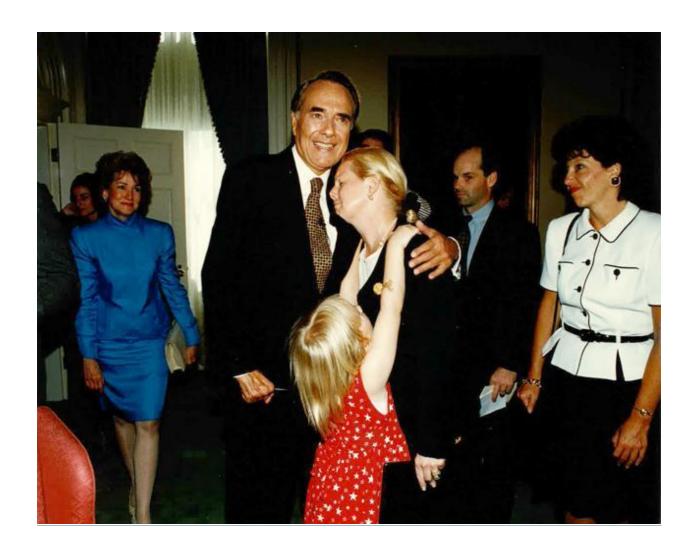
WORKING FOR DOLE PART 1 | 'There were no mysteries'

• Jeff Chapman Contributing writer

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Sen. Bob Dole's former chief of staff Sheila Burke is seen here pictured with Dole.

Courtesy photo



Sheila Burke, former chief of staff to Sen. Bob Dole, left, talks with Jeff Chapman via Zoom. Burke said Dole was always very clear in his communication.

Courtesy photo

Sen. Bob Dole's former chief of staff Sheila Burke talks about her experiences working with Dole.

This is a three-part series, in which I asked Sheila about 10 questions in 30 minutes via Zoom while I am in Kansas City, and she is in D.C.

Chapman: How did you first meet Senator Dole and when?

Burke: It was 1977, I met him through a friend on staff at the Senate Finance Committee. He was looking to hire new staff at the time as he became ranking on the Finance Health Subcommittee. I didn't know the man, nor much about him. I knew he ran for office with Ford and lost, but knew nothing about Kansas. He was becoming focused on health care issues, and he liked that I had background as a nurse. When I told him I was a liberal Democrat from San Francisco, he said, that doesn't matter, what matters is that you know how to care for patients and that you have an understanding of health care issues from a provider point of view. While I knew little about him, I appreciated his interest in health care, and interestingly his personal experience as a patient which helped us understand the importance of the tasks ahead.

Chapman: What made you decide to join his staff?

Burke: After learning more about the role, I agreed to do it for a year. We grew to have great respect for each other and as it turned out, I was with him for just short of 20 years.

Chapman: What is different about being the majority leader's COS vs. just another senator?

Burke: The scale and importance of issues, of leadership, of influence on policy. What made it mostly different was Dole's desire to find middle ground on issues even when the sides were far apart. Even the Republican Caucus had a wide variety of perspectives. From Jesse Helms to John Chaffee for instance. So Dole had to manage his own caucus as well as find middle ground with the other party. In the role of Chief of Staff for this office, you balance between Dole's own agenda, representing Kansas, and the agenda of the party caucus. Working with the staffs of the opposition party continuously, such as Senator Bob Byrd, Senator George Mitchell, and Senator Tom Daschle. As staffers we were the tools to facilitate those agendas and while that comes with lots of perceived power, you really never get comfortable in that situation.

Dole's agenda included catastrophic Medicare health insurance, Medicare and Medicaid Reform, saving Social Security and he had real faith in staff to find middle ground on all issues even though in many cases solutions were not found or agreed to.

Chapman: Did you ever have to shake down or pressure any senators yourself like Sen. Helms or Chaffee?

Burke: No, there were always certain members Dole would work with directly, but on occasion I spoke on his behalf.

Chapman: You were also secretary of the Senate. What is that exactly?

Burke: The chief administrative office of the Senate. Managing the clerks, historian, the parliamentarian and having to learn the process of parliamentary procedures for that body. It was a huge responsibility, but I only did it for 9 months.

Chapman: I assume you were familiar with Howard Liebengood, a K-State alum who served as sergeant at arms for the Senate then?

Burke: Yes, I was. He was a very skilled staff person working for Sen. Howard Baker. All the senators liked him. Tragically his son, Howard, was one of the police officers who took his own life as a result of the Jan. 6 riot on the Capitol.

Chapman: That was definitely a tragic series of events.

Chapman: What did your friends think of you in your role as the gatekeeper of the US Senate?

Burke: People closest to me, who understood my role, were supportive. I had great relationships with all of the Chiefs of Staff of the Senators, most of whom became friends, and I met with them weekly. But while many respected me and my role, others were suspicious of my being a liberal and that I might be "negatively" influencing Dole policy. Especially some of the extremely conservative staffers. I will say that I was only as good as my boss allowed me to be. I only carried out the wishes and messages of "The Boss" and never my own opinions. Though I was sometimes called the 101st Senator, I was definitely not. Those relationships with staff leaders and the Senators themselves took time to build and while most understood, some just wouldn't.

Chapman: What were some of your fears before and after taking that role?

Burke: I think he and I were both anxious about it. I was the first woman in this role, I am sure he thought, "Can she handle it? Will she be tough enough?" I was in fear of falling short. Can I handle the scale, the enormity of the role? I knew the issue related to health care well, but I knew little about defense, or agriculture, which were big on Dole's agenda, huge for Kansas, and so there was definitely some anxiety. Luckily, my predecessor had hired me as his deputy and so I had learned a lot in that role and Dole took his word as a recommendation and so it was. I am sure I stepped in things early on, learning my way, but Dole was always very supportive.

Chapman: What are some things you are most proud of in working with BD?

Burke: That's hard, because there were so many things and such a wide variety, but I will say first that in general just serving as a conduit to his Democrat counterparts was most rewarding. I worked very hard at it, building up those relationships, and also with the (Republican) caucus members. Regarding policy, working to get hospice care added to Medicare and support for rural clinics and hospitals was huge and good for Dole in Kansas. Working on health care, tax policies and agriculture bills were always challenging. Dole was always open to, curious, and wanted to know both sides of arguments, what were the Republican alternatives, how can we find common ground to pass legislation. I am very proud to have been behind the scenes facilitating those successes, but sometimes after all of the hard work some issues still never passed, like health care reform working with the Clinton administration. Of course saving Social Security was at the top of the list. Oddly enough, another one was an effort on fetal tissue research. Dole's initial instinct was to oppose it, but with educational discussions about its relationship to Parkinson's research, he changed his mind and supported it with limitations. I admired him for wanting to learn, for wanting to be fair and represent all sides in situations like that.

Chapman: Do you think your role was influential for women in leadership?

Burke: (laughed) You could say positive or negative depending upon who you ask I suppose. There was once a story in the Wall Street Journal that as a man of his generation, Dole wasn't able to manage women in senior roles... That was the polar opposite of the truth. In fact, he had a lot of women on staff in multiple offices in senior roles. Not to mention he was working with and around Senator Nancy Kassebaum (Baker) and Elizabeth Dole, so he had a lot of respect for female leaders and their roles in government. Some conservatives used that as an argument, since I was known to be liberal, like I was somehow influencing Dole's interest to compromise with the Democrats, but that was all his was of leading, not mine. Overall, in general, I do think my roles served as a level of comfort, an inspiration to women to seek more responsibility. I think it is easier to understand that now looking back, than I did maybe at the time I was in the thick of it.

Chapman: What did you hate about the job?

Burke: The long hours, the time away from family. I had three children and raised them while in the job. I used to go home, have dinner with the kids and put them to bed and then head back to the office until late. The pressures of the job were tough. When Dole was determined on an issue... which was every issue, it put enormous pressure on me and the staff to make it happen. In addition to that, the conservatives were truly very rough on me, and they took it to the media to try to make it worse. When you are a

behind the scenes staffer and trying to avoid having your name tied to anything or being in the news, that was rough. US News and others ran pieces on me, even depicting me with devil horns as an evil person.

Chapman: How did Dole handle that, did he defend you or ask you if you were handling it ok?

Burke: Haha no! The Senator was not like that at all. He was not a touchy feely, how are you feeling kind of person. I even offered to resign to take the focus off of me, so it wouldn't affect his work negatively, but he just said, "No." and that was it. We kept going.

Chapman: Describe Bob Dole behind the scenes when it's just he and staff...

Burke: Dole was very clear about everything, where he stood on things, what he set out to accomplish. There were no mysteries. He was happiest when there were multiple tasks happening in the office at once. He could bounce around from meeting to meeting, listening, offering thoughts, but his confidence in the staff always showed as he usually just summed things up, "Work it out." And then he would leave the room. He was not mired in the details of how. He left it to us to figure out the solutions in good faith.

Chapman: Did he ever make fun of people or dress down people in front of others?

Burke: Absolutely not. But he often used this funny phrase when someone wasn't getting it or didn't know what was going on in the Senate or DC or some particular issue he would ask about, so he would say, "Buy a newspaper and move to town." As in why don't you know what's going on? (ha-ha, she laughs) It was funny every time.

Chapman: Was he hard to read, would you consider him approachable?

Burke: Dole was very approachable at times, and at others he was not at all. If it was one of those times, I would knock and peer into his office and say the subject, and he would just say, "not now." And I knew this was not the priority of the moment, there was never any confusion about what was important, and we all knew that meant, don't ask twice.

Chapman: Sen. Dole had a real knack for remembering names. What was that like to witness?

Burke: Remarkable. Absolutely remarkable to experience. It helped that he genuinely liked people, wanted to know everyone and what they did. He was always dedicated to that interaction, taking pictures with everyone. If we went to a restaurant, he would

want to meet the entire staff, the cooks, the chef, the owner, the servers and always took pictures and signed autographs. When he was preparing to leave the Senate, he stood for hours allowing the staff of the Capitol, the clerks, police officers, elevator operators, and staffs of other offices to say goodbye and have their photos taken. He thanked each of them for their service.

Burke is a native of San Francisco, California, with a bachelor's degree in nursing from the University of San Francisco and a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University.

Burke came to the Senate in 1977 to serve as legislative assistant. Burke assisted Dole on matters of public health in his position as ranking member and then chairman of the Committee on Finance.

She became deputy staff director of that committee in 1982. In 1985 Dole brought her into the Office of the Majority Leader, first as deputy chief of staff and then as chief of staff in 1986. She remained as chief of staff to the Republican leader for 10 years. From January to June of 1996, she also served simultaneously as secretary of the Senate.

In many ways, Burke's Senate career from 1977 to 1996 mirrored the development of the Senate itself: the rise of women to positions of influence, and the backlash that caused; the development of policy expertise within members' and leadership offices; and the frequent transfer of majority power between the two parties.

Discussing the growing role of women on Capitol Hill, Burke said, "The fact that you have women at the table for many of these very complicated questions and issues I think has made a huge difference both in the substance of what we do and the nature of the debate."

'HE NEVER LEFT'

WORKING FOR DOLE PART 2 |

Bob Dole's relationships and closest friends

- Jeff Chapman Contributing writer
- Aug 28, 2024

The following is the second of a three-part series in which Sen. Bob Dole's former chief of staff Sheila Burke talks about her experiences working with Dole.

Chapman: Did Senator Dole joke around with you a lot? Were you often laughing?

Burke: Yes. He wasn't really a jokester or joke teller, but he was always quick witted, making quips about things he observed. He never was an under his breath type either, he made sure everyone heard him.

Chapman: What were some of his habits? Was he a happy hour cocktail guy?

Burke: I will say that I never saw him drink or smoke or anything. When he became Leader of the Senate, we moved in and there was a full bar set up for entertaining guests and by day two it was gone. We changed it to a coffee bar and people came there to get coffee and have a conversation, but no drinking or smoking was happening in his office. Most of his habits were incredibly positive, such as always being on time and was observant of the tardy. His best habit was being unbelievably patient.

Chapman: The Senator does not seem like he would be the patient type.

Burke: In one instance Senator Byrd was leader and we were trying to reach an agreement on legislation. He left the floor suddenly, and our entire staff were losing our minds and our patience and kept wanting to call him, or go find him or get things moving forward faster and Senator Dole kept saying, "Let him take his time, let's wait him out, he will be back when he is ready..." and finally at about 2 a.m., Senator Byrd returned to the floor, was ready to make the deal and they had enough votes on both sides to move it forward.

Chapman: With his physical limitations was he ever frustrated with anything?

Burke: No. (Emphatic) He never referred to it. He always wore no-tie shoes, never or rarely wore a tux, shook hands with his left instead of his right and held a pen in his right to divert hand-shakers away from it, but he never mentioned it, never complained

ever. Even when he was in a wheelchair in his last years, he never referred to his issues ever.

He was in fact very sensitive to others with disabilities and if he ever entered a room of people, he always found those in wheelchairs first and interacted with them. He had an alertness to people that had suffered, and especially a relationship with veterans.

Chapman: Other than some campaign photos showing him working out on the treadmill, I never saw him not in a suit.

Burke: He was an impeccable dresser, and he was always very professional and very formal in his manner, appearance, and behavior.

Chapman: Did he ever drive a car? Did Elizabeth?

Burke: In all the time I have known the Doles I have never seen them drive or known them to drive. Even Sen. Elizabeth in her early years in DC as Secretary had a driver and staff, and Senator Bob always had his dear friend and driver Wilbur. By the way, I have never once called them Bob or Elizabeth. Always Senator, Secretary, Leader, Mr., or Mrs. Dole, but never once by their first names.

Chapman: When did you first meet Sen. E. Dole and what was that encounter like?

Burke: In the late 70s she came to the office a few times when I had first started, but she was a remarkably busy woman of capitol hill herself and so they didn't visit each other's office much during the day. She was so kind, thoughtful, and gracious. She was exceptionally good with people, remembered names and was always truly kind to me and the whole Dole staffers group.

Chapman: When the Doles were together and out of public view what were they like, how did they interact with each other? With you?

Burke: That's a very good and interesting question and I have never thought of it, much really. They were extremely aware of each other, kind, they were incredibly solicitous with each other. In public Senator Bob usually dominated with his wit, but at home or privately they were definitely equals. There was never a cross word or belittling statement or any dismissiveness between them.

Burke: You know that behavior started early on when he was courting her. And really the only known time he's referred to his disability was when he first met the Hanfords, Elizabeth's parents. He mentioned that he had this injury and wanted them to know that this was always going to be an issue for him and for them.

Chapman: Did you ever visit their home at the Watergate? Did you eat in the "Lewinsky Dining Room"?

Burke: Yes, many times. You know it was a beautiful two-story apartment and they did purchase the condo next door to them which was previously owned by Monica Lewinsky. That made for a lot of funny quips, but what I recall the most was that Elizabeth really liked the outdoor garden most and was often there reading or meeting with people over coffee, while we stuck to the main level where we would meet with Senator Bob or we would have staff gatherings, parties, etc. It was a large enough home for the two of them to operate separately with their own functions and time, but comfortable for the two of them to spend time together. It is actually a very beautiful place, despite the reputation of the name Watergate itself in DC.

Chapman: Who on staff was in charge of the Dole's Dog?

Burke: Leader? It was either his secretary Betty or his driver Wilbur, like when he would visit the capitol. There were many Senators that had dogs in the office, but when Leader arrived you could hear him barking all the way in.

Chapman: Did you ever feel like a friend of the Doles, or just a staff member?

Burke: Well, as I mentioned, it never occurred to me to call him Bob. He was the boss. I did visit him frequently when he was in the hospital, and we were all more than just staff after such a long time working together. We know so much about each other, spend so many hours together in the car on a plane or late nights working on legislation.

You learn a lot of private information about each other and so I would say were very close, but not family, we were still staff. During my time working with him, I lost both of my parents, and had three children and he was incredibly supportive always, giving me the time I needed and making me feel like a friend, so in all experiences overall, I would say we were closer than just staff.

Chapman: What made Bob Dole angry? What made him cry?

Burke: He wasn't exactly emotional externally. His last day of the Senate, his voice cracked a lot, he had some tears. He was sad to leave that body which he loved and led for so long. He never got angry, at least in my time there. He had moments of impatience or frustration sure, but he never lashed out at people. He never swore a single word, ever. If he was frustrated with you, you might go in the "ice box" and he wouldn't talk to you for a bit, but it never lasted because there was just too much to do. The worst I witnessed was on a trip to the Far East.

He had a big speech to deliver for the Tokyo Press Club, and it was in continuous rewrite on the way over. He grew very frustrated that it wasn't finished and wondered why it was taking so long. It was important for him on the world stage. He was never unduly cool, but in this instance, he told me if it wasn't completed that nobody on his staff was going to get to go on the Forbidden City tour the next day. He felt bad overnight and changed his tune, but some of us boycotted the tour or of principle. So that moment was a lot of tension, but it was rare that it happened.

Chapman: What were his relationships like with others besides staff?

Burke: He was first and foremost very caring for his sisters and brother and nephews. He never forgot where he came from, so he tended to befriend others with similar backgrounds. Small town people, veterans from World War 2, people with disabilities. Some of the Senators and other DC people just had buckets of money and flashed it around, but he never did, even when he was successful financially. He never left Russell, Kansas, behind. He grew up, lived, and died a kid from Russell.

Burke: His closest friend was probably George McGovern. He became close with people usually on big bi-partisan legislation which takes an enormous amount of time together working through details. So, McGovern through Food Stamps, Tom Harkin on the Disabilities Act, all those involved with the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday and Pat Moynihan. Mostly WWII Vets, Danny Inouye, Phil Hart, etc.

He had a few friends in the media too, but he kept those relationships quiet.

Chapman: What about Ted Kennedy, George Bush, Reagan, Ford, Nixon?

Burke: Dole and Kennedy never worked on anything together and their backgrounds were polar opposites, so they weren't friends, they just didn't really interact. With Reagan and Bush though, even though they were in different camps of the GOP, and not always friendly during Primary season, once they were elected, He was their most fierce supporter on the hill, pushing through Bush's legislation and Reagan's tax bill, etc. He respected the executive office and knew his role as the leader and so they all got along well during those times.

Burke: Ford, No. Other than the campaign in '76 they really never interacted much except at funerals. Nixon though was a different story. They had similar backgrounds growing up, were war veterans, and had profound respect for each other.

When former President Nixon visited the Senate, which was more often than reported, Dole always invited him and other Senators to his office and Dole listened intently because he felt RN was so attuned to foreign policy and world affairs. He thought

Nixon was quite remarkable in his strategic thinking but disagreed with some of his personal behaviors (which gave Watergate the bad name). They spoke on the phone and visited each other often.

IN MEMORIAM

WORKING FOR DOLE PART 3 | 'He is greatly missed'

- · Jeff Chapman Contributing writer
- Sep 5, 2024 Updated 2 hrs ago



Sen. Bob Dole and Sheila Burke sit on a balcony in front of the U.S. Capitol Building, called the "Dole Beach" in his memory.

Courtesy photo

Sen. Bob Dole's former chief of staff Sheila Burke talks about her experiences working with Dole. This is a three-part series, in which I asked Sheila about 10 questions in 30 minutes via Zoom while I am in Kansas City, and she is in D.C.

Chapman: Senator Bob Dole ran for president of the United States three times, in '80, '88 and '96. What do you remember from the earlier campaigns?

Burke: In 1980 I have little to no memory of the campaign. It was a reasonably short time before he dropped out. I was still working as staff on the Senate Finance Committee, and we only kept him informed while he was campaigning, no campaign work.

Burke: In 1988, it was the same for me, as I was helping run the Leader's Office and Dole was still actively running the Senate while also campaigning. In both cases, as a party man, the Senator would support the nominee.

Chapman: I assume in 1996 you were more involved?

Burke: Yes. The Boss let us know he would be running. There were many sides to when, and if he would leave the Senate or stay. The Dole campaign staff wanted him to quit the Senate because it was a distraction. Many of us thought he could stay and manage it like in the past, but he was ultimately convinced to leave. The then incoming Leader Senator Trent Lott and some other Senators encouraged Dole to resign and run full time too and I believe that was the ultimate decision maker. He really enjoyed managing the Senate, so it was difficult for him to also campaign full time. Prior to his Senate departure in July, we were keeping him informed on all topics including the agenda driven by President Clinton and Dole's GOP agenda at the same time, which can be a very complex situation especially when both are also campaigning against each other and trying to legislate together at the same time.

Chapman: Tell me about Dole's last day in the Senate from your perspective:

Burke: I had the honor of getting to sit with him in the chamber when he spoke, and it was a very moving and sad time for me. I really loved working for him, so it was the end of an era. A small group gathered in the Leader's reception room where, by the way, the British set fire to the Capitol, including Elizabeth Dole, his daughter Robin, and some friends. He told us he was grateful for our work and highlighted the challenge ahead. As moved as we all were, we were sad it was ending. He was his usual witty self, making some quips about leaving, seeing us all in the White House next time. A few staff stayed with Senator Lott, but most went on to other things. We were working the Senate right up until Noon that day as if it was every day. And then after his remarks, by 3:00pm that afternoon, we were completely archived, transferred to Lott, moved out and done.

Chapman: Wow that must have been quite an experience on the floor.

Burke: Yes, and it was not the norm that day. The entire Senate was in attendance, and the galleries were full. It was a big thrill and a bittersweet moment. Each Member took the time to say goodbye.

Chapman: Tell me about the "Dole Beach."

Burke: It is a balcony in front of the Capitol where he loved to sit and hold meetings. It has been named in his honor.

Chapman: Let's change this up and talk about his relationship with a few people we all know: Nancy Pelosi?

Burke: Nancy and Elizabeth were the best of friends. Speaker Pelosi gifted Senator Elizabeth Dole the flags flown over the Capitol on the day he laid in repose in the Capitol and gave a beautiful tribute to him as a gift.

Chapman: Nancy Landon Kassebaum Baker?

Burke: As Kansans, they had an enormous amount of respect for each other. She was more moderate on many issues than Dole and they were focused in different areas. He on Finance Committee matters and her on Health and Labor, though they did work together on the Kennedy-Kassebaum healthcare act. I can only recall one horrible instance when I didn't brief Dole on something she had a different point of view on, and he voted against her. It was not a good day for me, as he was pretty upset. Other than that, Senator Kassebaum had a great staff, and we shared a lot of information back and forth. She was always very warm and kind, even with differing views.

Chapman: President Bill Clinton?

Burke: After Clinton was reelected, his chief of staff, Leon Panetta, called me because Clinton wanted to present Dole with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I talked to The Boss, not sure how he would respond, and he was overwhelmed and thrilled. Their relationship prior to the election was respectful even though they were radically different on most views. Clinton was extremely gracious to Dole always. We had some funny pictures of them walking and talking in Normandy where they are joking around and teasing each other. The most difficult thing for Dole was Clinton's behavior and the whole Lewinsky affair, but following the election, Clinton was remarkably kind to Dole.

Chapman: Then Governor Mitt Romney?

Burke: Dole had little or no interaction with Romney. the time.

Chapman: Senator John McCain?

Burke: Despite their close friendship over the years, McCain committed early Senator to Phil Gramm in 1996. But after he dropped out, McCain was on our campaign plane the very next day. Dole had worn a bracelet with John McCain's name on it while he was in captivity in Vietnam. He never told McCain about it until long after McCain was elected to the Senate. McCain was stunned. During the 1970s, Dole was one of many Americans who

wore a metal bracelet with the name of a servicemember who was captured or missing during the Vietnam War.

Chapman: President Donald Trump?

Burke: This was definitely a different relationship than the others. Trump in Dole's eyes was just a different kind of people than he was used to. He endorsed Trump because he is a party man, but he was often dumfounded with Trump's decision making and offended by his lack of decorum.

Chapman: Sheila, what did you do next? What was your life after Dole?

Burke: Early in the Spring of 1996, Harvard (University) recruited me to be the Executive Dean of the Kennedy School of Public Policy and Government. I told them thanks, but I am going to finish out the campaign and see what happens. The election was on Tuesday that November and by the following Monday I was the Executive Dean of the School and moved to Cambridge. I did that for four years. I was then offered a position with the Smithsonian Institution, so I was finally living and working in the same city with my kids. I loved Harvard and stayed on the faculty until June of this year.

Chapman: When did you hear of Dole's passing?

Burke: I was at a breakfast at the Harvard Club in New York City when I received the call. I and a couple of friends who were close to Dole had just seen him a couple of weeks prior. He was happy, alert, and coherent, but physically he was in very weak shape. We all remarked that we were afraid it might be the last time we saw him. And it was. Burke: When I got the call, I was incredibly sad. I had been involved with the family in planning his services for quite a while, which involved working with Congress and getting things arranged for an event in the Capitol Rotunda. I was asked to speak at the service in DC, but I was unable to go to Kansas to those services. We spent a lot of time trying to decide his burial site, which ultimately was in Arlington Cemetery, at the top of a hill next to his friend and colleague, Senator John Warner.

Chapman: What are your concluding thoughts on Senator Robert J. Dole?

Burke: Many times, I can't believe he is gone because he was such an important part of my everyday life for so long. Dole was in fact a quintessential leader, always making a deal. He would wander around the Capitol wanting closure on issues, He always said, "Sheila, things aren't always black and white here, find the gray, make it work." I think that he was very accommodating of differing opinions and over the years developed from the reputation as the "attack dog" into a remarkable legislator. He was definitely a hardline conservative, he was not a moderate as people sometimes describe him today, but he had

a sense of what it took to get things done and it will be hard to find another legislator as skilled as the Leader. He is greatly missed.