## Dole shifts away from Reagan years

By Peter T. Kilborn New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — With her help last week in settling the coal miners' strike in Appalachia, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole has taken a step toward ending a bleak peri-od for organized labor in its rela-

tions with the government.

Trade unionists hardly are proclaiming a return to their salad days, but they acknowledge that Dole and, by implication, Presi-dent Bush have made a bow to them in the tone of her office and in modifications of policy that mark at least a modest break from Ronald Reagan's hands-off attitude toward disputes between businesses and unions. Certain-

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ly there is no return to the cozy relationship between labor and government that characterized the eras of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. Unionists still seethe about the

refusal of Dole and the administration to step into the Eastern Airlines strike. But there is now at least more of the mutual respect that unions experienced with Republican presidents before Rea-

Most important, Dole last week acknowledged the value of collective bargaining, organized labor's essential tool in negotiating with

President Reagan, alone among presidents since the 1930's, in effect repudiated collective bargaining nine years ago when he refused to talk with 11,500 striking air traffic controllers unless they returned to work.

The move broke their union. Less noticed, but also important, is the administration's new emphasis on worker safety.

The declines in spending at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration that existed throughout the Reagan years reversed last year; fines for health and safety violations are up; and many regulations are being more tightly enforced.

disagree on some issues, but there's a lot of common ground," Dole said of her own labor policy. John Duray, spokesman for the United Mine Workers, said of the agreement that the miners union and Pittston Co. announced Monday, "It's a significant thing that

and step out in a different direcuel Skinner took it on instead and tion. tion than has been the norm of the a former senior Reagan administration official said Skinner did so because the White House wanted Days before the Pittston anto protect Dole from trade union nouncement, Lane Kirkland, presibrickbats so early in her tenure, dent of the AFL-CIO said he found when she was just opening her the Bush administration "a little

Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, shown with bargainers, helped in negotiations between

Pittston Co, and the United Mine Workers Union, ending the strike with a tentative agree-

lines to labor. more civilized" than Reagan's and Dole denies it. "less intensely ideological." After a year out of the limelight in the Labor Department, Dole, a 53-year-old Harvard-educated lawyer and wife of Senate Minority

ty aspects, I told Sam to take it." helped end the Pittston strike. To the extent that deeds and

ranking woman, who served in Reagan's Cabinet as Transportation secretary, negotiated a com-promise with Kirkland on the president's proposal for the minimum wage increase, from \$3.35 currently to \$4.25 over two years.

And a White House official said she held off an alternate proposal by Vice President Quayle.

Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, may

have begun to live up to the early

notices that greeted her appoint-

The administration's highest-

last 10 years."

"It was Elizabeth who urged the president to state his position and say there was no negotiating," said Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas. Early in the administration

when the start of the Eastern strike on March 4 gave her an opportunity to seize the reins of an issue, Dole balked, or the White House balked for her.

Transportation Secretary Sam-

"I went to the president, as did Sam Skinner," she said. "In a situation like that, safety becomes very important, and because of the safe-

Her aides say the parties to the strike showed little interest in federal mediation of the sort that

priorities can be measured in money, Dole's biggest shift from the Reagan years has less to do with strikes than with workplace safety.

ministration whittled away the budget of the Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration. But despite the spending con-

straints on most government departments, OSHA's budget went up last year for the first time in eight years, in part because of \$14.9 million Dole obtained to hire 179 more officers to enforce the health and and safety laws.

And in the president's next budget, administration officials say, OSHA will have a significant increase, exceeding the rate of infla-

OSHA aside, Dole has left a wide variety of labor-related issues largely or entirely untouched by policy initiatives.

Among them are the Reagan precedent of breaking strikes with replacement workers, increasing violations of child-labor and migrant-worker laws and the lively new question of employee incentives such as profit sharing.

Even so, in the nine-month Pittston strike in Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky, Dole showed unequivocal respect for the process of collective bargaining.

In her statement announcing the tentative agreement, she said, "Today's settlement is a victory for the collective bargaining process — a process, which over the years has resulted in protection for all Year after year, the Reagan ad- workers, stronger businesses and greater cooperation between management and labor."

Yet labor leaders warn against assuming that the woman from the party of business is changing her stripes or that even if she did, it would make any difference.

"While her instincts may be good," said Victor Gotbaum, retired leader of New York's municipal workers, "she is inhibited by a president who's much more comfortable with business than he is with labor. Bush is softer than Reagan, but that doesn't mean he's





magazine, Assets, will be sent only to the weathly/2

For the rich

Dole-backed book on Senate highlights historic 200 years

By Alissa Rubin Eagle Washington bureau

**MASHINGTON** — There are moments in history when a single scene distills the tensions, the pain, the political problems of an entire era. Just such a scene took place in the United States Senate on May 22, 1856, five years before the start of

On that day, Sen. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was brutally beaten while he sat at his desk in the Senate chamber.

"Brooks lifted his cane and brought it down upon Sumner's the Union as a slave state, took head, neck, offense at Sumner's verbal assault. and shoulders. over and

harder

and harder

A few days earlier, Sumner, an outspoken abolitionist, had given a speech condemning the extension of slavery to the potential new state of Kansas

"It is the rape of a virgin territory compelling it to the hate-ful embrace of slavery," thundered Sumner, according to eyewitness reports. Southern senators, who sup-ported the addition of Kansas to

A United States representative from South Carolina, Preston Brooks, decided to avenge his countrymen's honor. "Waiting until the Senate had adjourned, Brooks approached the senator (Sumner) at his desk. ... Brooks lifted his cane and

brought it down upon Sumner's head, neck, and shoulders, over and over, harder and harder until the cane shattered into pieces.

Sumner tried to rise from his desk, ripping up the heavy screws that bolted it to the floor. Blinded by blood he staggered down the center aisle of the

Sumner left the chamber and did not return for

This account is in a new book based on brief speeches by Sen. Bob Dole, the Russell Republican who has represented Kansas in the U.S. Senate for

In celebration of the Senate's bicentennial year, Dole opened each session of 1987-88 with a one- or in the history of the Senate,

The book, titled "Historical Almanac of the United States Senate," will go on sale late this month for

\$28, Most of the money from the book's sale will go to pay for its publication; any profit goes to the U.S. Government Printing Press, the book's publisher.

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Assisted by Senate pages, William Peffer, above, a senator from Kansas, whose beard reached his waist, prepares a speech on the Senate floor in 1897. Riding a Populist wave Peffer was elected to office in 1891, reng John J. Ingalls, who was perceived to compassion for farmers and who was sed of shady financial dealings; at left, lustration reflects July 11, 1861 when nate voted to expel 10 Southern ser



first 200 years John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts is the catcher during a Senate softball game; Henry M. Jackson of Washington is the umpire and Mike Mansfield of Montana is at bat.

## SENATE

**Book explores** first 200 years

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The vignettes were researched and written by the Senate Historical Office at the request of Dole.

"He came to us and said he was interested in a way to celebrate the Senate's bicentennial," said Senate Historian Richard Baker. "We made

several suggestions and this was the one he decided to do."

Although Dole did neither the writing nor the research for the entries, he reviewed the drafts, made a couple of the topic suggestions and wrote the preface and the book's final entry — a tribute to Dole's Democratic counterpart, Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia. The two men have worked closely together during the past decade, each serving

a term as majority leader.

The book, which organizes the vignettes in chronological order, is lilustrated with contemporary car-toons, line drawings and

It is written in an easy narrative style with touches of humor and are a few of the topics touched on in

and Byrd, is an 800-page tome that sells for \$55 and is similar in style to an English parliamentary history. Byrd is working on a second vol-

"I couldn't match Sen. Byrd, he's really a historian," said Dole. "He's spending a prodigious amount of time on it, and as you recall, '87 was a pretty busy year for me." Dole was running for president at the

Besides, it was more Dole's style to do something punchy, quick, a bird's eye view that focused on how as much as on the Senate as a

Dole made sure that one of the vignettes was about Sen. Strom drama. Many of the vignettes sug- Thurmond, the legendary senator gest the grand themes of American from South Carolina who started pohistory although they focus on a sin-litical life as a Democrat, became a gle event or individual senator. The Republican and is the only senator expansion of the West, America's in history to be elected as a write-in ongoing struggle over civil rights candidate. Dole was also involved in and the balance of power between selecting the book's cover — a dignithe three branches of government fied navy blue with an embossed

Neither Dole nor Byrd's book is tennial of Congress. The other, writ-ten by the Senate Historical Office even on the cost of printing and Byrd, is an 800-peop. production. However, taxpayers pick up the tab for the research and

Dole will receive at least 200 copies of the book, free of charge, to

Who buys a history of the U.S. Senate? "Somebody who's got an uncle who loves history," said historian

The book seems to have meant a lot to Dole. In contrast to his other books, including his official cam-paign autobiography, 'Unlimited Partners,' this one is dedicated to his parents, Bina and Doran,