to go but the White House or home."

More than ever, I am convinced he will go to the White House. He is convinced that he will win or he would not have made the decision to leave the Senate. It was not a question of whether he could run for President and lead

the Senate at the same time. What BOB DOLE needed to fix in his own mind was that his time as majority leader had passed and the time had come to be President. Once he made the mental leap from Senator to President, it was time to act.

This is the real BOB DOLE. He looked presidential as he bid us goodbye. I will always remember his demeanor and courage during his farewell to the Senate.



[From the State Journal-Register (Springfield, IL), May 24, 1996]

AS MEMBER OF CONGRESS, BOB DOLE HAS HAD FEW EQUALS

(By Robert W. Merry)

The stunning nature of BOB DOLE's Senate exit and the political ramifications of his remarkable decision served to obscure an important element of the DOLE story last week: the man's legislative brilliance.

Whatever the outcome of the Kansas Republican's Presidential quest, his Senatorial record now stands as a life's work, complete unto itself. And it rises to a level of greatness with few equals in our era.

Not since Robert A. Taft of Ohio has the Congress produced a Republican legislator of DOLE's skill, finesse and force. Among Senators in the postwar era, one could argue, DOLE stands in a select circle that includes only himself, Taft and Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Others might add Illinois Republican Everett Dirksen and Montana Democrat Mike Mansfield.

Either way, DOLE is destined to bask in the soft glow of congressional history.

The Taft analogy seems most apt as the nation contemplates the DOLE legacy.

Like Taft, DOLE toiled for most of his leadership days in the minority, yet left a large stamp on multitudinous pieces of legislation. Like Taft, DOLE sometimes revealed himself as a man of slashing partisanship, yet tossed party impulses aside when it came time to divide up the pie. Like Taft, DOLE stood aloof from his colleagues, yet seemed devoid of pettiness.

And like Taft, DOLE loved the Senate, yet found it too small for the hunger of ambition that gnawed within. Thrice did each man seek his party's Presidential nomination. Taft never got it; DOLE finally did.

There is another parallel. Both Taft and DOLE demonstrated their legislative acumen as committee chairmen—Taft at Labor and Public Welfare, DOLE at Finance.

DOLE's early work as Finance Committee chairman is illustrative. He took over in January 1981 as Ronald Reagan ascended to the White House, and the first order of business was the new President's tax-cut measure. DOLE's initial approach was to reveal no discernible approach.

He said little. Nobody knew where he stood or where he intended to go. It drove administration officials crazy.

That was precisely what DOLE wanted, for he was caught between the President and his own troops. Reagan wanted a "clean bill" that included only two bold initiatives, for individuals and businesses. But members of Congress were clamoring for a host of favored tax provisions, and DOLE had to respond to those desires.

Through weeks of mumbling punctuated by perfectly timed maneuvers, public and private, DOLE sent two signals to the White House: If they wanted a bill, they would have to negotiate only with him; and they would have

to compromise. In the spring, when DOLE finally unveiled his compromise plan, it quickly became the basis for the Reagan approach. And when the plan finally cleared Congress in August, Reagan got the credit; but the man with the greatest impact on the final product was DOLE.

DOLE dominated the legislative maneuvering that produced the big 1982 tax-increase bill, the 1982 Voting Rights Act extension, the 1983 Social Security overhaul and a 1984 effort to produce a deficit-reduction “down payment.”

Those successes led to his 1985 election as the Senate’s Republican leader. Though his victory was a narrow one, DOLE moved quickly to inject some discipline into GOP ranks and bring a sense of purpose to the chamber.

DOLE likes to call himself a conservative, but he really isn’t one. His views and political passions are eclectic and don’t fit into any coherent public philosophy. DOLE is motivated first and foremost by the thrill of the legislative game, the challenge of turning bills into laws, the complex and delicate task of piecing together coalitions for action.

He dislikes true believers and ideologues, for they stand athwart his purposes. Soaring rhetoric leaves him cold, for it so often gets in the way of legislating.

And yet soaring rhetoric is what fuels a Presidential campaign and gives it coherence. It’s what turns the curious into the committed and draws the committed to the cause.

We’ll see now whether BOB DOLE, unfettered from his beloved Senate, can muster the tools of Presidential politics and mount a serious challenge to President Clinton. We may even get a chance to see whether his particular mix of political skills and impulses can guide a Presidency to success.



[From Time Magazine, May 27, 1996]

#### THE HARD WAY

(By Richard Stengel)

DOLE SPRINGS A SURPRISE—HE WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT SO MUCH HE’S  
LEAVING HIS BELOVED SENATE TO DO SO

It was time to go and he knew it. Not just because he was faltering in the polls (although that played no small part), not only because he was getting trampled in the battle of Pennsylvania Avenue (a skirmish in which he seemed to shrink rather than grow), but because every morning when BOB DOLE walked into the well of his beloved Senate, he could lose himself in the mechanics of legislation, forget for a while that he had a greater task remaining before him than cobbling together a Republican majority for a cloture vote.

BOB DOLE had to quit as both majority leader and Senator in order to make the Presidential race real to himself. Only by surrendering something he loved could he prove to himself—and to the voters and to Beltway know-it-alls—that there was something he valued even more. Only by giving up everything could he show he was willing to risk everything. As the song goes, now he had nothing left to lose.

In a low-ceiling room in the Hart Senate Office Building that was as dreary as his speech was soaring, BOB DOLE, his prairie voice thick with emotion, said, “I will seek the Presidency with nothing to fall back on but the judgment of the people and nowhere to go but the White House or

home." In front of his Senate colleagues, with whom he is far more comfortable trading quips about subcommittee chairmen, he sounded positively Reaganesque. While his colleagues looked on in sadness, DOLE announced that he would resign on or before June 11, "and I will then stand before you without office or authority, a private citizen, a Kansan, an American, just a man." He said he would do it his way, the hard way. "For little has come to me except in the hard way, which is good because we have a hard task ahead of us."

Official Washington was caught off guard by the announcement, not only because few had thought the crusty majority leader would give up the perquisites of office but also because even fewer had believed that DOLE had such a bold stroke in him. They were surprised that BOB DOLE could surprise them. The announcement came just as various Republican muckamucks around town were talking about doing something radical, but none counseled anything quite as radical as what DOLE himself concocted. In the past when DOLE campaigns flagged, he fired staff members. This time he fired himself. Noted former Senate aide Lawrence O'Donnell: "Psychologically, DOLE could never take walking out on the Senate floor as a mere Senator. He had it in him to resign but not to take a demotion."

In the latest TIME/CNN poll, conducted in the 48 hours after DOLE's speech, the soon-to-be-ex-Senator's favorability rating jumped from 43 percent to 51 percent. But while a majority of Americans approved of DOLE's action, more than three-quarters of registered voters said it would not affect how they would vote in November. Yes, they cotton to the old campaigner a little more now, but still not enough to vote for him. Bill Clinton held a formidable 22 percent lead over Senator DOLE, a margin that suggests DOLE was not exaggerating when he said he had a hard task ahead.

DOLE's reconfiguration of that task began about 4 weeks ago while he was refurbishing his tan at his Florida retreat. It was there he resolved that he needed to shake things up dramatically, perhaps make a clean break with the Senate. When he returned to Washington, he discussed in a vague way the pros and cons of such a move with campaign chief Scott Reed. Then on April 23, the day of a desultory telephone conference call to the G.O.P.'s "Team 100" fund raisers, DOLE sat in the sun outside his office with novelist and Wall Street Journal contributor Mark Helprin, whose writings on DOLE had made an impression on the Senator. Helprin broached the idea of DOLE's quitting everything—and realized that DOLE was a step ahead of him. "When I raised it," Helprin recalls, "he was looking out over the Mall. His eye seemed to be fixed on a vector between the Washington Monument and the Smithsonian." As though talking to himself, DOLE said, "If I'm going to run for President, I'm going to have to run for President."

The following day DOLE conferred with Reed in his Senate office and without preamble said he was going to resign. From the majority leadership? Reed asked. No, the whole shooting match, DOLE replied. Reed recognized the "transformational" power of such a move and encouraged DOLE to go with his own instinct. As a candidate unencumbered by office, he could follow his own version of triangulation, distancing himself from Newt and attacking Beltway Bill.

That same day Helprin was meeting with John Buckley, the new communications adviser, at Union Station, when Buckley got a message for Helprin to phone DOLE. Helprin called from a pay phone, and DOLE asked him to take a shot at writing a resignation statement. For the next few weeks the two talked every couple of days, with Helprin faxing DOLE versions of the speech. Helprin came up with the allusion to Antaeus, the giant in Greek

mythology whose strength was replenished when he touched ground. DOLE liked that. But there was much he didn't like. They went over the speech word by word at least a dozen times. Editor DOLE, Helprin says, had "the compression of age."

But matters slowed after that. One brake on the strategy was Elizabeth Dole. At the outset she was concerned that her husband would be diminished without the mantle of majority leader and that he would be forsaking the limelight of the Senate for the uncertainties of private citizenship. But she was coaxed onto the bandwagon.

By early May, however, party leaders were losing patience with DOLE, who seemed to be getting trapped in a legislative spider web of the Democrats' making. Internal Republican polls showed independents tilting dangerously Democratic (only 28 percent of registered independents said they backed DOLE in a recent TIME/CNN poll). Even voters who were disappointed with Clinton were not moving to DOLE but shifting to undecided. In a series of private meetings and at various dinners, Republican National Committee chairman Haley Barbour declared that DOLE had to focus on the Presidential campaign "to the exclusion of all else," a phrase he repeated so often it became a mantra.

On May 4, DOLE took Barbour aside and told him he was going to resign both jobs. Barbour was as relieved as he was astounded. Reed pushed DOLE to make the announcement on May 7, but Senate business intervened. Instead, May 15 was chosen. DOLE, Reed and Helprin all agreed that the speech should be short and poignant. DOLE discussed with them whether to include a section contrasting himself with Clinton, but then demurred. Although he was resigning, he had come to praise, not to bury.

The morning after the speech, DOLE opened the Senate (old habits die hard), then lit out for the territory—first stop, Chicago. He boarded the plane in his Senate uniform, dark suit, starched white shirt, sober tie, and then—Honey, get me wardrobe!—emerged in Chicago in khakis and open-neck shirt. "Quick-change artist," DOLE quipped. Clothes make the new man. It was BOB DOLE, Unplugged and Untied.

In Chicago, DOLE gave a reprise of his "what I did for love" speech (choking up at the same points) in front of an audience of 500. But it was not just an elegy; he also attacked Bill Clinton as "the champion of the Great Society status quo" and defended the 104th Congress—"We kept our promises. He vetoed them." The event was one of the last pure DOLE campaign events paid for with campaign funds. DOLE is down to his last \$200,000, and from here on out, he will go almost exclusively to State and local fund raisers so that his travel tab can be picked up by those groups. DOLE will piggy-back on the R.N.C. wherever he can and worry about spending violations when the campaign is over.

Bill Clinton hadn't believed DOLE was resigning until he heard it himself from DOLE by phone. The official White House response was muted, gracious; Clinton advisers treated it as a bittersweet retirement party for a distinguished elder statesman. Behind the scenes, however, they cast it as an act of desperation by the loser in the battle for Pennsylvania Avenue. "It affects our plans not a whit," says senior adviser George Stephanopoulos. They know DOLE will get a bump in the polls and a push from the press. "The press will be determined to give DOLE this moment to tighten up the race," press secretary Mike McCurry says slyly, "because they're so pathetically bored right now."

Voters don't cast ballots because of a single speech—or a change in wardrobe—but a speech can make people sit up and take notice, give a guy an-

other chance. That's what DOLE's speech accomplished, at least with fellow Republicans and Washington pundits who were already planning their post-November career moves. But when voters give DOLE another look, they must see more than a quick-change artist. DOLE's defining moment will instantly become a nonevent if he does not live up to his rhetoric. "Once we had a 73-year-old majority leader with no message. It won't work if in a month we just have a 73-year-old ex-majority leader with no message," says Republican strategist Bill Kristol. His message cannot be: I've quit the job I really love, so give me a better one.

DOLE's transformation represents the third "new" BOB DOLE of this campaign year. After New Hampshire there was Battlin' BOB DOLE fighting for the soul of the Republican Party. Of late there has been BOB DOLE, a Doer not a Talker, and now we have BOB DOLE, Just a Guy Without a Tie. But BOB DOLE, Citizen, may be the real thing, suggests DOLE biographer Richard Ben Cramer, author of *What It Takes*. "His resignation," Cramer says, "puts him in touch with the younger BOB DOLE, the DOLE of the Russell High basketball team who would go and pat everybody on the backside when they were losing in the fourth quarter, the never-give-up guy."

It will take more than just the doffing of a tie to make voters see BOB DOLE, Kansan, instead of BOB DOLE, Capitol Kingpin. But there is consolation if they don't. Now that he has, as he put it so eloquently, left "behind all the trappings of power, all comfort and all security," he can ascend to what Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter called the highest office in a democracy, above even that of the Presidency: citizen.



[From U.S. News & World Report, May 27, 1996]

#### REINVENTING BOB DOLE

(By Jerelyn Eddings; Steven V. Roberts, Gloria Borger, Kenneth T. Walsh,  
Bruce B. Auster, David Bowermaster, Linda Kulman)

#### THE SENATE LEADER TAKES OFF HIS TIE, TURNS HIS BACK ON CONGRESS AND BETS IT ALL ON HIS CAMPAIGN

For one brief moment, the Nation's Capital was stunned into uncharacteristic silence. After 35 years on Capitol Hill and a long career as the ultimate insider, Senate Majority Leader BOB DOLE cast off Washington, took off his tie and set out to remake his image and restart his stalled Presidential campaign. Known for his mordant wit and taciturn style, DOLE had kept his own counsel for at least a month, conferring only with his wife and campaign manager, and had waited until the last minute to tell even his closest friends in Congress of his decision to leave the Senate. At the end, they crowded in around him, solemn and teary eyed, obscuring the view of DOLE's beloved Capitol much as they had obscured the message he had been trying to deliver to America. Surrounded by his allies and rivals, DOLE stood alone. Henceforth, he said, he was no longer a man of Congress but a private citizen "without office or authority" seeking the highest job in the land.

DOLE's big gamble was described as brilliant by friends and desperate by foes, but it was at once uncharacteristically bold and quintessentially DOLE. He had listened to advice, assessed the situation, made his own decision in his own time and then done what he decided he had to do in order to reach his goal.

That goal, of course, is the White House, but DOLE's immediate aim was to breathe new life into a campaign that was coming under increasing criticism even from within the Republican Party. His bold stroke did that, at least temporarily: It silenced his critics, energized his supporters, caught the opposition off guard, won the attention of an unfocused Nation and severed DOLE's connection to the Congress that had been his home and was supposed to be his launching pad but instead had become a ball and chain.

"It was like taking a 100-pound weight off his back," says former Senator Warren Rudman, a DOLE adviser. With Republicans bickering and Democrats throwing daily obstacles in his path, DOLE had to escape in order to have any chance to reverse the polls and the campaign momentum in time to catch and overtake President Clinton's agile reelection team. "It was like an NBA team down 20 points as they approach the end of the first half," says congressional expert Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative Washington think tank. "They have to do something dramatic to close the gap to 10 points so they can come out in the second half and still have a chance to win."

DOLE's announcement was clearly dramatic, but his sacrifice, though real, was less immense than it seemed. He had told friends that if he didn't win the White House this year he would not seek reelection at the end of his term in 1998, when he would be 75 years old. "He had already made up his mind that in the best of times, he had only 2 years left," said Senator Robert Bennett of Utah. "Now I guess he's made up his mind that if he doesn't win the Presidency, what value is there in hanging on those last 2 years?"

DOLE must distinguish himself from the President on two fronts: personal and political. Although both men started out in American backwaters, DOLE's up-from-the-Dust Bowl life story, punctuated by a German machine gun that took his right arm and nearly his life in Italy, contrasts sharply with the President's march through Georgetown, Oxford and Yale Law School, punctuated by efforts to avoid the Vietnam War draft. But Clinton is a Nineties kind of guy, comfortable showing his emotions and adept at exposing his humanity. DOLE is a Forties kind of guy, embarrassed by public displays of emotion and given to talking about himself, awkwardly, in the third person. Still, during his brief resignation speech last week, the new DOLE's passing reference to his wartime sacrifice was more eloquent than previous attempts by his campaign staff to showcase his human and heroic side.



[From the Star Tribune, May 30, 1996]

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BOB J. DOLE; HIS STORY IS WELL WORTH TELLING,  
SAYS ONE WHO KNOWS IT WELL

(By David Dahl)

To hear biographer Richard Ben Cramer tell it, we here in Washington have gotten BOB DOLE all wrong. This author who has studied him for more than a decade says that, at the core, DOLE is not the Washington insider, the snarling partisan or the worldly pol that are staples of his profile.

Rather, Cramer makes the very argument circulating among many of DOLE's own advisers—that this guy has a compelling story to tell, one that has given his life in Washington reason beyond just a lust for power.

It is a story, says Cramer, with a foundation in Russell, Kansas, where the burdens of debt led a young BOB DOLE's neighbors to commit suicide,

where dust storms were so thick they caused pneumonia and where a basketball star with dreams of becoming a doctor left for the war and came back crippled.

“He knows what hardship is, he knows what debt is, he knows what it can do to people,” says Cramer, author of a brief biography of DOLE and an epic tale of the 1988 campaign called “What it Takes.”

Naive as it may sound to Washington’s DOLE-watchers, Cramer goes so far as to say that DOLE has a soft, vulnerable center. DOLE, he says, doesn’t hate the government—it saved his life after his devastating war injury—yet he’s disgusted when its excesses do more damage than good.

“If he tells that story and lets people know why the one overriding thread of steel that has run through his political career has been the budget and debt, people will understand. They’ll know why he is doing it. He’s not doing it because it’s a hot-button issue in some poll.”

#### THE CONVENTIONAL VIEW

Cramer’s observations run hard against the conventional wisdom in Washington: DOLE is a soulless legislative mechanic who can’t speak to the common folk nor adjust himself to the high-energy campaigning that will be required of him in the coming months.

Yet what gives Cramer standing is that he brings a biographer’s eye to his analysis. His point is that the most successful politicians are the ones who have honestly chosen issues that have roots in their own backgrounds. He calls these successful candidacies “the sums of a long life’s doing.”

#### LEAVING THE SENATE

While America watched Oprah, DOLE watched the Senate—and it shows. DOLE often falls into a staccato of parliamentary jargon, snapshots of issues and inside jokes that must be very difficult to decode back in Russell.

So deeply ingrained is the Washington portion of DOLE’s life that even his biographer says he was shocked when the news came that the Senator was leaving the place where he had served for 35 years. Cramer initially thought the news wires had made a mistake.

One of the reasons DOLE left the Senate was that the polls—the boy from Russell reads ’em, too—showed few voters knew his story and instead saw him as another inside-the-beltway politician.

The DOLE who has slowly emerged in the days since shows flashes of what Cramer is talking about, but he is not a natural. Cramer points out that DOLE comes from a generation where you simply didn’t talk openly about your personal life, much less brazenly try to turn it into an asset.

Cramer, a 45-year-old Maryland resident who was brought up as a Democrat, argues that his own contemporaries are seeing the World War II generation in a better light these days. Cramer calls it a “generation of certainties,” when DOLE had no choice but to survive the depression, fight a war and build the modern economy.

One of the great challenges for DOLE in the coming weeks is whether he can take what Cramer calls the “great American story” and turn it into a message for the future.

“It is a story that he has to extend to our future as well as our past and so far he’s learned only to tell the story about the past and not to carry it forth,” Cramer says. “When he does, I think he will be a formidable candidate and I think Clinton may be in trouble.”

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 9, 1996]

DOLE'S LARGE LEGACY BURIED IN FINE PRINT; CONGRESS: HIS SKILLS AS A  
LEGISLATOR ARE LIKELY TO BE LOST ON FUTURE GENERATIONS

(By Richard T. Cooper)

He came to Congress during the same cold, snowy January that John F. Kennedy came to the White House. So long ago that Jimmy Carter was still a peanut farmer, Ronald Reagan was nominally a Democrat—still giving speeches for General Electric—and George Bush was just another Texas oilman.

There had been no civil rights revolution, no Great Society, no Vietnam War. Federal Government outlays totaled a mere \$92 billion annually, about what it spends every 2 weeks now, and the budget showed a \$300-million surplus.

Thirty-five years later, as BOB DOLE prepares to retire as majority leader and senior Senator from Kansas, historians can record that he played a part in almost every significant Washington decision made during an era of profound change for the Government and the country. As Congressman, Senator and party leader, DOLE had a hand in every battle over taxes and the budget, Medicare and welfare, defense and foreign policy, peace and war.

Ironically, however, unless his current bid for the White House succeeds, DOLE's place in history may be cloaked in shadows: well-regarded by specialists in Congressional leadership but little remembered by the wider audience of future generations. He may rank no higher than a Joe Robinson or a James G. Blaine—earlier masters of the legislative game who forged the compromises and moved the ball forward but created no lasting monuments.

"It is significant that there is no major piece of legislation known as the Dole Act," said Rutgers University political scientist Ross Baker. "It tells you what kind of leader he's been. His mark can be found on so much, but his influence was extensive, not intensive. He became a kind of legislative virtuoso, a master of the process, not a visionary or a high-concept man."

Said Ron Peters, a specialist in congressional history at the Carl Albert Center of the University of Oklahoma: "DOLE's going to be remembered by historians who write about the Congress. He's going to be very well regarded as a legislator and as a majority leader, as a Republican leader. He's going to go down among the best."

But on the larger canvas, he acknowledged, "it's when you rise to the Presidential level that you get remembered."

20,000-PLUS VOTES

DOLE's legislative record by now is immense. As he once told a group of New Hampshire voters: "You take a look at my record. You'll probably find some votes you don't like. I've voted 11,000 times. There's some I don't like." That was in 1987; by now the number of votes DOLE has cast in Congress probably exceeds 20,000.

Three strands form the rope of the legislative career that DOLE plans to bring to a close Tuesday:

First, he was an intensely partisan battler, reflecting both his temperament and the status of the GOP in Congress for much of his career.

As a junior Member of Congress during the '60s, when Congressional Republicans appeared likely to be a permanent minority, lambasting the opposition pleased DOLE's overwhelmingly Republican constituents back home

and offered an avenue for advancement within his party nationally. And that partisan bent has remained.

“You don’t elect nonpartisan leaders,” he said in an interview with *The Times* last year.

Second, despite the sometimes cutting intensity of his partisanship, DOLE became an increasingly savvy player of the inside game on Capitol Hill. This element in DOLE’s record blossomed and flourished during the long period of divided Government in the 1970s and 1980s, when, except for the 4 years of Jimmy Carter’s Presidency, neither Democrats nor Republicans ever commanded both Congress and the White House.

“I think I’ve learned over the years,” he said. “We do have our debates and we do get mad and we do scream at each other, but then we have to go ahead and do our work.”

Third, in establishing his positions on major policy issues, he has followed the evolutionary path of traditional Republicans, instinctively opposing liberal innovations the first time around but gradually accepting them within some bounds as time wore on.

Thus DOLE, who is 72, opposed the creation of Medicare, Medicaid and almost all the other liberal social programs of the Kennedy-Johnson period; but years later he blunted the slashing attacks on those programs by radical ideologies in his own party.

In keeping with traditional conservative economic principles, he also was the prime mover behind the massive 1982 tax increase, the biggest ever relative to the size of the economy, which ended the Reagan administration’s romance with supply-side economics.

#### PRO-CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

To be sure, DOLE has sometimes been among the vanguard. As a young Congressman, he voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965; he was also a co-sponsor of the legislation making the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.’s birthday a national holiday. Repeatedly, DOLE has argued that the GOP should do more to open its ranks to minorities.

DOLE also played a crucial role in expanding food stamps and other Federal nutrition programs for the poor during the mid-1970s—programs that, of course, also benefited farmers from places like Kansas who grew the food. As thoroughgoing a liberal Democrat as former South Dakota Senator George S. McGovern, the prime mover on such legislation, still speaks admiringly of DOLE’s steadfast help in lining up Senate majorities to support greater Government effort.

And DOLE took a leading role in passage of Federal legislation for the disabled. He supported the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 even though many business people and others considered its provisions costly and intrusive.

One chapter in that legislative battle offers a fascinating glimpse of the apparent pull and tug inside DOLE: a seeming ambivalence over where to position himself politically and personally on sensitive policy issues, especially those on which society’s attitudes changed significantly over the course of his long life.

During the struggle over the Americans with Disabilities Act, which broadly prohibits discrimination against the disabled in the workplace and elsewhere, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) offered an amendment permitting employers to bar people who tested positive for HIV from food-handling jobs.

DOLE initially supported the controversial amendment. When groups representing the disabled expressed shock that a Senator who had lost the use of his right arm in World War II should take such a position, he snapped: "They don't own me. Just because you have a handicap doesn't mean you have to be for every screwball thing."

Later DOLE reversed himself and helped kill the provision, saying: "Public ignorance has never been a valid excuse for discrimination."

#### REPUBLICAN FUND-RAISER

From the beginning of his career in Washington, DOLE made it clear that he did not intend to be an anonymous backbencher. He was elected President of his freshman class and served 4 terms in the House, from 1961 through 1968.

While in the House, DOLE began traveling all over the country to help fellow Republicans campaign or raise money. The ceaseless campaigning contributed to the demise of his first marriage, to Phyllis Holden, a nurse he had met while recuperating from his devastating war wounds. But it also built a network of contacts and obligations that would prove invaluable in Congress and help finance his bids for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1980 and 1988 as well as in 1996.

In 1968, encouraged by GOP Presidential candidate Richard Nixon, he sought and won the Senate seat vacated by retiring Republican Senator Frank Carlson.

As something of a Nixon protege, DOLE defended the administration's policies in Vietnam, excoriating antiwar Democrats and Republicans alike. He remained loyal to Nixon during Watergate, though a bruising turn as Republican National Chairman during the 1972 election had left him with no illusions about the imperious, stop-at-nothing character of the Nixon White House staff.

On most bread-and-butter issues, DOLE was a down-the-line Midwestern Republican, supporting programs that benefited his predominantly rural constituents even if that meant voting for Government subsidies. But his devotion to reducing the deficit did once lead him to offer to accept cutbacks in farm programs if other Senators would swallow reductions in programs dear to their hearts.

The proposal added materially to DOLE's difficulties in winning reelection to the Senate, without making any noticeable difference in the size of the deficit, but it was an early indication of how seriously he took the deficit issue.

He won appointment to the Senate Finance Committee in 1973 and plunged into what are among the most sensitive and far-reaching decisions made by any government: the writing and rewriting of tax laws. Probably nowhere else in Government does so much money hang on the smallest change of word or phrase; nowhere else is the lobbying more intricate or intense.

And DOLE, though in the minority until the Reagan landslide of 1980, became a player.

Critics point out that on more than one occasion, he proposed or supported obscure bits of legislation designed to benefit important businesses or individuals—including Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., an agribusiness giant, and the winemaking Gallo family.

Such narrowly focused policymaking has a long history in America, of course, and opinions differ on whether it is all bad. At least so far as current

evidence is concerned, the most that can probably be said about DOLE is that he played the game as he found it.

On larger issues, much the same is true: He was a loyal Republican soldier most of the time, fought for partisan advantage where he could and, at the end of the day, often looked across the aisle for compromise.

DOLE notes proudly that he helped bail out the Social Security system in the early 1980s, though it meant working closely with then-House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill Jr. (D-MA) and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) to find a bipartisan solution.

"He's a guy that sort of adapts himself to circumstances, but in a principled way," the University of Oklahoma's Peters said. "He's a guy who figures out how to respond in the circumstances that surround him."

Probably nothing illustrates DOLE's melding of principles and pragmatism more than his handling of the 1982 tax legislation.

As Finance Committee chairman, he had loyally helped pass the massive tax-reduction program that was the hallmark of Reagan's first year in the White House.

In theory, the huge cuts in corporate and personal tax rates were to stimulate such an economic acceleration that Washington would get more revenue, not less. In fact, Federal revenue sagged and expenditures soared as the country slipped into the recession of 1982-83, and the deficit began to scale the heights.

Supply-siders still insist that their strategy was not given a fair and thorough test. To DOLE and other traditional Senate Republicans, however, the situation was alarming—a threat both to the country and to the GOP.

Democrats, who controlled the House, refused to take the lead on raising taxes. Why should they rescue a Republican President from his own folly, especially when he was sure to attack them for it?

DOLE and other Senate Republicans, including Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, stepped forward. They not only had to satisfy Republicans and Democrats and swarms of powerful lobbyists, they had to contend with a White House that was basically unsympathetic to the whole idea.

With Reagan adamant that his basic program of cutting tax rates go forward, DOLE took the lead in searching for other ways to raise more money. Initially hoping to do it with a small number of high-yield provisions, he found that approach politically impractical.

Instead, he and others patiently rounded up votes for a huge bundle of relatively inconspicuous changes and loophole closings that eventually added up to \$98.3 billion over 3 years, the largest revenue-enhancement package in U.S. history.

It took every bit of his legislative cunning to keep the bill on track. One provision required restaurant owners to take steps to help the Government collect more taxes on waiters' tips. Restaurant owners lobbied furiously against it and, shortly before the Senate's final 4:30 a.m. vote on the package, an amendment slipped through deleting the provision.

DOLE quickly countered by pushing through an amendment allowing businesses to claim tax deductions on only half the cost of business lunches—the "1½ martini lunch," it was called. As DOLE had expected, the restaurant industry was so horrified at that prospect that it readily agreed to restore the tips provision.

The eventual success of the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act may rank as the crowning achievement of DOLE's legislative career. "The real

locus of responsibility, the real grown-ups in all that, were Domenici and DOLE and the leaders of the Republican Senate,” Peters said.

“I think it was at that period of time . . . that DOLE began to establish himself not just as a real player, a guy who could move legislation and broker compromise and all that, but beyond that as sort of a responsible person, a person who was willing to make hard choices; and I think that reputation then carried forward when he became majority leader.”

Emblematic of his success, DOLE succeeded Howard H. Baker Jr. as Republican leader in the Senate in 1985, a step upward that was also a step deeper into the overshadowing forest of the legislative process.

As a result, DOLE, like 19th century Republican leader Blaine before him, is in danger of being remembered by most people more for what he failed to do than for what he did.

Blaine sought and failed to win the Republican Presidential nomination in 1876 and 1880. When he finally captured the nomination in 1884, he lost the general election to Democrat Grover Cleveland.

His popular epitaph is a derisive campaign chant that referred to his brush with a railroad bribery scandal: “Blaine, Blaine, James G. Blaine. Continental liar from the state of Maine.”

Only scholars recall that Blaine served as Secretary of State under three Presidents, helped found the modern-day Republican Party and, as a highly partisan speaker of the House from 1869 to 1875, substantially strengthened its institutional leadership.

“The great parliamentarians tend not to be remembered,” said professor Baker. “Their fate, unfortunately, tends to be submerged.”



[From the Washington Times, June 11, 1996]

BOB DOLE, GOP-BUILDER

(By James P. Lucier Jr.)

Long ago there was a time when Harry Truman could call the Republicans a “me too” party and win a Presidential election largely on the basis of this taunt. But now it is the Democrats who have been relegated to “me too” status, and the Republicans who are poised to gain control of the White House in addition to their steady hold on both Houses of Congress, two-thirds of all governorships, and a majority of seats in state legislatures across the Nation.

Clearly, something has changed. And as Senate Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE leaves the Senate today to campaign for the Presidency as Citizen DOLE, it is he above all others who deserves the credit for this historic transformation. The 1950s party of Midwestern farmers and the “Main Street” business interests of small town America has grown vastly larger, more powerful and more complex as the “Leave Us Alone” coalition of the 1990s—a broadly inclusive alliance of all those opposed to higher taxes and intrusive government with a positive vision of growth, prosperity, community institutions and private initiative. The 1990s Republican coalition is now arguably the natural, permanent governing coalition of the United States.

Conservatives should welcome and urgently strive for Mr. DOLE’s election to the presidency as the next logical step in a political career that parallels the growth of the modern conservative movement and the institutional GOP. With each step forward by Mr. DOLE, the movement and party have

advanced as well. The power and sophistication of today's conservative movement and Republican clout at the ballot box owe much to Mr. DOLE's leadership along the way.

In 1960, BOB DOLE was elected to Congress as a freshman classmate of Ohio Republican John Ashbrook, a co-founder of the American Conservative Union. Where Mr. Ashbrook chose to work on ideas, Mr. DOLE chose to work on institutions, particularly those of the GOP—but he chose to build party institutions by working with the ideas of John Ashbrook and others. In the same year, Barry Goldwater called for “a choice, not an echo” in Republican politics. By 1964, Phyllis Schlafly had turned Mr. Goldwater's slogan into a best-selling, book-length manifesto, Mr. Goldwater was a candidate for President, and Mr. DOLE was among the first and most committed Republican elected officials who took to the road campaigning for the Arizona Senator.

Representative DOLE became Senator DOLE in the 1968 election that swept Richard Nixon to power. Then from 1971 to 1973, Mr. DOLE served as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, laying the groundwork for the 1972 Nixon landslide that confirmed the GOP as the Nation's Presidential Party and which first turned the South and West into Republican strongholds at the Presidential level. Also in 1972, Republican control of governorships and State legislatures was near an all-time high, not to be surpassed for 20 years after the devastating setback of 1974.

Renewal came in the late 1970s as the pro-life and pro-family movements, religious conservatives and anti-tax activists began to organize vocal constituencies. Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980, and Mr. DOLE was the Senate Finance Committee Chairman who secured passage of Mr. Reagan's tax cuts in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. On the one hand, Mr. DOLE worked tirelessly to advance Republican candidates. Yet on the other, he increasingly took on the role of advancing Republican and conservative ideas through legislation.

For instance, in 1981, Mr. DOLE founded his path-breaking political action committee, Campaign America, which quickly moved to fund candidates at the State as well as Federal levels. Campaign America strongly supported such candidates as George Allen and Mike Farris for Governor and Lieutenant Governor in Virginia in 1993. In 1994, his was the first PAC to support Ollie North in his race for the Senate in Virginia and was coincidentally second only to the Teamsters Union PAC in total contributions. But whereas the Teamsters supported incumbents, Mr. DOLE helped bring new voices into the GOP.

More significantly, though, beginning as Senate majority leader in 1985, continuing as Republican Leader from 1987 to 1994, and as majority leader again from 1994 to today, Mr. DOLE played a critical formative role as integrator and architect of the emerging “Leave Us Alone” Coalition. During the Bush and Clinton administrations, as taxes and regulation slowly took their toll on the economic prospects of ordinary citizens, group after group with distinct identities emerged from what had been the Republican and “Reagan Democrat” coalitions of the 1980s. Among them were home schoolers, term-limits supporters, gun owners, property rights advocates and newly radicalized, anti-government small business owners, a great and increasing proportion of whom were women.

Significantly, as each new element of the coalition came to the fore and began to articulate a policy vision, Mr. DOLE helped give the vision concrete expression in legislative language that 80 percent to 90 percent of all Re-

publicans would routinely support as a matter of course when whenever it came up in the future.

Confounding all predictions, Mr. DOLE successfully passed tax cuts, regulatory relief, a balanced budget, a ban on unfunded mandates, and most other Contract with America pledges through the Senate. What Bill Gates and Microsoft did for the IBM personal computer, Mr. DOLE did for Republican policies: he created a vast library of tested, debated, drafted, and previously passed legislation that could be enacted like a ready-to-go software application as soon as a Republican President was there to throw the switch.

Mr. DOLE's work as majority leader is done—complete and triumphant. He has spelled out his vision for America's future in far more detail than Ronald Reagan ever did—and what's more, he has the bills ready to go and already endorsed by the party at large. Winning the White House is the one thing left to do.



[From The Hill, June 12, 1996]

BOB DOLE'S LAST DAY IN THE SENATE

(By Jamie Stiehm)

At 6:30 Monday night, the senior Senator from Kansas turned off the lights and shut the Senate for the night, pushing the button that rang the closing bells.

"Mr. President, it's the last time I will close the Senate," said Majority Leader BOB DOLE (R-KS), to a chamber that was empty of other Senators save for the Presiding Senator, James Inhofe (R-OK). In his characteristic shorthand, the Kansan called his 28-year Senate career "a good ride." He crisply summed up the approach he has applied to politics as he described a possible compromise on the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill: "Not everything they wanted. Not everything we wanted. That's the way it works."

A Sergeant-at-Arms employee held the door for DOLE as he left the darkened chamber and walked into the early evening sunshine, a sensation DOLE described as "kind of a shock." Earlier in the day he enjoyed a home-made ice cream party with his staff and pages in his Capitol office, the same room where British soldiers set fire to the Capitol during the War of 1812. When DOLE found out that only Republican pages were present, he sent them to fetch their Democratic fellows.

Meanwhile, in DOLE's office, phones rang with good wishes from VIPs. "There's not a person I haven't heard from yet," said Press Aide Jeremy Wallison. Clarkson Hine, DOLE's dapper press secretary, had a rare clothing mishap when he discovered he left his evening tuxedo shirt at home, while his deputy, Joyce Campbell, looked as if she were ready to go to the Oscars.

Then off the majority leader went to a black-tie gala at the Washington Convention Center, where the tables were set for a steak dinner for 4,000 Republicans. He greeted House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), whom DOLE said, "made the revolution work." In a speech that stressed his "Just a Man" theme from his resignation speech in May, DOLE referred to his father, a lifelong Democrat, as someone who "wore overalls every day and was proud of it." He went on to say that the biggest disappointment of his career was not passing the balanced budget constitutional amendment. In giving thanks to those who came, he added, "even those who didn't pay."

DOLE concluded by conjuring up a vision of himself as taking the Presidential oath of office at noon next January 20, even saying the words, “so help me God.”

Then the entertainment started, with Representative Sonny Bono (R-CA), singing “The Beat Goes On,” which even got Gingrich and a staffer dancing.

DOLE briefly looked back to the moment of closing the chamber earlier, saying he wanted to keep the Senate doors open all night: “It is a place that I have loved.”

On his last morning in the Senate, he went to his Hart Building office to say good-bye to his staff. But on his way into the Capitol subway, he couldn’t resist the urge to stump for a few more votes.

“Hi, how are you doing?” DOLE asked as he paused for a photo with Jackie Orr from Clearwater, FL, and her three daughters. When they told the majority leader that they had problems getting tickets to the gallery to hear his upcoming farewell address, DOLE said, “If you go over to S-230 and talk to them, they’ll get you a pass.”

“This is the most exciting thing,” the elder Orr said, “I think I’m going to cry.”

In the Hart Building office, DOLE paused for a moment to make a telephone call to Senate Sergeant-at-Arms Howard Greene. “Everything coming along here fine?” he asked, adding, “Well, it won’t be long now.” Then, pausing to look at the political souvenirs collected over a career in the Senate, DOLE said, “I don’t know how you’re going to get rid of all this stuff.”

At noon Tuesday, on his way to the Senate chamber with Gingrich, DOLE was asked, “When did you decide what you are going to say?”

“Oh, about a minute ago,” DOLE quipped over his shoulder as he passed through the doors to a rare standing ovation from his fellow Senators as his wife Elizabeth watched from a packed balcony and top aide Sheila Burke sat by his side.

The first order of business was a resolution declaring that the balcony DOLE uses and calls “The Beach” will henceforth be named “The Robert J. Dole balcony.”

In a speech that combined lightning-like moments of wit with graceful remembrances and tributes, DOLE noted that political differences are healthy. Looking at the other 99 Senators, he said, “I’ve never seen a healthier group in my life.”

With Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC), sitting in the chair, DOLE asked him how long he had held the floor filibuster record. “That’s why you’re seldom asked to be an after-dinner speaker.” He singled out Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV), as a Senate giant and recalled playing bridge with Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI), when both were army lieutenants hospitalized with war wounds in Battle Creek, MI.

For a man who uses words sparingly, DOLE evoked the country as a “torch that lights the world.” In a phrase that he uses often, he concluded, “That’s what America is all about.” Finally, said the man from Kansas, “I think my season in the Senate is about to come to an end,” his voice breaking before he made his last exit off a floor flooded with lights, applause and affection.

Even if he does become President, he will always be something else too. “That’s my baby,” said a Capitol policewoman.

“That’s my baby.”

[From the Washington Post, June 12, 1996]

DOLE BIDS FAREWELL TO SENATE; BIPARTISAN TRIBUTES FILL EMOTIONAL  
FINAL DAY

(By Helen Dewar)

ROBERT J. DOLE yesterday bade a loving farewell to the Senate, struggling to keep his emotions in check as he concluded a “great ride” of 35 years on Capitol Hill to devote himself fully to his uphill bid for the Presidency.

Rising to speak for the last time as the longest-serving Republican leader in Senate history, DOLE shared reminiscences that transcended partisan differences, stressing values of civility and compromise that marked his 11 years as the party’s leader in the Senate.

All in all, despite “a few bumps along the way,” he said, “it’s been a great ride.”

In his recollections, he spoke fondly of Democrats as well as Republicans—from Hubert H. Humphrey and George S. McGovern to the current Democratic leader, Thomas A. Daschle (D–SD), in an old-fashioned kind of senatorial collegiality that stands in contrast with the already bitter tone of his campaign against President Clinton.

The accomplishments he cited with particular pride—expanding nutrition programs, bailing out the Social Security system, extending civil rights protections to the disabled—were those he achieved in concert with Democrats. They were issues that appeal to moderates of both parties rather than the polarizing issues he has stressed so far in the campaign.

“We were Democrats and Republicans” working across party lines for a common solution, he said, suggesting a similar approach for dealing with the Medicare program’s solvency problems.

After a morning filled with tributes from both sides of the partisan aisle, DOLE strode into the Senate chamber shortly after noon, bringing his colleagues to their feet in unison as they broke into loud and sustained applause.

His wife, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, and daughter, Robin, watched from the public galleries, along with hundreds of other well-wishers. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R–GA), came across the Capitol, taking his place among Senate aides in the rear of the chamber. Former Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum (D–OH), with whom DOLE tangled on numerous occasions, joined a small group of longtime colleagues who came out of retirement to say their goodbyes.

Senators—Democratic and Republican alike—sat in hushed, almost reverential attention as DOLE began to speak, getting only a few words into his remarks before his emotions caught up with him and he had to pause to collect himself. Sheila Burke, his longtime chief of staff, sat at his side, weeping. Several colleagues also appeared to be struggling with their emotions.

As he concluded his 37-minute address, his voice broke again. “The Bible tells us, ‘To everything there is a season,’ and I think my season in the Senate is about to come to an end,” he told his colleagues. “But the new season before me makes this moment far less the closing of one chapter than the opening of another.”

Then the Senate and its galleries erupted in another long standing ovation in buoyant violation of Senate rules banning demonstrations in the chamber, which no one cared to enforce.

Just over an hour later, DOLE's resignation became effective and, as a former Senator exercising his visitation rights, he returned to the floor to join Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS), in swearing in his successor, Sheila Frahm, the former Lieutenant Governor of Kansas. Frahm brings the number of women in the Senate to nine, a new record.

By 3:30 p.m., after hosting a reception for Frahm, DOLE descended the steps from the Senate chamber, accompanied by his wife and daughter. They were greeted by more well-wishers before being whisked away by car to the DOLE campaign headquarters eight blocks from the Capitol.

Just before his speech, the Senate voted by unanimous consent—a rarity in the partisan climate that has seized the chamber in recent months—to name the balcony outside the GOP leader's office in honor of DOLE. DOLE used it so often to enjoy the sun and to wilt his colleagues during haggling over legislation that it became known as "DOLE beach."

DOLE accepted the tribute in his traditional style, suggesting it should have a sign on it.

"Will it be in big letters or neon?" he asked. "I know it can't have any political advertising on it, but just having the name out there in lights the next few months might be helpful," he said. He did get a sign, but it was a discreetly painted wood sign on the inside of the balcony door.

Earlier DOLE had opened the Senate in a deceptively routine fashion, winning unanimous approval for about 30 nominations to a variety of Federal posts. As he did in his first speech to the Senate 27 years ago, DOLE who bears the scars of wounds from World War II, spoke on behalf of programs for the disabled. Then he introduced two bills dealing with some of the unfinished business of his tenure, calling for blue-ribbon commissions to propose ways to keep Medicare from going broke and to recommend reforms in congressional campaign financing laws.

DOLE's successor as majority leader will be chosen today by Senate Republicans, and Majority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS), is the strong favorite to win the post. Lott's only rival is Republican Conference Chairman Thad Cochran (R-MS).

While many of the tributes to DOLE sounded like campaign speeches, stressing his commitment to causes from women's health issues to the environment, others were more personal.

Senator John McCain (R-AZ), noted that while he was a prisoner of war in North Vietnam, DOLE wore a POW-MIA bracelet bearing his name and opposed cutting off funds for the war. "I never thanked him before, I do so now," McCain said. "We fought in different wars. We kept the same faith."

Kassebaum said DOLE rose to big challenges but also was drawn to small ones, noting his efforts to assure that every Kansas county had a tornado warning siren.

But few were more eloquent in their tributes than a Democrat, Bill Bradley (D-NJ). "BOB DOLE is a good man and an extraordinary legislator," Bradley said. "Although he is personally shy, he knows how to build a political consensus, use power, make things happen. He keeps his word, which is an essential ingredient to building trust. . . . He listens well. . . . He never burns bridges."

Daschle noted that he became Democratic leader 18 months ago at a time when relations between the parties "could not have been worse." But because of DOLE's "civility, pragmatism . . . and self-effacing humor," they would up as friends, Daschle said.

In his speech, DOLE urged that the Senate leadership continue to work together and warned his colleagues against seeking "total victory," quoting

President Ronald Reagan as saying that “90 percent of what I want” can be a “pretty good deal.”

He also returned his colleagues’ tributes, noting how he once had to consult former Democratic leader Robert C. Byrd (D-WV), the Senate’s rules expert, on “how to defeat him on an issue.” It “wasn’t easy,” but Byrd told him what he needed to know, DOLE recalled.

As for the Senate itself, he said, “It’s what America is about. We come from different States and different backgrounds, different opportunities, different challenges in our lives. And, yes, the institution has its imperfections. . . . We’re still a work in progress.”



[From the Hartford Courant, June 12, 1996]

BOB DOLE—HE KEEPS HIS WORD

(Editorial)

You don’t have to agree with BOB DOLE, or even like him, to respect him.

The man who served as the Republican leader in the U.S. Senate longer than anyone else in history formally resigned Tuesday to campaign full time for President. Republicans gave him a grand send-off, which was predictable. But Democrats, from Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts to Tom Daschle of South Dakota, were effusive in their praise.

President Clinton was no less statesmanlike. “Even though I am about to begin a rather vigorous campaign with Senator Dole,” he told a college audience in California, “I would like to ask all of you, including those of you who are my supporters, to just take a moment and wish him well. I think we ought to give him a hand.”

This was a grand moment in politics, for civility doesn’t often dominate public discourse in the age of negative campaigning.

Indeed, Americans of all political stripes ought to give Mr. DOLE a hand for his 45 years of public service that began with his election to the Kansas House in 1951. He has been in Congress for 35 years, since 1968 as a Senator.

Friends and critics agree that what distinguished Mr. DOLE was his integrity. “He keeps his word,” many of his colleagues said in reminiscing about the World War II hero from Russell, Kansas, who knew when to fight and when to conciliate. To him, compromise was not synonymous with copout but a requisite to the functioning of democratic government.

Mr. DOLE has been a model of the tough and principled conservative who wouldn’t be intimidated by the right-wing warriors.

Some have complained about his dour persona and caustic ways. But no one would deny that Mr. DOLE is as no-nonsense and trustworthy a leader as they come. He earned his place as majority leader in 1985 and again in 1995 through hard work and strong leadership.

Whether or not Mr. DOLE makes it to the White House, he will be remembered as one of the most enduring and successful politicians of the past three decades.

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 12, 1996]

BOB DOLE'S FAREWELL

(Editorial)

Once in a great while the piercing partisanship of modern American politics takes a brief hiatus, and we're reminded that the people entrusted with the stewardship of this country appreciate their solemn responsibility.

Such a moment happened Tuesday when BOB DOLE bid farewell to the U.S. Senate with as touching an address as one will ever hear.

DOLE, who choked back tears even before he finished his first sentence, reminded us that the Senate is the fulcrum of inspirational and heartfelt debate, the gathering place of all the States and their peoples in spirit of furthering the cause of a great Nation.

"The American people are looking at us, and they want us to tell the truth," DOLE said. "It doesn't mean we have to agree, doesn't mean we can't have different motivations."

DOLE offered credit to Republicans and Democrats for the accomplishments of his 27 years in the Senate, accomplishments such as protecting the economic security of the elderly, feeding the hungry and assisting the handicapped. "No first-class democracy can treat its people like second-class citizens," he said. He paid homage to his own party's leaders, but he also spoke in tribute to Democrats, friends, such as George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey and Robert Byrd.

It's sad that such public utterances of bipartisan friendship and comity seem to come only in eulogies and farewell speeches. When they are offered so infrequently, they are easily lost and forgotten in the everyday pettiness of politics.

On Tuesday, Congress basked in the gentle humor and warm words of BOB DOLE upon his departure. On Wednesday, those who remain will in all likelihood pick up with the dreary business of their political search-and-destroy missions. This is an election year, after all.

Yet, they might take a lasting message from DOLE's address. If they want to restore the people's trust in government and leaders, they will have to preach the same message as BOB DOLE, right now, every day. They will have to preach a message of respect for the nation's institutions and of tolerance and friendship for those who hold a different political viewpoint. They will have to acknowledge that those with whom they disagree nevertheless share their motivation, to do what they believe is best for their country.

"You think of all these people who have come and gone, and all the new bright stars that are here today on both sides of the aisle, and one thing you know for certain, it's a great institution," DOLE said.

Yes, it is. Would that those in whom its care is entrusted, by their words and deeds, reminded us of that more often.



[From the Washington Post, June 12, 1996]

DOLE'S PARTING REFLECTIONS LEAVE IMAGE OF THE CORE VALUES OF HIS CAREER

(By Dan Balz)

Memory is revealing as much as it is selective, and in his farewell address to the Senate yesterday, ROBERT J. DOLE sketched a portrait of himself and

his career that was far from the revolutionary fervor of the new Republican Party.

DOLE's valedictory speech was shorn of partisan rhetoric, as befit the moment. But it also was largely shorn of conservative ideology. He recalled helping to save Social Security, not his work in passing Ronald Reagan's 1981 tax cuts. He spoke of his support for food stamps and nutrition programs, not money spent on defense. He remembered all the wheelchairs at the White House when then-President George Bush signed the Americans with Disabilities Act, not the more contemporary battles to shrink the government, pare back Federal regulation and reduce Washington's reach.

This was hardly a speech DOLE's Presidential campaign would have written, for his resignation from the Senate represents to his political advisers a moment of liberation that will allow him to define his ideological differences with President Clinton. Perhaps that will come in the days ahead, but for one last moment, not as candidate DOLE but as a life-long legislator, DOLE reveled in and recalled the moments of bipartisanship, friendship and accomplishment that, in the past at least, made the Senate into a club.

DOLE is nothing if not a role-player. When the times or the situation have required it, he has played the angry partisan with such relish that the image remains grafted to his persona no matter how much he smiles. To win his party's nomination this year, DOLE felt obliged to embrace a conservatism that never quite suited him—and that still pinches like a too-tight collar. Politics requires such adjustments, and DOLE, the most professional of politicians, willingly makes them. From this day forward, he will play the role of Republican Presidential nominee with the same kind of determination. No quarter asked or given.

But afforded one last opportunity to address his colleagues, one moment to set a tone for his departure to civilian life and the campaign trail ahead, he was witty, self-deprecating, nostalgic and centrist in his conservatism. One young Republican who watched the speech on television said it brought tears to his eyes. It was, he said, like a great-uncle spinning wonderful stories of times and people past.

DOLE's recollections of old battles and beloved colleagues may contribute to the perception among some voters that he is a figure from and of the past. Many of those he recalled are little known to today's generations, except perhaps by the buildings that bear their names. But in DOLE's scrapbook, they evoke what he thinks is best about an institution that has fallen into public disfavor.

This was DOLE the legislator, and it revealed some of his core values. In the stories he told, he emerged as a politician who reveled in solving problems, who believed in the power of government to help the needy, who admired—and worked comfortably with—many of the most liberal Senators in the chamber.

His rendering of the past was hardly comprehensive, those he singled out for mention represent a fraction of those who could have made the honor roll. But it was striking how many Democrats were on his mind yesterday, and the warmth with which he described them. He called Hubert H. Humphrey "my friend" and George S. McGovern "a gentleman." He remembered being at the signing ceremony for the disabilities act with Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), and Tom Harkin (D-IA). The man who chaired the Senate Finance Committee before becoming Republican leader recalled his role in managing the bill that made the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday into a national holiday.

Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour issued a statement yesterday afternoon praising DOLE on the end of his long legislative career. It read: "BOB DOLE led the fight in the Senate for a balanced budget amendment, the fight for lower taxes and higher incomes, the fight for replacing welfare with work, the fight for tougher anti-crime measures and the fight for putting an end to wasteful Washington spending."

That was not quite how DOLE chose to remember his career. He mentioned the balanced budget amendment in passing, but his real message was not focused on GOP talking points for the campaign ahead. Instead it was on the camaraderie of the legislative life and the civility required to get things done; it was on keeping your word and trusting your colleagues. "None of us has a perfect solution," he told his colleagues. "But there's got to be some solution of where we can come together."

DOLE's farewell may not translate into compelling campaign rhetoric. He has struggled all year to make the transition. But yesterday's address may tell the voters as much about the DOLE who seeks the White House as all the other speeches he will give.



[From the Washington Times, June 12, 1996]

#### BOB DOLE'S FAREWELL

(By Sean Piccoli and Laurie Kellman)

DOLE LEAVES LEGACY AS A DOER; SENATE LEADER NEVER WAVERED FROM HONESTY AND INTEGRITY, ADMIRERS SAY

In a chamber full of movers and shakers, BOB DOLE was a mover.

Like the gifted athlete he was in high school, the Senate majority leader spent his adult life in politics perfecting the art of forward motion, reaching goals he set for himself, his party and his Congress—time and again, on bill after bill—over a steady course of 35 years.

Known to colleagues as a skilled maneuverer, a savvy parliamentarian, a consensus-builder, the Kansas Republican carved out a reputation in Congress not for visionary thinking or eloquence, or partisan saber-rattling, but for getting things done—as promised.

And that is fine by him.

"Probably as important as legislation is the fact that you've kept your word to yourself and your colleagues," Mr. DOLE, 72, said in an interview last week. "It's keeping your word. Plus what you do for your constituents."

He ended his congressional career yesterday and will now campaign full time for the one goal that has twice eluded him: the White House. He leaves a body of work whose impact on policy and national life has been felt for years and will now be left for historians and congressional scholars to debate.

Admirers say honesty and integrity have been bywords for Mr. DOLE. Those qualities are often compromised in Congress, and few lawmakers hold to them for as long as Mr. DOLE has. After all, 52 percent of America was born, according to the latest census, after Mr. DOLE was elected to the House in 1960. Along the way, he cast 12,781 votes—11,496 of them in the Senate, to which he was elected in 1968.

"His word of honor was as good as gold," President Bush once said in an interview.

He was, to many, a source of quiet strength in the Senate.

“He could manage consensus without brute force or partisan disintegration, and it’s just an incredible gift he displayed over time,” said former Senator David Durenburger, Minnesota Republican. “I’ve been in the middle of one hell of a lot of situations where BOB had to find a consensus that represented a good part of the caucus though it didn’t represent the right or the left.”

Few dispute his skill at getting bills passed.

“He was a very effective legislation partner,” said retired Senator George S. McGovern, South Dakota Democrat. “I think any Senator who was there during the ’70s remembers his work. . . . I guess the overall legacy he has is respect from members on both sides of the aisle as a legislative craftsman.”

But others thought these talents were too often misplaced.

“He could unravel the knot that often tied the Senate up better than most,” said former Senator Malcolm Wallop, Wyoming Republican. “He was not what I would have called a strategist. BOB was a practical sort of politician, and often as not, was interested in getting a result more than he was in the form and structure of the result.”

The willingness to cut non-partisan deals “used to drive some of his conservative compatriots nuts,” Mr. Wallop said, “because the thing that often distinguished us from the Democrats was lost in the result.”

“But there’s this to say: The Senate worked under BOB DOLE,” he added. “Some of us just wished it worked a different way.”

The desire for consensus over conservative principle also troubles some current Republican Senators, who said privately last week they will bid good riddance to the era of the Great Compromiser.

So it is no surprise, perhaps, that some of the warmest testimonials come from across the aisle.

“He was a superb Senator,” said retired Senator William Proxmire, Wisconsin Democrat, now at the Library of Congress. . . . “I think he’s had a remarkably productive and enviable life.”

“Usually it takes a perspective to really appreciate it,” Mr. Proxmire added, “but I think as time goes on, he will be looked at as someone of very great stature and one of our best Senators. And I say that as one who voted enthusiastically for Clinton.”

Mr. DOLE started his climb through Congress in 1961, 16 years after suffering combat wounds in World War II that nearly killed him and cost him the use of his right arm.

As Kansas’ 1st District Congressman, he cast his first vote on January 3, 1961, for Charles A. Halleck, Indiana Republican, who lost the speakership to Representative Sam Rayburn, Texas Democrat.

Eight years later, Mr. DOLE made his first speech in the Senate, urging the private sector and the Government to contribute more money and research for the disabled.

In the 1970s, working with Mr. McGovern, he oversaw the dramatic growth of farm-subsidy and nutrition programs.

“Almost anything we wanted, we got through the Congress,” Mr. McGovern recalled.

The new Republican Congress overhauled much of that farm-subsidy regime to put it on a path toward a less costly, and more market-driven system.

As majority leader, Mr. DOLE marshaled forces for the passage of President Reagan’s historic 1981 tax cut, which unleashed record economic growth. Because Congress was unwilling to control entitlement spending,

the Federal deficit grew rapidly as well, saddling the nation with an additional \$3 trillion in debt during the Reagan and Bush years.

Mr. DOLE was a trusted adviser to Presidents Reagan and Bush even though he lost campaigns against both for the party's presidential nomination.

"I had my battles with Senator DOLE 8 years ago," said Mr. Bush, recalling a televised interview during the 1988 Presidential Campaign in which Mr. DOLE told his opponent to "stop lying about my record."

"But out of this once-adversarial relationship came respect and, most important to me, a true and genuine friendship," Mr. Bush said.

Mr. DOLE arrived in Congress before television and talk radio had become the pervasive presence they are today.

Like many of the politicians of his era, Mr. DOLE's demeanor and speaking style have not always translated well on television. And he agrees with many in his generation that television coverage of Congress via C-SPAN has been a mixed blessing.

"It has set the stage for some demagoguery," Mr. DOLE said. "But I think the American people have been able to learn more about how Congress works."

Mr. DOLE's legacy may be complicated by his long, close association with a political system that many Americans have lost confidence in because they view it as ineffective, intrusive and, possibly, corrupt.

Mr. DOLE acknowledged last week that trying to run the Senate and carry out his Presidential Campaign was a major mistake.

"Probably was," Mr. DOLE said. "I think it worked all right in the primary season. But Clinton's been on a bit of a roll here. Things got pretty feisty."

"It was an impossible situation," said former President Gerald R. Ford, who visited him at the Capitol last week. The two ran together in 1976 and narrowly lost to Jimmy Carter.

"This was not a pleasant place to be [during the campaign]," said lobbyist Tom Korologos, one of Mr. DOLE's closest friends. "The night he decided he was going to resign, he slept like a baby."

The presumptive Republican presidential nominee has vowed to reintroduce himself to voters as something more than the Nation's legislative strategist and walking piece of American history.

"To concentrate upon the campaign, giving all and risking all, I must leave Congress that I have loved and which I have been honored to serve," Mr. DOLE said in the speech announcing his resignation.

His departure signals another kind of transition in the Senate, where agenda-setting power shifts from the traditional clique of senior lawmakers to a younger generation less enamored of the traditions of compromise and comity.

Senate Republicans are expected to elect Majority Whip Trent Lott, 55, as majority leader tomorrow. Senator Don Nickles, 48, of Oklahoma, will replace Mr. Lott as whip.

Kansas Lt. Governor Sheila Frahm, 51, was sworn in yesterday as Mr. DOLE's successor.

And, just as he promised, Mr. DOLE yesterday fulfilled his promise to campaign as "an ordinary Kansan, just a man."

He strolled down the marble stairs of the Capitol and headed for the American heartland to complete the final and most important journey of his political life.

#### DOLE'S LEGACY

BOB DOLE resigned after 8 years in the House and 27 in the Senate, with a record 11 years as Senate GOP leader. His stances over the years:

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

1964: Voted for the Civil Rights Act, which banned discrimination in voting, employment and housing.

1979 and 1982: Voted to block implementation and enforcement of court-ordered busing as a means of desegregating public schools.

1982: Authored an amendment to the 1965 Voting Rights Act that led to the 25-year extension of the law guaranteeing minority voting rights.

1983: Voted to create a Federal Martin Luther King holiday.

1985: Voted to impose sanctions on South Africa for its system of apartheid. The following year, however, he supported President Reagan's veto of the sanctions.

#### ENTITLEMENTS

1965: Voted against the creation of Medicare, the health care program for the elderly.

1977: Helped defeat a requirement that recipients pay for a portion of their food stamps.

1983: Senator Pat Moynihan, New York Democratic, spearheaded a presidential commission's \$165 billion bailout of Social Security.

1995: Voted to cut Federal support for Medicaid by \$163 billion over 7 years and eliminate the guarantee of coverage.

1996: Voted to show the growth of Medicare spending by \$270 billion over 7 years.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

1964: Voted for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution authorizing U.S. retaliation against North Vietnam. Consistently supported the military action.

1985 and 1986: Voted for \$114 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras rebels.

1991: Supported President Bush's Operation Desert Storm.

#### SOCIAL PROGRAMS

1988: Voted against the Family and Medical Leave Act, requiring most employers to provide unpaid, job-protected leave for workers who need to care for newborn children or ailing family members.

#### TAXES

1981: Voted for Mr. Reagan's tax-cut package, including a 22 percent reduction in income taxes over 3 years.

1982: Led deficit hawks in passing the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act, which raised taxes on cigarettes, travel and telephone calls.

1993: Voted against President Clinton's deficit package and its 5 year, \$241 billion tax increase.

[From the Washington Times, June 12, 1996]

DOLE BIDS FAREWELL TO CAPITOL HILL; AFTER 35 YEARS, CANDIDATE  
ENTERS A 'NEW SEASON'

(By Laurie Kellman)

Senate Majority Leader BOB DOLE yesterday traded his "great ride" in Congress for the bumps of the Presidential campaign trail, saying his resignation was not the end of an era, but the dawn of his life as citizen-politician.

"The Bible tells us to everything there is a season, and I think my season in the Senate is about to come to an end," Mr. DOLE said.

"But the new season before me makes this moment far less the closing of one chapter than the opening of another," he finished. "Like everybody here, I am an optimist. I believe our best tomorrows are yet to be lived."

The 40-minute speech was the centerpiece of the final day of Mr. DOLE's 35 years in Congress. He resigned as the longest-serving Republican leader in Senate history.

Today, Mr. DOLE begins his life as a full-time Presidential candidate with a whirlwind three-day tour of 7 States in the Midwest and South.

But on his last day in the Senate, where he served for 27 years, Mr. DOLE took his time. He followed a quick morning haircut with identical resignation letters to Vice President Al Gore, the President of the Senate, and Kansas Governor Bill Graves.

"I hereby resign my office as a United States Senator from Kansas effective June 11, 1996 at 2 p.m. eastern daylight time. Sincerely, BOB DOLE."

Mr. DOLE then introduced his last bills, measures to reauthorize Federal funding for educating the disabled and to establish bipartisan commissions on campaign finance and Medicare reform.

The final farewell began. Senators of both parties delivered plaudits from the floor, where they hailed Mr. DOLE as a man of his word who had evolved from a staunch partisan to a conscientious conciliator.

Senator Phil Gramm, the Texas Republican who challenged Mr. DOLE for the party's Presidential nomination, described the departing majority leader as "the greatest legislator of his era."

Soon after Mr. DOLE's retirement became official, Kansas Lt. Governor Sheila Frahm was sworn in to take his place.

And just as attention turned to today's election for Republican leader, a close ally of Mr. DOLE's advised the top contender, Majority Whip Trent Lott of Mississippi, to be good to his word.

"Anybody following him better know they better be honest," said Senator Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico Republican. "They better tell the Senate the truth, because he knew no other way."

Senator Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia Democrat, described Mr. DOLE's departure as the passing of an era.

"BOB DOLE: Well done," he said.

Mr. DOLE took the floor for the last time and cracked jokes about the Senate resolution to immortalize with his name the balcony outside his second-floor Capitol office, where he cut many a legislative deal and worked on his ever-present suntan.

Mr. DOLE then turned to the speech that drew a standing-room-only crowd to the floor and the galleries above. He uttered only nine words—"Well, I want to thank all of my colleagues"—before choking up and pressing his forefinger to his lips to suppress the swelling wave of emotion.

His wife, Elizabeth, clutched a tissue as she watched from the balcony. Sitting immediately to his left, Chief of Staff Sheila Burke openly wept. She offered him a tissue at one point, but he declined.

Calling himself and the Nation “a work in progress,” Mr. DOLE proudly proclaimed himself a bipartisan leader who worked well with Democrats, regardless of their differences.

And he spoke about what he believes is his final legacy to the Senate, “a great institution.”

“The American people are looking at us and they want us to tell the truth,” he said. “We can lead and we can mislead. But whatever we do, we will be held responsible.”

And he defended his willingness over the years to compromise with Democrats in pursuit of the Republican agenda. In an apparent reference to the hard-charging Republican freshmen of the House, Mr. DOLE said that there is nothing dishonorable about compromise and that without it Congress cannot function.

“Ronald Reagan said once, ‘If I can get 90 percent of what I want, I’d call that a pretty good deal,’” Mr. DOLE said. “Some people never understand that. Take the 90, then work on the 10.”

His colleagues gave him a 13-minute standing ovation, and the new era began. Reporters peppered Mrs. Frahm with questions. Other pressing issues immediately took precedence with other Senators. Senator John McCain, Arizona Republican, for example, urged the new majority leader to bring the missile defense bill to the floor.

Surrounded by Senators and his family, Mr. DOLE left his office about 2:30 p.m.

“Here we go! This is it,” Mr. DOLE told reporters as he walked out for the last time.

As thousands of supporters cheered, Mr. DOLE descended the Senate’s 46 steps and touched ground before a waiting car. He gave a thumbs-up to Miss Burke, who held her daughter in her arms and returned the gesture.

At that moment, his sunshine-filled Senate suite was silent and empty, except for a maid who cleared soda cans and cookies from a reception table. Mr. DOLE’s own office looked much the same as it had before his resignation. Portraits of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Pocahontas hung on either side of his desk. Only a painting of Abraham Lincoln reading to his son Tad had been removed.

On Mr. DOLE’s desk remained a stack of news clippings and summaries, including what appeared to be a large farewell card, the front of which read:

“To Citizen BOB DOLE: With gratitude for your many years of service to your country.”



[From the Tulsa World, June 13, 1996]

PUBLIC SERVANT DOLE

(Editorial)

For a brief shining moment Tuesday, Americans got a look at their government at its very best. ROBERT DOLE, lately of the U.S. Senate, delivered a statesmanlike farewell speech to the body he has served for 27 years and his colleagues on both sides of the aisle responded with respect and affection.

It was one of those increasingly rare times when members of the most important deliberative body in the world behaved with civility and respect for each other.

DOLE of course is the Republican party's soon-to-be nominee for President of the United States. He is leaving the Senate to devote full time to his campaign, but he never even mentioned the campaign in his remarks to the Senate.

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle co-sponsored a resolution naming a balcony outside the majority leader's office after him and offered comments that were almost as laudatory of DOLE as those of GOP Senators.

Even in a Congress in which partisanship is sharper and more petty than most, BOB DOLE of Kansas is loved and respected. His fairness and courtesy to everyone he deals with is legendary.

He was a consummate legislator, always working to accommodate all sides while still moving legislation forward. He has served the country in this role for more than 45 years, first as a member of the Kansas Legislature, then as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and since 1969 as a Senator.

He has served two hitches as majority leader and was minority leader for 8 years when his party was out of power. He served in those positions at the pleasure of his fellow Republicans, holding the loyalty of a changing membership for more than a dozen years.

Oddly enough, DOLE's long and distinguished legislative career is out of favor with many in his own party. He is, after all, a "career politician," having been on government payrolls for about a half century. It can be proved that he believes in "compromise," also a dirty word in some GOP circles.

It perhaps violates the non-partisan spirit of DOLE's resignation day to point out that if the term limits pushed by his party had been in effect, the country would never have had the full benefit of the services of BOB DOLE.

DOLE's personal traits of intelligence, dedication, hard work and respect for the views of others combined to make him one of the best legislators in history and that in turn is the best reason to elect him to the Presidency.

To boot, he is old and wise. Yet he is running far behind in the polls. Go figure.



[From the Commercial Appeal (Memphis), June 13, 1996]

#### DOLE DEPARTS

(Editorial)

It hasn't been much noted, and it may seem a relatively small thing, but it strikes us as something important about BOB DOLE that, in the hothouse of the U.S. Senate he has now left, he never used profanity.

Several of his colleagues spoke of the fact to reporters in assessing a leader who seldom lost his temper even in intense negotiations and whose instincts were for conciliation and moderation in fashioning public policies.

Those seeking fierce ideological passion from the presumptive Republican candidate for President will be disappointed. As his 35-year record in Congress demonstrates, he is a man of self-restraint and balanced views. He is conservative in the nonpolitical sense of respecting tradition and the values of propriety and loyalty.

Of his own loyalties, three stand out.

One is for deficit reduction. He understands that there will come a day of reckoning on borrowing money for excessive spending, and he doesn't believe today's children should pay the high cost of their parents' recklessness.

Another loyalty is for the Senate itself. He is not one of those who scorns a body that has such importance for the future of his country.

Still one more loyalty is for his political party. He deeply believes that it is only through the party system that the noblest political ends are accomplished. And he is committed to the search for common interests and the compromises that make legislative success possible.

In his farewell speech Tuesday as he left the Senate to campaign for the Presidency, DOLE said the central lesson he learned in his long Senate career was the importance of trustworthiness. He was most proud of the fact, he said, that "BOB DOLE kept his word."

Whether all of this—and more, of course—will be enough to get BOB DOLE elected President remains to be decided in November. He has a long way to go to catch the public's fancy—and President Clinton's lead.

But this much, at least, can be said: DOLE served well as the Senate's majority leader and in other capacities, and no expletive ever had to be deleted from records of his own words or descriptions of his behavior.



[From the Daily News (New York), June 13, 1996]

BOB DOLE CHARTS WISE COURSE

(Editorial)

Yesterday was BOB DOLE's first day as a private citizen. A day that saw the right wing of the Republican Party recoiling in horror at DOLE's big-tent views on abortion. Not a bad beginning for Citizen DOLE.

He marched into full-time campaigning after Tuesday's emotion-packed speech before his Senate colleagues. For 35 distinguished years, DOLE worked the corridors of power on Capitol Hill. For the last 11 years, he was the power as the longest serving chief of Senate Republicans. The respect, and a fair amount of affection, displayed on both sides of the aisle are a testament to his skills and personal decency.

Those same traits have been on public display over the last few weeks. During the primary season, DOLE had little tolerance for gun control, affirmative action and abortion. Now, with the nomination secured, he is tacking to the middle on many issues.

An exercise in pure political calculus? No doubt. A bid to lure Colin Powell to his ticket? Perhaps.

Either way, the results in Tuesday's GOP Senate primary in Virginia illustrate the wisdom. For despite the fact that the Christian Coalition and Iran-Contra scammer Oliver North supported conservative Jim Miller, the moderate incumbent, Senator John Warner, won in a landslide. If the right wing can't win a primary in Virginia, its threats are idle.

But DOLE's shift toward the middle is most welcome for another, less cynical, reason: It offers a realistic formula for governing should he win the White House. Especially on abortion, perhaps the most divisive issue in America.

Though he says he supports the GOP platform's call for an amendment outlawing abortion, DOLE has shaken the rafters with his urging for a "declaration of tolerance." And he wants a no-wiggle-room statement that "ought to be right up there where people can see it."

Would that all Republicans and Democrats were so tolerant. Neither group can make that claim.

DOLE's "declaration," said Gary Bauer of the conservative Family Research Council, is "politically dumb." Presidential wannabe Pat Buchanan squawked that it was "morally absurd."

DOLE gave as good as he got. "We can't agree on every issue in this party, and we ought to respect the views of others," he shot back at Bauer. "I mean, this a moral issue."

Clearly, DOLE's liberation from the Senate has not dulled time-honed instincts for moderation. And for respect on matters of conscience. Those traits will serve him well not only in unifying his party, but in trying to appeal to the best in all Americans, whatever their labels.



[From the Washington Post, June 13, 1996]

GOOD CITIZEN DOLE

(By Mary McGrory)

Yes, I applauded when the retiring Senator BOB DOLE saluted the press—after fair warning we'd probably fall out of our seats at what he was about to say. No, none of my colleagues did. Was I unprofessional? Probably. My editor suggests I should be fired, but that's what editors always say. Perhaps I should try to explain.

I was delighted to hear DOLE's kind words because I know he had to come a long way to say them. I am glad whenever any Republican says anything nice about us, because it is well-known that they think we are a bunch of two-faced radicals who exist to misrepresent them and distort their views. I can still hear their primal, hair-raising roar when Dwight Eisenhower fired on "sensation-seeking columnists and commentators."

When I first knew BOB DOLE, he was the nastiest man in Washington, Richard Nixon's snarling surrogate, standing in the deserted chamber at day's end, raging against Teddy Kennedy and other critics of the Vietnam War. In the 1976 debate with Fritz Mondale, he frightened little children with his baleful references to "Democrat wars."

Why wouldn't I clap when I heard him say, handsomely, to the press gallery in farewell, "I know that what you do off this floor is as vital to American democracy as anything we do on it, and we have to keep that in mind."

You don't necessarily have to be going to vote for him for President to cheer him on at such a moment. He didn't have to say he doesn't always agree with us, we all know that; he let us know in various ways. Like he stopped speaking to me for a while last fall for no reason he cared to state—we never had an interview so there was no way of finding out. Just as mysteriously, he lifted the interdict and resumed joshing with me about Antrim, the town I love in New Hampshire which never votes for him.

I met another BOB DOLE in 1982, courtesy of, of all people, the liberals' liberal, Joseph L. Rauh Jr. It was the dawn of the Reagan administration and the Gipper was genially messing with civil rights. He had proposed a preposterous condition for establishing violation of voting rights: "Registrars' intent" to deprive the applicant of his rights would have to be proven. DOLE didn't say much, as I remember it; he just went to work to foil the President. He organized the Judiciary Committee, he rallied moderate members. The next thing the White House knew, it was surrounded, outgunned, outmanned. Attorney William French Smith ran up the white flag. I always

thought it was sad that DOLE belonged to a party which would not let him brag about his finest hour.

It was all DOLE, Joe told me. "He put in things we didn't dare propose. He would ask 'Is it the right thing?' If we said yes, he would say, 'Well, let's put it in.'" I wrote several admiring, unbelieving pieces about this civil libertarian I had never seen before. DOLE once muttered to me, with his shy, sly grin, "Could you take it easy?"

It was that DOLE who spoke at his Senate farewell, in that plain, unadorned, rambling, almost inarticulate language that had nothing like the raptures of his ghostwritten resignation announcement. This one he wrote himself. Afterward, people argued about it. Had he finally, unmistakably revealed "the real BOB DOLE," THE MENSCH WHO IS LOVED BY HIS SENATE COLLEAGUES AND HONORED FOR THE SOLID GOLD OF HIS WORD? SOME THOUGHT THE ORDINARINESS OF THE PROSE AND THE RESOLUTE AVOIDANCE OF GRAND THEMES WAS UNBECOMING IN A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, AN OPPORTUNITY LOST. SOME THOUGHT THE SIGHT OF DOLE telling of the good things he accomplished with good men, a surprising number of them Democrats, showed a majority leader the country could learn to love as they do. Others thought the minimalist expression gave the affair all the intrinsic drama of the retirement of the head Elk from his lodge.

For Senate-lovers, it was a festival of lore and laughter about an institution that evokes mostly scorn elsewhere. For Republicans, it may have been an odd hit parade, with any number of personalities they have laboriously demonized over the years being affectionately recalled: George McGovern, "a gentleman"; Hubert Humphrey, "we didn't have a problem at all." Teddy Kennedy and Tom Harkin and he went to a White House ceremony together. For those to whom Phil Hart is a name on a building, DOLE brought the saintly Senator back to life as a young man in a military hospital, who "from morning to night . . . spent his time running errands" for the other patients or getting baseball tickets.

He had a text to which he fitfully referred. And he had a message, although it was obliquely conveyed in that rather glancing, cryptic phrasing he favors. It was to his fellow Republicans, the stomping, club-swinging militants: Be nice.

I do not apologize for clapping.



[From the Omaha World-Herald, June 15, 1996]

#### DOLE DESERVING OF LAUDATORY COMMENTS

(Editorial)

The gracious and generous manner in which BOB DOLE said farewell to the Senate may have puzzled people who have bought into the rhetoric of commentators who paint DOLE as an extreme right-winger.

But it should have surprised no one. DOLE was the longest-serving Republican leader in Senate history. He didn't hold onto the job so long through fear, intimidation or back-room conniving. He was a consensus-builder and a persuader.

The esteem in which he is held by his colleagues of both political parties was apparent in what was said about him.

Despite "a few bumps along the way," he told fellow Senators, "it's been a great ride." He reminisced about friends and friendly opponents such as George McGovern and Senator Tom Daschle, the current Democratic Party

leader in the Senate. He told an affectionate story about Hubert Humphrey and the Minnesota Democrat's sometimes long speeches. He recalled his relationships with former Senators Phil Hart of Michigan, Russell Long of Louisiana and Mike Mansfield of Montana. All were Democrats.

Daschle spoke of DOLE's "civility, pragmatism and self-effacing humor," saying that he and the Republican had wound up as friends.

Democrat Bill Bradley of New Jersey spoke eloquently of DOLE's abilities as Senate leader, saying: "Although (DOLE) is personally shy, he knows how to build a political consensus, use power, make things happen. He keeps his word, which is an essential ingredient to building trust. He listens well. He never burns bridges." DOLE listed for his fellow Senators some of the accomplishments of his 35-year career that he looked back on with pride. Expanding child nutrition programs. Establishing the food stamp program. Bailing out the Social Security system. Extending civil rights protection to the disabled with the Americans With Disabilities Act. Establishing Martin Luther King Day as a national holiday. Maintaining a strong national defense. Supporting the war in Vietnam. Hardly the record of a conservative ideologue.

Nebraska Senator J. James Exon said it well with his farewell to DOLE. "If we have to have a Republican President," he said, "I hope it's you." It says much of DOLE that he has clearly earned the respect of his colleagues.



[From the Sunday Gazette Mail, June 16, 1996]

#### DOLE DID IT HIS WAY—THE HARD WAY

(By William Safire)

My informal job title in the Nixon administration was Rejected Counsel. That's because, as a speech writer, I would occasionally put my head into the Oval Office to say: "Mr. President—Do the popular thing! Take the easy way!" Nixon would ritualistically throw me out of the office, allowing me to submit a speech draft that would truthfully report: "Some of my aides have suggested that I do the popular thing, that I should take the easy way. But I have rejected such counsel."

This happy memory came to mind as I listened to BOB DOLE's eloquent announcement of his departure from the Senate to devote all his time to his Presidential campaign. In that talk, he referred briefly to his difficult travail as a wounded veteran in relearning to walk: "I trust in the hard way, for little has come to me except in the hard way, which is good because we have a hard task ahead."

Later he recalled times of discouragement: "I have been there before, I have done it the hard way and I will do it the hard way once again."

I reached DOLE after the speech to ask who wrote it. He was at first reluctant to say because he didn't want the anonymous volunteer to get in trouble with his employer, but when I explained that it would only help the writer's career, and that people now understand that public figures get professional writing help, the Senator replied that drafts had come from Mark Helprin, a novelist who contributes op-ed pieces to *The Wall Street Journal*.

Well, then—as a longtime derogator of "the easy way"—what can I contribute to the rhetorical origin of DOLE's the hard way? As the New Deal was rooted in card playing, the hard way is derived from rolling dice. In Damon Runyon's 1931 book, "Guys and Dolls," a character familiar with the world of gambling is quoted: "'Charley,' he says, 'do you make it the hard way?'" In shooting craps, the hard way means "the most difficult way": nar-

rowing the ability to make an even-numbered point by requiring the two dice to come up with a pair of equal numbers totaling the point. What makes it “harder” is that the odds of achieving the point that limited way are higher. By extension, the phrase to learn the hard way means “through bitter experience,” and to come up the hard way means “primarily by one’s own efforts.”

In an interview with Newsweek, Helprin recalled DOLE’s words when making the decision to leave the Senate: “If I’m going to run for President, then I’m going to have to run for president.”

This “if-then” construction has long been used in the expression of determination and grit. Said the 19th-century political economist William Graham Sumner: “If you ever live in a country run by a committee, be on the committee.” Said Napoleon Bonaparte to a hesitant general: “If you’re going to take Vienna, take Vienna.”



[From the Los Angeles Times, June 16, 1996]

FOR DOLE, ROAD TO POLITICS BEGAN AT KANSAS COURTHOUSE; GOP: HIS DAYS AS COUNTY ATTORNEY IN '50S PAVED WAY TO CONGRESS. THE EX-SENATOR STILL RESONATES THEMES OF THAT ERA

(By Richard A. Serrano)

These were good days, and on good days BOB DOLE took the steps two and three at a time. His office was on the northwest corner of the third floor of the Russell County Courthouse. Sometimes life was so good he whistled up the stairs.

The county back then was tall in wheat and rich in oil. In the town of Russell, there were two movie houses on brick-paved Main Street, two newspapers, a drive-in theater and a combination bowling alley-pool hall. No longer just a wind-blown, flat-iron settlement of Old World immigrants, the community was at the peak of its day when DOLE took office in 1953 as the new county attorney.

Traditionally, the job went to graduates just out of Kansas law schools. They would serve the short 2-year term, then move quickly into private practice around town. In 1953, there wasn’t a block on Main Street that didn’t boast a law firm.

But DOLE had other plans. For 8 years he trekked up and down those stairs, representing the people of Russell County in the building’s single courtroom, hashing out legal problems in his tiny office with the wood paneling, the floor-to-ceiling bookshelves and the glass-brick windows.

DOLE was county attorney during the time Bill Clinton was in grade school; the same period Dwight D. Eisenhower served in the White House. When the decade ended, DOLE emerged a U.S. Congressman. He moved to Washington; his Russell years were over.

Forty-six years later he is running for President, running against Clinton with a campaign that resonates Eisenhower themes of American spirit, 1950s-style progress and small-town do-goodism.

His critics contend that he is lost in a time warp, trapped in an era whose values cannot be pasted onto the complicated and ever-changing global world of today.

But he persists. At campaign stops, his speeches often travel back to his baptismal days as a lowly civil servant, frequently praising a time when

people looked to friends and neighbors, rather than a distant bureaucracy, to solve social problems.

It was his first taste of government service, his first chance to press the public flesh. It marked his entry into politics. It laid the groundwork for BOB DOLE the public man.

In Russell in the 1950s, DOLE often sat alone in his courthouse office, chain-smoking Lucky Strikes and sorting through his community's travails without the help of big Government programs or the hassles of red tape.

When half a dozen children were taken from their parents because of neglect, he helped local families adopt them. When his grandparents fell on hard times, he helped process their welfare benefits.

Whenever a lovers' quarrel would erupt between the endlessly bickering couple who owned Red's Chicken House out on South Fossil Road, DOLE would be called on to make the peace. Everyone knew Judge Benedict P. Cruise was a staunch Catholic and did not grant divorces. So DOLE was endlessly playing the role of conciliator for the battling pair.

He won 4 consecutive terms. He dined with the Rotary Club and the VFW crowd, and he kissed babies. He shook the hands of farmers, and he seldom missed a chance to beam for photographers with the annual county rodeo queen. Every month, it seemed, another barbershop quartet hit town. Barbershop quartets were a big draw back then. They drew voters. And that drew BOB DOLE.

He was in his 30s, a man on the go when small-town America could still be fashionable. He wore dark blue suits, even in the humid-dipped months of July and August. This was before air conditioning, and still he never loosened his tie or shed his jacket.

He prosecuted town drunks and nighttime brawlers and, occasionally, rapists and thieves. While many of his cases were plea-bargained, when DOLE did take a case to the courtroom, he often as not left the chamber victorious. He wasn't swank and he didn't swagger, but he won.

People recall that he worked tirelessly—he walked home for lunch and then returned to work, and then walked home for dinner and returned again. The light in his office often burned past midnight, past the time the sound of the Union Pacific train was heard rumbling by Russell's giant grain elevator as it headed for Denver or Kansas City or other places east and west he longed to experience.

He also was feeling the kick of gut-level politics. In 1957, at the behest of the powerful Kansas petroleum industry, he went to the State Supreme Court in Topeka and persuaded the high court to strike down a new severance tax that would have cost the oil and gas men millions of dollars.

The oil companies responded with campaign money and support that ultimately helped parlay this nondescript county functionary into Kansas' 6th District Congressional Representative and started him on the path to becoming a Washington power broker.

He touched many lives in such a small town. How do they remember this complex man of the Plains?

To his courthouse secretary, Juania June Ball, he was a workaholic.

"Always long, hard hours all night long," she said. "I had a Dictaphone, and he was talking and I was typing, and you'd lose track of the time until you heard the train go by. He'd say, 'Well, there goes the 2 o'clock train. I guess we better go home.'"

To retired Sheriff Harry Morgenstern, DOLE was someone who quickly learned the politician's gift of dealing with the voting public, and how to know them so they won't forget you.

“He was so damn popular,” Morgenstern said. “He knew everybody. He’d call everybody by name. There wasn’t a stranger to him.”

To Norbert Dreiling, an attorney who became active in the Democratic Party, DOLE always was more politician than lawyer.

“He wasn’t regarded as a poor lawyer, but he wasn’t regarded as a good lawyer either,” Dreiling said. “He was using that office to move up the ladder. Kansas was heavily Republican when he came up, and he had everything he needed to pack the house. He was a mean warrior when it came to politics. He was out to win.”

As for DOLE himself, he attempted to get at the essence of what it was like to be county attorney when he wrote in his autobiography:

“Politics at the grass-roots level is almost always personal. The smaller the town, the fewer the secrets and the greater the importance placed on personal connections. To many voters, the chief function for the county attorney was springing their friends nabbed on traffic charges.”

For most of his life, he had been surrounded by Russell friends and Russell neighbors. He was born here, the first son of the man who ran the butter and egg creamery on Main Street. At Russell High School, the girls voted him the “ideal boy.”

DOLE quietly had dreamed of being a surgeon. But his wounds in a closing battle of World War II cut those hopes short. He spent the next few years in rehabilitation, in and out of hospitals, adopting a stick-to-it determination that someday he would be whole again. He earned a law degree in 1952, and not soon afterward stood up at a community meeting 9 miles out of town. He fought back his shyness and uttered seven words: “I want to be your county attorney.”

The next day he purchased a blue suit on credit at Banker’s Mercantile, then stepped out on Main Street and began passing out fliers.

He ran against Dean Ostrum, a Phi Beta Kappa who was the scion of a prominent local attorney. Ostrum was destined for great things; he would move to the East Coast and become a leading counsel for American Telephone & Telegraph. But first he would lose to BOB DOLE.

By all accounts, Ostrum was the better lawyer. But DOLE had one thing Ostrum did not—a Purple Heart.

“He never made a big thing about it, but you knew it,” said John Woelk, a lawyer and a Democrat in his 70s who still practices law in Russell. “He had the handicap for all of us to see. You were immediately aware of it because he shook your hand with his left.”

Politics, DOLE would later write, “knocking on a stranger’s door, looking him in the eye and asking for his vote, was a way to overcome my disability without denying it.”

He beat Ostrum by less than 200 votes in the GOP primary, then won the general election by more than 2,000.

The job paid \$248 a month, less than what the county janitor made. But there were perks, foremost being that the county attorney was allowed to maintain a private practice on the side, complete with use of a free phone and desk.

“He was doing two jobs, really,” said his first wife, Phyllis. “But I didn’t pay that much attention to his work. BOB did what he wanted to do.”

Old-timers remember that county business was slow in the 1950s, and DOLE spent much of his time on his private practice or doing what he liked more: Politicking. His pals down at Dawson’s soda fountain tell a story that gives a feel of the time.

One day, according to owner Bub Dawson, DOLE stopped by and mentioned that he had a "case." Dawson rounded up a group of fellows. "Hey, BOB's got a case," he told them. Everybody thought DOLE had a case of beer. But no, this time he had a real case.

Most of it was run-of-the-mill stuff. Drunk driving. Loitering. Carrying a switchblade knife. A murder file never crossed his desk. There were a couple of incidents of gang rape, and a fatal hit-and-run by a youth in a stolen Pontiac. DOLE also convicted a traveling carnival worker who kidnapped and raped a 12-year-old girl.

"He also had that rather sarcastic wit," remembered Marvin Thompson, another young attorney then. "He could use it to great effect sometimes. . . . But he wasn't going to blow a jury apart with his oratory either."

DOLE occasionally took on the oil interests. Farmers often complained that the wells caused saltwater poisoning of their fields, and like county attorneys throughout this region known as the nation's breadbasket, DOLE would defend the farmer.

But DOLE found himself allied with the oil companies in 1957 when he filed a challenge to Kansas' new 1 percent severance tax on production. He took it to the State Supreme Court and won—the tax was struck down because of a technicality he found in the law's title.

"Probably my biggest day in court," DOLE would say later.

"After that," said Dick Driscoll, a Russell lawyer and Democrat, "he suddenly had a lot of support from the oil industry. He helped oil, and oil helped him."

With money, backing and newly won prestige, the DOLE name was becoming known outside Russell. In 1960, he filed as a candidate for Congress. His years as county attorney, he said, his years in local politics had stood him well. Little, in fact, had gotten by him. Even his campaign rallies for Congress were jazzed up with performances by a group of female harmony singers called the "Dolls for DOLE."

All those trips to listen to the barbershop quartets had paid off.



[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 17, 1996]

#### DOLE BRAVES A STORM

(Editorial)

BOB DOLE bid an emotional farewell last week to the US Senate. He weathered many storms there, but his was usually a sure hand at the tiller.

Now he steps into a craft, his Presidential campaign, with much trickier steering, and which is currently tossed by a gale of Mr. DOLE's own making.

But there's method in the candidate's willingness to roil the waters after he supposedly smoothed them last week by announcing he favored inclusion of a tolerance statement in the GOP convention platform. Though intended to moderate the party's unequivocal call for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion, the statement was to be innocuously placed in the platform's preamble rather than its text—or so DOLE aides and party right-wingers thought.

Their candidate has now made it clear that the tolerance wording should be placed more prominently, preferably right in the abortion plank. That, alas, is heresy to ardent pro-lifers such as Patrick Buchanan. To them, it implies a retreat from the party's stated intolerance of abortion.

To many other Republicans, however, it's an indication that their man has the courage to brave the right wing's fury on a matter of principle. The principle, says DOLE, is a respect for those with differing points of view, even when you strongly disagree.

If people have trouble with that, the candidate said with senatorial finality, "that's fine with me." It will take continued courage to stick by that stand and risk another Buchanan-stirred tempest at the convention this August.

But the stand for tolerance is likely to do DOLE more good than harm. First, it strikes a chord for moderation that will ring true for most voters and might open the way for a moderate vice-presidential candidate. Second, voters have their eye out for someone with the moral fiber to take a position because it's right, regardless of the political fallout. That's the character issue in a nutshell.



[From the Montgomery Advertiser, June 18, 1996]

DOLE REALLY WITTY, WARM UNDER MASK

(By Edwin Yoder)

WASHINGTON—Two good things happened to the Republican Party June 11. But whether its elders will draw the right conclusions about them is another question.

In the U.S. Senate chamber, there was a cordial daylong celebration of the career of the retiring Republican majority leader, BOB DOLE, his party's nominee-apparent for the Presidency.

From both parties there flowed warm appreciations of DOLE's record as a consummate Senate insider. DOLE reciprocated in a remarkably generous speech that almost gave away one of Washington's better-kept secrets—namely, that the grim, unsmiling DOLE produced by his media managers is a campaign-year Halloween mask. Behind that mask lie qualities admired by those who know him best, whatever their views.

What are those qualities? Wit, warmth and commitment, a nonpartisan temperament fully capable of savoring American political variety and dedicated—at least in private—to the forbearance that distinguishes civilized politics from the cockpit. And, beyond that, a satisfaction in legislative achievements that have little to do with the slimy, fifth-rate "wedge issues" that pass for political argument today.



[From the Dallas Morning News, June 18, 1996]

MIDWEST VALUES AND CIVILITY GUIDE DOLE

(By William McKenzie)

Maybe BOB DOLE didn't stay too long in Washington, after all. The habits and manners of the Midwest still seem to shape Kansas' leading son, even after 36 years on Capitol Hill.

Midwesterners, for example, often speak plainly. Think back to the language of Harry Truman, Robert Taft, Abraham Lincoln, Alf Landon and William Allen White, the legendary Emporia (Kansas) Gazette editor. Their assessments were straightforward, sometimes blunt.

Mr. DOLE's candor shouldn't be confused with eloquence. His sentences often don't complete themselves.

Still, the simple manner in which he departed the Senate last week stands out, perhaps as BOB DOLE at his best. His remarks reveal a man shaped by the Midwest's dominant practicality.

Surviving brutal winters and hot summers in small farm towns forces people to work together, to search for ways to keep their communities intact.

Main Street produces a different sort of political figure than, say, Eastern intellectuals like William Buckley and Steve Forbes.

Their political vocabulary, used to score sharp philosophical points, was shaped by the prep-school, salon environment in which they were raised.

Last week, however, Mr. DOLE spoke movingly about how he, Daniel Inouye and Philip Hart routinely played cards as young men in a Battle Creek, Michigan, veterans hospital. The three young soldiers all were seriously wounded in World War II.

Coincidentally, however, they later served together as Senators. And, yes, Mr. Inouye and the late Mr. Hart were Democrats. But what ultimate difference did party allegiance make after war tore apart their three bodies?

That Mr. DOLE also left the Senate praising the character of Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern, two liberal Democrats, speaks to how much Capitol Hill has changed. Leading legislators once could disagree and still like one another.

Today, too many Republican and Democratic leaders throw darts at each other in public while also disdaining the opponent in private. An abundance of White House aides, legislators and their staffers are on an almost idolatrous philosophical mission, sometimes prohibiting themselves from genuinely liking those who disagree with them. Or from understanding that principle and compromise aren't antagonists.

The new Washington makes Mr. DOLE's skill in crafting broad alliances appear almost anachronistic. He proudly told ABC's Peter Jennings last week that he once worked with Democrats and Republicans in sponsoring the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday bill, creating the Americans with Disabilities Act, giving Social Security an extension in 1983 and launching the Federal nutrition program for pregnant women and their children.

The majority leader also said he hoped colleagues would remember him for being fair. Tough? Partisan? Demanding? Yes . . . those things, too, Mr. DOLE said. But most of all, he wanted to be remembered for fairness. He was pleased that Democratic Senator Carol Moseley Braun, an African-American, told him that he always dealt fairly with her.

The Wall Street Journal's Gerald Seib notes that Kansas editor McDill "Huck" Boyd influenced Mr. DOLE in his early political years. A Republican, Mr. Boyd recruited Mr. DOLE to run for Congress in 1960 and urged him always to maintain an inclusive Republicanism.

Mr. DOLE once recalled how Mr. Boyd wanted to break down barriers and bring in more people. The Kansas editor reminded him, Don't get too far out, don't get too strung out, don't get too harsh. That Midwestern sensibility evidently rubbed off.

Mr. Boyd's Midwest lives on in BOB DOLE's civic Republicanism, too. He isn't driven by philosophical causes, even though deficit reduction is a passion. Instead, the Kansan approaches politics like a Chamber of Commerce leader. Build up America. Spend prudently. Be fair. Use government when necessary, but don't become hooked on it.

Of course, Mr. DOLE occasionally strays from his native Republicanism. He can lash out on campaign trails, playing the divide-'em-up game.

But he shouldn't move too far from his original influences.

Editor White, also a devout Republican, wrote, "Times are made more or less by leadership, but there is the other half of the equation, which is that times develop leaders." BOB DOLE's early times and place are worth honoring.



[From the Indianapolis News, June 19, 1996]

SENATOR DOLE VS. CITIZEN DOLE

(Editorial, Dan Coats)

Last week, Senator BOB DOLE became Citizen DOLE. He has every right to be proud of that hard, courageous decision. The U.S. Senate has every reason to be sorry for it.

BOB DOLE leaves a legacy of lasting influence. He led the Congress to historic accomplishments, including the rescue of Social Security and the first balanced budget in a generation. He led the Republican Party, 2 years ago, to historic victory. Now he has accepted one more chance to lead.

This is the common thread that runs through an uncommon life: leadership. He has provided a definition of the term.

As a Senator, BOB DOLE mastered the art of consensus. He knew when a breakthrough depended on one well-placed word. He knew how to cool tempers and emphasize agreement. He knew how to turn the chaos of Senate procedure into tangible achievements. These are rare and important qualities.

Yet this is only half of the story. I have seen another side of BOB DOLE's leadership. He once put it this way: "I believe there is a place for honest negotiation in politics. It is an essential part of democracy. Every political movement, and every public official, however, must locate a place where compromise ends—a core of conviction where we keep our conscience. There comes a time when even practical leaders must refuse to bend or yield."

For BOB DOLE that core of conviction is basic, permanent and solid: safe streets, strong families, military strength, fiscal responsibility and a decent public culture. These commitments are rooted in the soil of the Midwest, in the lessons of a small town and in his own experiences of suffering and service. BOB DOLE understands the secret strength of America because he embodies it.

His politics are balanced, but deeply held. He knows that Americans value freedom and responsibility, but still must care for one another in times of crisis and need. He understands the fears at the edge of poverty because he felt them in his youth. He knows the price of liberty because he paid it himself in combat. In the Senate, we have come to depend on this core of conviction, based on the lessons of a life.

In his legislative career, BOB DOLE has displayed both elements of true leadership: consensus and conscience. He is an example to all of us who work with him and respect him. Leaving the security of the Senate is just another example of the moral courage we have come to know.

The poet T.S. Eliot wrote, "In my end is my beginning." BOB DOLE's distinguished legislative career has ended. It is, however, the beginning of a new mission. That mission takes him beyond the Senate, and we regret it. But I am convinced it will take him to the White House. Citizen DOLE has only begun his service to this Nation.