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Geneva offers hope of turning point

By ROBERT DOLE
Special to The Capital Journal

The world's spotlight turned to Geneva last week as the United States and the Soviet Union sat down together to talk about nuclear arms control. As the leader of the U.S. Senate's Observer Team to the opening of the negotiations, I can tell you that the air in that international city was filled with hope... and a healthy dose of realism, too.

Make no mistake about it, all of us — and none more than President Reagan — want a solid and verifiable arms control agreement. Nevertheless, we fully realize the road ahead is long, with many obstacles that will test our patience and resolve.

Indeed, the opening of the arms talks, the sudden change of leadership in the Kremlin, the Belgian decision to deploy cruise missiles and the pending vote on the MX missile this week on Capitol Hill are closely linked events that will play dramatic roles in our quest for peace and stability.

Fulfilling the Senate's constitutional role to advise and consent on treaties, our group went to Geneva with three goals, and I think we accomplished them all. First, though we are not negotiators, the group has a substantive role to play in the arms control process. The role of the senators is to serve as the eyes and ears of the Senate in Geneva and to maintain close contact with the executive branch in Washington, where negotiating goals and strategies are developed.

We are convinced that our unified presence in Geneva will strengthen the hand of our negotiators in their encounters with the Soviet delegates. We came back more united than we left, in our determination to help achieve a balanced, verifiable arms control agreement.

Our second goal in going to Geneva was to underscore the strong bipartisan support which exists in the Senate and the country, for the President's arms control efforts. Our delegation had 10 members — five Republicans and five Democrats. Our presence there alone, I think, sent a clear message to the Soviet delegation and to others: the United States is going about the business of arms control in a serious, non-partisan and basically unified way.

Finally, we went to Geneva with a third objective in mind — to get to know our own negotiators better and to let them know we are behind them. They are a credit to the president who picked them and to the country they are serving so well.



SEN. ROBERT DOLE

While in Geneva, we learned of the death of Soviet President Chernenko. It appears the Soviet Union has moved quickly to arrange an orderly transition of leadership, which is essential to the conduct of our bilateral relations. Certainly, it is encouraging that the

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Soviets decided to go ahead with the arms control talks on schedule and that the chief Soviet negotiator has confirmed the direct support of the new Soviet leader, First Secretary Gorbachev.

However, let me correct some early media profiles of the new Soviet boss: he is no choirboy. He is a Communist hardliner who will demand tough bargaining at the negotiating session. The faces may change behind the imposing walls of the Kremlin, but the philosophies remain the same.

Let no one doubt that we opened the Geneva talks with our eyes wide open: we need an adequate deterrent that is second to none.

However, we must also proceed with an arms control policy that is realistic, farsighted and suited to the needs of our country.

Nuclear weapons must be the servants of our national defense — we cannot afford the view that they are an end in themselves. And yet, let nobody imagine that the world would be a safer place if the United States did not maintain a credible nuclear deterrent, which necessarily includes continued production and deployment of the MX missile — an issue we will address in Congress this week.

I am voting for the MX, the missile President Reagan calls the "Peace Keeper." In my view, scuttling the MX would be the wrong signal to send the Soviets. Is there any doubt the new leader in Moscow will be watching the MX vote with more than a little interest?

The fact of the matter remains that for a dozen years or more, the Soviets have added to their nuclear arsenal, while we have, by and large, stood still. The current strategic imbalances dictate the need for real reductions, and for real parity of nuclear arms, in order to restore, monitor and verify a credible nuclear deterrent while safeguarding our national interest. That is the challenge that presently faces our negotiators.

I am confident that the two branches of government — the Executive's negotiators and the Congressional observers — will work well together in our pursuit of a nuclear arms agreement, where the stakes are high and history is likely to judge us accordingly.

For our part, the Congress will need to achieve broad agreement that we cannot and should not try to exercise detailed control of policy — in short, to assume executive functions. For the part of the administration, it must accept the reality that the Congress has a role in the arms control process and a good working relationship depends on continual consultation and cooperation with Capitol Hill.

But the events which we observed, and in which we played a part, in Geneva can offer all of us a bit more hope that, at the end of this long road, there may lie the prospect of a significant, balanced and verifiable arms control agreement — one offered by the administration that can be approved by the Senate. Let's hope that history will view the events surrounding the Geneva arms talks as a turning point on the road to lasting peace.

About the writer

Robert Dole is senior senator from Kansas and U.S. Senate Majority Leader.

Confident Dole Tours State

By Angella Herrin
Of Our Washington Bureau

EMPORIA — The senior senator from Kansas was late, and in the chilly basement of the American Legion Hall some low-pitched grumbling had started in the back rows of the folding chairs.

Those who had braved the icy Lyons County roads Wednesday morning, many of them farmers in mud-spattered coveralls, had come prepared to confront Bob Dole with questions scribbled on the backs of envelopes, that they now pulled from their pockets to study as they waited.

But when Dole finally strode in, and took over the buzzing microphone, it was quickly clear who had all

the right lines.

"This is the one-year anniversary of my election as Senate majority leader," Dole said, as the room burst into applause — and even a few whistles.

"Now I may not be smart, but I've got a little common sense and I like to think the people of Kansas are aware of that. So, if any of you have got a problem, please let us know, 'cause, well, I got a little influence back there now."

IT WAS the kind of campaign kick-off speech that any politician would relish, and with a little less than a year to go before the 1986 elections, no one knows its worth better than Bob Dole.

● DOLE, 9A, Col. 1

THE WICHITA EAGLE-BEACON

Sunday, December 1, 1985 9A



Bob Dole, Kansas' senior senator, made what sounded like a campaign kick-off speech to a crowd in Emporia.

Controversial Farm Bill Becomes Victory for Dole

● DOLE, From 1A

Other incumbent farm-state Republicans are troubled this year about the toll that the ailing agriculture economy and the Reagan administration's hard-line farm policies will take on their re-election campaigns. But Dole seems to be immune from such worries as he prepares for his fourth Senate race.

Booied by the prestige of his powerful position as majority leader of the Senate and backed by a campaign war chest that already has more than \$1.6 million, Dole has yet to see an opponent — or even the Kansas Democratic Party — come forth to challenge him.

The only potential Democratic opponent in Dole's future, Rep. Dan Glickman of the 4th District, is remaining tight-lipped about his plans. The Democratic Senate Campaign Committee in Washington, which would like to see Dole kept busy with a race in his home state, has been busily dropping tantalizing hints about Glickman's potential as a candidate.

BUT OTHER politicians who've recently run polls in Kansas say that the numbers — and the difficulties of raising money — will likely discourage Glickman.

"He still has a lot to consider, but Dan has said he will make his announcement about the Senate race by the end of fall — which I think the calendar says is Dec. 21 at 4:08 p.m.," said Glickman press secretary, Bob Martin.

All of this seems to have left Dole, who easily won in 1980 with 64 percent of the vote, in an enviable position. And he made the most of that last week as he used the Thanksgiving holiday to tour the state, alternately joking and lecturing his audience about his position on issues such as the farm bill.

The majority leader parlayed his parliamentary skill into a political victory as he pushed the farm bill through the Senate, managing to avoid both an embarrassing defeat for conservative Republicans and a prolonged filibuster by Democrats.

As the bill was shaped in closed-door sessions in his office, Dole had been particularly adroit in including programs that senators felt they needed to bring back to the voters at home.

DOLE WAS careful to remind his audiences that he, too, had secured his own program. At the Emporia stop, he directed an aide to unfurl a carefully lettered green-and-white poster outlining "the Dole wheat program" while the senator extolled its virtues as a three-year freeze in income subsidies.

But Dole also made a point to tell the crowd that while he wanted to help farmers through the current crisis, he was not committed to continuing farm spending at current levels — a statement that some farm-state legislators regard as anathema this year.

"I would hope the farmers would understand we're trying to write the best farm bill we can... and we're going to be spending about \$18 billion a year," Dole said.

"But let me say this, I don't see anything in the Constitution that says you have to spend and spend and spend to guarantee that nobody fails. In this world, there are winners and losers. That's it."

Dole drew enthusiastic applause with similar tough talk on the deficit and the need for a balanced budget and a line-item veto. "Show me a program without a lot of fat and waste and I'll send you a medal," Dole declared.

DOLE ALSO got applause when he delivered an impromptu speech on the "Star Wars" defense program and its effect on the recent Geneva summit.

"I have to believe that if we hadn't been in a position of strength, there wouldn't be any meeting," Dole said. "I've got nothing against the Soviet people, but it's a closed society... and I don't know anybody who wants to live that way."

Dole's only confrontation came

with an angry beekeeper who rose demanding that Dole promise to restore the income subsidies for honey, which the Senate had cut last week. Dole offered assurance there would be a compromise, and cut off the questioner, saying, "If you don't trust me, that's your problem."

But even in that exchange, the beekeeper handed Dole the last word.

"Before you leave, I just want to tell everyone they ought to be asking questions if they've got them — it's their chance to ask the man who'll be the next president of the United States," the beekeeper said.

"Well, I don't know about that," Dole said.

— And the crowd applauded one more time.

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Dole a winner after 1st year at helm

By BARRY MASSEY
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — For a man who doesn't like "tooting his own horn," Kansas Sen. Bob Dole makes it clear he considers his first year as majority leader nothing less than a success. He just doesn't use that word.

"We worked hard and put our focus on how to reduce spending," Dole says of the first session of the 99th Congress. "There's no doubt in my mind there has been a big, big change in the attitude of members when it comes to federal spending — both parties."

Score one for Bob Dole, a fiscal conservative nurtured on the Kansas brand of economics where deficits are anathema.

Dole inaugurated his leadership last January with a political high-wire act by pledging to pound out a deficit-slashing budget before President Reagan finished writing his spending blueprint.

That campaign led to what Dole considers the highlight of his first year at the helm of the Senate, a ship that at one time or another this year seemed grounded on an institutional sandbar.

Early on May 10 the Senate approved a budget proposal to slice the deficit by \$300 billion during three years. It succeeded only after a pajama-clad Sen. Pete Wilson, R-Calif., who underwent surgery a day earlier, was wheeled into the Senate to vote, and Vice President George Bush broke a 49-49 tie.

Looking back, Dole says, "The vote demonstrated there was the institutional will to tackle the deficit."

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—Sen. Bob Dole

It sort of broke the logjam around here on facing up to the deficit. It set the stage for continuous efforts to reduce spending, this year, next year, next year.

Deficit reduction efforts eventually led to passage of a proposal by Sens. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, Warren Rudman, R-Vt., and Ernest Hollings, D-S.C., requiring a balanced budget by 1991. It imposes automatic spending cuts if Congress fails to meet a yearly timetable for shrinking the deficit.

Dole's performance as leader generally wins high ratings from his colleagues.

"Bob Dole has done extraordinarily well," says Sen. Thomas Eagleton, D-Mo., who arrived in the Senate in 1968, the same class as Dole, but plans to retire in 1986.

"I have been pleasantly surprised. I had thought that his temper might run short and he might blow up on occasion or two. He has held his temper, held his good humor; he has held his patience. I think he's managed himself on a personal basis very, very well indeed."

Eagleton's fellow Missourian, Republican Sen. John Danforth, a friend of Dole's, gives this assessment: "I think he's an amazingly good senator and leader. He's done a wonderful job."

Both point out that 1985 was a difficult year in the Senate for Dole when one compares his job with that of his predecessor, Howard Baker of Tennessee. Republicans lost two seats in the 1984 elections, entering with a reduced 53-47 majority. Complicating things, one Republican was absent much of the year because of illness and there was a "greatest split" in party ranks between the conservatives and moderates. In addition, Dole serves as congressional

point man for a lame duck president.

That is not to say Dole is without his critics.

"What Bob Dole has been doing is a three-ring juggling circus," says a Democratic Senate aide, who spoke on condition he not be identified. "He's running for president, running for re-election and trying to maintain his position as majority leader. In trying to wear so many hats he's ended up alienating some of his colleagues."

Dole's tug-of-war appeared most visible in the agricultural arena. As a farm-state senator, he resisted pressures last February for increasing federal credit to farmers. But in December, he reversed course and helped guide through a bailout package for the Farm Credit System.

What many consider his tour de force, however, came in pushing through a farm bill to guide federal agricultural policy for the next five years. The struggle was how to provide adequate income guarantees to producers facing the worst economic slump in the Farm Belt since the Great Depression while keeping the faith with deficit reduction.

A bill emerged from the Senate after 12 days of floor debate, 87 hours of debate, 41 roll call votes and 141 amendments. Negotiations with the House eventually produced a compromise version, but one still containing Dole's wheat program, and it went to Reagan only days before Congress adjourned for the year.

Even his critics applauded the performance.

"It was an incredible balancing act. I think he managed to do it barely, and I think he is the only one who could have done it," says the Democratic aide.

Back in Kansas, Democrats suggest that Dole marches to the beat of a national agenda rather than one for the Sunflower State.

Dole jumps on such suggestions, contending the opposite is true — that, as majority leader, he wields more power and can do more for Kansas.

"No doubt in my mind, being majority leader has helped," says Dole. "You get more done back here for Kansas with less time as majority leader. Things have a way of staying in bills, now that you're the majority leader, that used to be a way of dropping out."

He cites examples in rapid succession: helping secure \$71 million to prepare a Kansas Air Force Base for B-1 bombers; Pentagon purchases of \$44 million in planes built in Wichita; \$7 million for a university research center, and lesser amounts for nearly a dozen other projects. Beyond that, Dole takes credit for securing the appointments of Kansas this year to a federal court and to the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System.

And Dole has not been bashful to apply the prestige and influence of his Senate leadership on behalf of the state. For example, he personally lobbied Toyota officials in Japan to bring a new car assembly plant to the state. That fell short of success as Kentucky won the plant.

"I haven't found any real conflicts. I've got to protect the Kansas interest," says Dole. "After all, I am a senator from Kansas."

In the fight to cut spending, Dole emphasizes programs affecting Kansas will share in any reductions.

"You don't have any credibility at all if you start trying to exempt your own state," he explains.

Dole's disappointments include failure to pass legislation giving the president line-item veto power and a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. He vows to try again next year. But 1986, a year when 22 of the 36 senators up for re-election are Republicans, will be another trial for Dole.

"There is nobody who doesn't respect his ability," said the Democratic aide. "The point being, though, that the jury is still out on

whether he can continue to do this. Next year, when you're dealing with Gramm-Rudman, when you're dealing with tax reform, the task will become more acute and he will find the hot seat even hotter."