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Dole leads Senate Republicans in first meeting with Reagan on fighting the deficit.

A Victory for Dole Spells Trouble for Reagan

Senate Republicans go their own way by choosing a new leader with strong ideas on taxes and other issues.

In choosing Bob Dole of Kansas as majority leader, Senate Republicans have served notice on President Reagan they will be no mere rubber stamp for his second-term programs.

The 53 GOP senators picked Dole—acerbic, strong-willed chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and a 1988 presidential aspirant—over four others in a hard-fought contest to succeed Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee as the leading Republican in Congress.

Though his voting record reflects generally strong support for Reagan's programs, Dole is known as an adept tactician and political pragmatist who is more interested in forging compromises on tough issues than bowing to conservative ideology.

A 16-year Senate veteran who has never shied from criticizing White House policies, Dole, 61, vows to work hard as the President's chief legislative ally. "Boss, I'm ready to go to work," he told Reagan moments after his victory. Yet, as majority leader, Dole hedges on just how far he will go in selling Reagan's legislative initiatives, particularly on taxes and spending—subjects on which he has his own strong ideas.

The competition. In the final voting, Dole edged out Ted Stevens of Alaska, assistant GOP leader under Baker. Eliminated earlier were Richard Lugar of Indiana, Pete Domenici of New Mexico and James McClure of Idaho. While refusing to list specific goals

for the 99th Congress, Dole said that a high priority will be retaining GOP control of the Senate in 1986—when 22 Republicans are up for re-election.

Those election concerns are certain to strengthen the backbone of Senate Republicans in standing up to White House programs that may not sit well back home. "The President is a lame duck, and the majority leader must move into that vacuum," said Senator John Warner (R-Va.). "By picking the strongest leader, I believe we expressed an element of independence."

Certain to face scrutiny by the new leadership are Reagan's tax and spending plans. Dole, as chairman of the tax-writing panel, seldom pulled punches in disagreements with the administration. His early criticism of "supply side" economics gained him the lasting enmity of "new right" Republicans.

Already, Dole is taking issue with

Packwood and Lugar—lapped by GOP senators for key vacant chairmanships.



White House budget plans. Within hours of his election, he and other GOP leaders warned Reagan that Congress would quickly torpedo any move to cut domestic programs while leaving big defense-spending boosts intact. Dole instead endorsed an across-the-board budget freeze.

In the past, Dole has clashed with the administration over the need for tax increases. As majority leader, he says he will support the President's view that a tax increase should be used only as a last resort in fighting the deficit.

Packwood takes over. While Dole plans to stay on as a member of the Finance Committee, the panel's chairmanship—and the job of steering the President's tax policies through the Senate—falls to Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, a GOP moderate who closely reflects Dole's views on finance matters but frequently opposes the White House on civil-rights and social issues.

Packwood, 52, already has voiced doubts over the "tax simplification" plan recently unveiled by the Treasury Department. Only after spending cuts are accomplished will the Finance Committee do anything beyond holding hearings on taxes, he told reporters.

The Republicans also filled other key vacant committee chairmanships. Lugar, a conservative, becomes head of the Foreign Relations panel, succeeding Charles Percy of Illinois who was defeated at the polls. Jesse Helms of North Carolina was next in line for the job but turned it down to retain his top post on the Agriculture Committee.

Succeeding Packwood as chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee is John Danforth of Missouri. Barry Goldwater of Arizona becomes head of the Armed Services panel, replacing John Tower of Texas, who is retiring.

Alan Simpson of Wyoming was chosen assistant majority leader, or whip—the second-ranking position under Dole. Republicans also picked John Chafee of Rhode Island, a liberal, to replace McClure, a conservative, as chairman of the Republican Conference, the forum for party strategy in the Senate.

Rounding out the leadership team are Thad Cochran of Mississippi, conference secretary; William Armstrong of Colorado, Policy Committee chairman, and John Heinz of Pennsylvania, Campaign Committee chairman.

While Senate Republicans are convinced they have a strong, well-balanced corps of leaders, a powerful independent streak runs through the GOP ranks is certain to bring discomfort to Reagan in the months ahead. □

By JEFFERY L. SHELTER

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INQUIRY

Topic: THE DEFICIT

Robert Dole, 61, a Kansas Republican, has been elected Senate majority leader for the 99th Congress. Dole, who was formerly chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, was President Gerald Ford's running mate in 1976 and is often mentioned as a possible presidential candidate in 1988. He was interviewed by USA TODAY's Barbara Reynolds.



Robert Dole

No federal spending should escape scrutiny

USA TODAY: What are your primary goals as the Senate majority leader?

DOLE: I'm trying to sort those out. We want to take a look at the Senate rules. I want to sit down with the Democratic leader and go over some of their priorities. You can't make this Senate work unless you've got cooperation from both sides of the aisle. Obviously the big challenges we have in 1985 are the budget deficit and tax simplification.

USA TODAY: What's the Senate going to do to cut the deficit?

DOLE: We're going to try to cooperate with the president. There are a number of senators who support one kind of spending freeze or another, so I think we may have success putting together a package that can be supported by a majority of Republicans and a good number of Democrats.

USA TODAY: Would you support any kind of a tax increase to cut the deficit?

DOLE: As a last resort, that's the president's position. Only after we've rung out all the spending we can and then if you still don't have the deficit down to a reasonable level, then taxes come in as a last resort.

the business to make money; he doesn't have any desire to help the Republican Party. But I don't have any quarrel with him. I think he has the right to attack me if he wants. I'm a public figure, fair game. But I'm willing to bet I'm as conservative as he is — I just don't wear it on my sleeve.

USA TODAY: Do you expect to have good relations with the White House?

DOLE: They're good now — and, in my view, they'll remain good.

USA TODAY: You don't see any friction on the horizon?

DOLE: I don't believe so. But I expect the president will want us to convey honest differences of opinion to him. You don't need a yes man in the House or in the Senate. What you need is someone who is supportive but is still independent enough to speak up privately — not making headlines, but speaking up.

USA TODAY: What do the Republicans have to do to continue to be a strong party?

DOLE: We've got to keep attracting more people into our party, people that historically in the past 40, 50 years have been looking the other way.

USA TODAY: Richard Viguerie, the publisher of *Conservative Digest*, has said that because you have supported tax increases, you are the Walter Mondale of the Republican Party. Are you too liberal for the Republicans?

DOLE: I hope Richard Viguerie doesn't speak for the Republican Party. I don't have any quarrel with Viguerie. I thought we were on sort of friendly terms, but he's got to find a whipping boy so he can raise money with that big mailing list. Apparently I've been selected. (laughs) He knows that in 1982 and in 1984 we closed a lot of loopholes; we tried to make the tax system fair.

USA TODAY: Does it bother you if some people say that you are too liberal?

DOLE: It doesn't bother me if Richard Viguerie says it, because I don't consider him to be a Republican. The last time I saw him on television, he said he was an Independent. He's in

up with good substitutes. Otherwise, we can't get the savings, we don't have any impact on the deficit or on interest rates or on the strength of the dollar — or on the whole ball of wax.

USA TODAY: Isn't eliminating the Small Business Administration inconsistent with Republican philosophy?

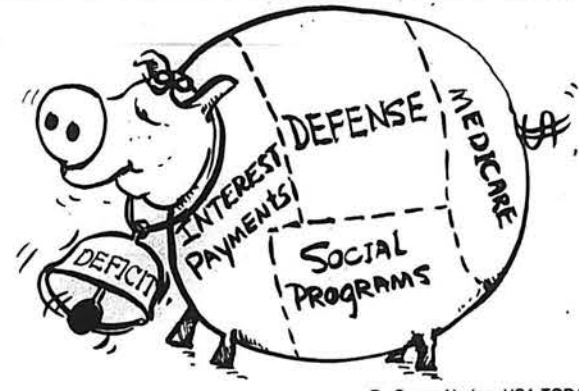
DOLE: A lot of areas in the so-called Small Business Administration ought to be reviewed. There isn't any program in this town that shouldn't be reviewed. The only thing we shouldn't review is the interest on the debt. We've got to pay that. We might even find a better way to do that with a little work around here.

USA TODAY: People seem to be worried that tax simplification means they'll lose some deductions.

DOLE: No one's suggesting that we do away with the big deduction — you can still deduct your mortgage interest on your principal residence. What Treasury is suggesting is that you shouldn't be able to do that on your second home — or your third or fourth or fifth home. Now, maybe that's not going to happen — maybe there will be some compromise. The average worker doesn't have a second home or third home or fourth home. If this happens, I'll bet 90 percent of the American people are not going to be disturbed at all.

USA TODAY: If businesses have to pay higher taxes, won't they just pass that increase on to consumers?

DOLE: I think the principle of the Treasury plan is to distribute the tax burden more



By Susan Harlan, USA TODAY

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USA TODAY: But black leadership is solidly anti-Republican.

DOLE: Black leadership has to take a look at the Republican Party. They can't be anti-Republican and expect Republicans to jump through hoops in the Congress. It just doesn't work that way.

USA TODAY: Your wife Elizabeth is secretary of transportation. Do you think that there are going to be two Doles on the presidential ticket in 1988?

DOLE: Who'd be the other one (laughs). I mean it would be Elizabeth and who else? (laughs)

USA TODAY: You're not ready to announce that you're going to run for president?

DOLE: No. We've had a lot of fun kidding about that. In fact, I must say I got more mail when I was named Senate majority leader than even when I was on the presidential ticket with Gerald Ford. A lot of people wrote, "We hope that it's going to be a Dole-Dole ticket." I'm not certain it makes any political sense.

Leaders of the U.S. Senate

Sen. Bob Dole is the ninth Republican to serve as Senate Majority Leader since the position was established in 1911. Other senators who have served in the post.

- 1981-85: Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.
- 1977-81: Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va.
- 1961-77: Mike Mansfield, D-Mont.
- 1955-61: Lyndon B. Johnson, D-Texas
- 1953-55: William F. Knowland, R-Calif.
- January-August, 1953: Robert A. Taft, R-Ohio
- 1951-53: Ernest W. McFarland, D-Ariz.
- 1949-51: Scott W. Lucas, D-Ill.
- 1947-49: Wallace H. White Jr., R-Maine
- 1937-47: Alben W. Barkley, D-Ky.
- 1933-37: Joseph T. Robinson, D-Ark.
- 1929-33: James E. Watson, R-Ind.
- 1924-29: Charles Curtis, R-Kan.
- 1919-24: Henry Cabot Lodge, R-Mass.
- 1917-19: Thomas S. Martin, D-Va.
- 1913-17: John W. Kern, D-Ind.
- 1911-13: Shelby M. Cullom, R-Ill.

Source: Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress