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# Continuing feud proves Gingrich, Dole aren't two peas in a party

By Angela Herrin and Nolan Walters  
Eagle Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — Amid the tax-cut frenzy on Capitol Hill these days, it can be tough to remember who's fighting whom: Democrats vs. Republicans — or just Republicans squabbling among themselves.



Dole

That's because the tax-cut issue not only has thrown a spotlight on a continuing rift in the Republican Party, but also on one of the longest and, to Democrats, most entertaining feuds in Congress: The one between Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas and House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia.

Dole on Gingrich: "The Gingrich who stole Christmas."  
Gingrich on Dole: "A pre-Republican Republican."

Dole on Gingrich: "Just cut taxes — if that isn't the easiest cop-out ever. Newt knows better."  
Gingrich on Dole: "Sen. Dole placed a higher value on not being in session. I placed a higher value on fighting for tax cuts and fighting for economic growth."



Gingrich

This is not the sort of collegiality usually expected between the No. 1 Senate Republican and the No. 2 House Republican. But to many observers, it suggests more than just policy differences.

"There's all kinds of basis for antagonism between these two, including the fact they are in different houses of Congress, from different political generations and take very different approaches to getting things done," says Thomas Mann, a scholar at the Brookings Institution.

"But from watching them, sometimes it just looks like they hate one another," Mann said.

As with past explosions, the current spat deals with how best to handle the American economy.

Gingrich is a supply-sider who believes that tax cuts spur investment and bolster the economy. Dole worries that tax cuts will boost the federal deficit and further hamper the economy.

But it doesn't take a code decipherer to read something more into their jabs. Both prefer to call it a difference in style. But what a difference.

"I represent more of a risk-taking, younger, Reagan-style approach, I think," Gingrich says.

"I am much more oriented toward the country and trying to force Congress to change, and I think he's much more oriented toward Capitol Hill and trying to explain congressional reality to the country," Gingrich added.

Dole, meanwhile, bristles at the role of the old-fashioned insider.

"They hit a new level of animosity when Gingrich called Dole 'the tax collector for the welfare state' back in 1984 — a crack that still causes the Kansas Republican to sizzle when talking about supply-siders, his staff says.

"I haven't seen the supply-side miracles happen yet. To me that is smoke and mirrors," Dole said this week, noting that Gingrich and his crowd won't make tough calls on spending cuts.

"To my view, if we had addressed the deficit in the 1980s, we wouldn't be in this problem today," Dole said. "We have to make hard choices. We can't always be running up the little tax-cut flag."

Once, they had a public quarrel over who was most faithful to Israel. Gingrich called a press conference in 1990 and accused Dole of making derogatory comments about the American Jewish community and questioned Dole's proposals for redistributing some of the aid now going to Israel.

Dole fired back in a letter: "Of course, you are free to hold whatever views you want... but normally, if I disagree with a fellow Republican, I speak to them privately, instead of holding a press conference."

That same year, after Dole and other congressional negotiators reached a tentative budget agreement, Gingrich backed out and torpedoed the plan at the last minute

— then led the opposition that defeated the plan in the House.

But politics, background and styles aside, other observers believe their differences may simply result from the inevitable friction between two proud, powerful and sharp-tongued men who don't suffer fools gladly.

"In fact," said one Republican strategist, "neither one of them suffers average people very well."

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# What others say The public Dole

Bob Dole used to pass out pineapple juice at his rallies, saying his name was hardly a household word. It is now, and the households stretch from Canada to Mexico, Maine to California and around the world.

Dole was once Senate majority leader. Since Republicans lost the majority, he has been minority leader. Whatever his title, he may be the second most powerful man in Washington — which is to say, in the world. He is also the greatest political asset the state of Kansas has ever had, or likely, ever will have.

After 23 years in the Senate and eight years in the House before that, Dole knows politics, politicians and policy. He works 18 hours a day and expects his staff, one of the most respected on Capitol Hill, to do the same. He loves it. And he is a master at getting things done for the nation, the president, his state and his party.

As a man, Dole is an odd mix. Bright and terribly hard-working, the tall Russell native is more often a facilitator than an innovator. Show him a good idea and he will grab it, polish it and get it done, usually in record time.

He is considered a conservative and is a pioneer in deficit reduction, yet he has pioneered or helped create scores of social programs for the less fortunate, including food stamps, the Women, Infants, Children supplemental food system, and a dozen different measures to help the handicapped.

A crippled war veteran, he has been a leader in veteran's legislation and has been a leading voice for a strong national defense. He is a steadfast champion of education.

He can be brusque, humorless, demanding, arrogant, a challenging trial to those around him. Yet he is one of the keenest wits in Washington, a master of the one-liner who gives Bob Hope real competition. There is a humble streak in Bob Dole that surfaces at odd times. And he can, and does, go out of his way to help hundreds of others, as quietly as possible.

Ah, Kansas. Consider what Bob Dole means to Kansas farmers:

In the closing days of the 102nd Congress, Dole secured approval of an amendment appropriating \$100 million to be placed in escrow to reimburse farmers for any 1992 winter wheat losses that may develop next spring — an unprecedented response to a perceived developing drought.

Then he helped get another \$100 million for advance deficiency payments in December to Kansas farmers who otherwise would have had to wait until next July for their reimbursements.

The truth is, virtually every national issue is the last decade has had Dole's fingerprints all over it. He is a true generalist, effective anywhere on any team.

It is known in Washington that Dole is considering retirement, that he has no stomach for returning to a new Congress with a GOP delegation most likely reduced from its present 43 senators. He may not seek a fifth six-year term in 1992.

Horrorified at the possibility, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum urged him publicly to run. She is absolutely right.

Kansas needs him right where he is.  
— Topeka Capital-Journal

# Many anxiously await Dole's re-election decision

WASHINGTON — People are nervous about Bob Dole. One of the prime topics here is whether the four-term senator and Republican leader from Kansas will seek re-election in 1992.

"We've had calls from all over — New York, California, everywhere, from people who are very concerned that Senator Dole might not run again. They are saying, 'Tell the senator to run again, the country needs him,'" said Pamela Rucker, who works in Dole's press office at the Capitol.

For now, Dole isn't committing. He said recently that he might announce his plans "before the new year," Rucker said. "Everyone here is a little on edge."

Republicans in both the U.S. House and Senate are being asked to convince Dole to run for a fifth consecutive term in the U.S. Senate.

"There is no doubt that Kansas needs Bob Dole in Washington," said Nancy Kassebaum, his friend and Kansas colleague. "But Congress needs Bob Dole, too — especially the Republicans."

Dole served eight years in the House before he was elected to the Senate in 1968. Total service in Washington, 30 years. That's a long time. Last summer, speculation about Dole's candidacy increased when he repeatedly declined to say whether he would seek another term.

In late August, after a whirlwind month-long Kansas tour, he seemed invigorated and in grand spirits; speculation that he might not run again virtually ceased.

But in November, things changed. President Bush started bashing Congress, including his own Republicans. His popularity was in a free fall. In a Senate election in

IN KANSAS  
  
John Marshall  
HARRIS NEWS SERVICE

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Pennsylvania, Democrat Harris Wofford upset former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, a Republican. This was taken as the first clear signal that Republicans who had carried water for Bush were not so popular as once thought. Thornburgh, once considered a shoo-in, in three weeks managed to lose a 20-point lead in the polls and, ultimately, the election.

A disturbed Dole soon was saying he might not seek re-election if it appeared the Senate Republican minority would be further eroded in the 1992 elections. The Democrats now hold a 57-43 majority. Republican hopes for a takeover have all but vanished, and are now replaced by the anxiety that at least six of their incumbents might lose in 1992.

This is a far cry from 1984, when Republicans won control of the Senate 54-46. With that

election, Senate minority leader Howard

Baker became the majority leader, a position described at the time as "the second most powerful job in Washington." But Baker accepted appointment by president Reagan as White House chief of staff and Dole was elected majority leader in 1985. Since then, he has held the leadership confidence of Senate Republicans and continues as minority leader. In the last three congressional elections, the net Republican decline in the Senate has been eight seats.

Many more losses, Dole said last month, and Republicans' remaining influence in the Senate will all but disappear. The prospects make private life — or a different kind of public life — seem a bit more enticing.

Observers in Washington still find it hard to believe that Dole would leave public service altogether. The grueling government schedule and often thankless chores seem to energize the man. Life as a Washington attorney (lobbyist) or as a consultant do not seem to match his hunger for action.

But some observers envision Dole away from Capitol Hill as an ambassador-at-large for the government, perhaps as a roving troubleshooter, a negotiator, an adviser for the administration — perhaps any administration.

Kassebaum agrees, reluctantly, but prefers that Dole stay in the Senate "where we need him."

"Bob Dole's value in Washington is his ability to bring moderates and conservatives together, his talent for arranging compromise among the different factions that, without his leadership, threaten to run wild here," she said.

# Speculation rises over Dole's retirement

By The Associated Press

The political network in Kansas and on Capitol Hill is buzzing about what once was almost unthinkable: a Congress without Bob Dole.

Dole, 68, says he hasn't decided whether to seek re-election in 1992 to another six-year term. But there's increasing talk in political circles about the possibility of his retirement.

"Obviously if for some reason he decides not to (run again), it's going to be a dramatic moment. It will send the seismograph needle right off the charts," said Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, his Republican colleague.

Dole said he may make a decision by the end of the year.

Several months ago, Dole said he was leaning toward running again. But now he's looking at GOP chances for the '92 elections before deciding what to do. He's hinted of retirement if it appears Republicans might suffer severe election losses.

Democratic Rep. Dan Glickman of Wichita is widely expected to run for the Senate if Dole doesn't seek another term. And that, political observers say, could affect Dole's decision.

"What just might keep him from doing it

"It would be a blow to the Republican Party in the immediate sense, because it is not a given that they would retain Dole's seat."

— William Schneider, analyst

(retirement) is the belief that Glickman will replace him. I don't think he wants to turn his seat over to Dan Glickman and the Democrats," said Thomas Mann, director of governmental affairs at the Brookings Institution.

Meanwhile, Kassebaum and others already are pondering what it would mean for Kansas, the Senate and even President Bush if Dole decides to end a congressional career that began with his election to the House in 1960. Dole was elected to the Senate in 1968.

"It would be a blow to the Republican Party in the immediate sense, because it is not a given that they would retain Dole's seat," said William Schneider, an analyst at the American Enterprise Institute.

"The immediate result is it would demoralize a lot of Republicans who are clinging to what

ever hopes remain that they can make big gains in 1992. That's beginning to look less and less likely."

Democrats hold a 57-43 majority in the Senate. Twenty Democratic and 15 GOP seats in the Senate are up for grabs in the '92 elections.

A Dole retirement will start a mad scramble of candidates running for his seat. Jockeying also will begin inside the Senate among Republicans interested in succeeding Dole as the GOP leader.

Dole was majority leader in the Senate in 1985-86, when Republicans controlled the chamber, and has been Senate minority leader since 1987.

Kassebaum and Schneider say Dole would be sorely missed by Republicans in the Senate.

"He has a unique ability to be trusted by both

moderates and conservatives," Schneider said. "That means they lose a figure who has a kind of special stature, a special role in the Republican Party."

Kassebaum says Dole provides "a certain tie that enables us to get something done in a constructive way."

"He is one who is able to take an issue and shape it in a sound, sensible manner. That is extremely important as we tend to become more divided within the party."

The effect on Kansas of a Dole retirement? "It would be a big negative for Kansas," said Burdett Loomis, a political science professor at the University of Kansas.

"He's in on every major piece of the legislation that goes through the Congress," he said. "You might overstate his importance somewhat, but this is a guy with a tremendous amount of clout."

Loomis describes Dole as "one of the three or four best legislators of the last 20 or 30 years, in terms of getting things done, wanting to bring things to fruition."

Even President Bush, assuming he wins a second term in 1992, could feel the effects of a Dole retirement, Kassebaum said.

# GATT prospects spark warnings from farmers

Grain industry fears treaty will hurt U.S.

By Anne Fitzgerald  
The Wichita Eagle

Mention GATT and the average person's eyes glaze over.

Mention it to Kansas farmers or farm state politicians and you're apt to see sparks.

A long-awaited international trade accord under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade could be just around the corner, but U.S. agriculture may get the short straw, with the European Community drawing the winner.

That specter is stirring up a hornet's nest in farm country.

Sen. Bob Dole says it's unacceptable.

Dale Owens, vice president of marketing for Union Equity, one of the nation's largest grain cooperatives and a major player in Kansas

agriculture, calls it "garbage."

Dennis Shirley, a Decatur County farmer, puts it in terms close to home: "They're going to wake up one day and wheat's going to be under \$2 a bushel."

All three made their remarks in Wichita on Wednesday at a one-day seminar on international grain trade.

Dole, who spoke briefly at the gathering, said the Bush administration is giving in to the Europeans on agricultural trade issues in order to reach an overall GATT agreement.

At the heart of the dispute is the prospect that the United States may accept a 35 percent reduction in grain subsidies from the European Community, far short of the 100 percent reduction initially sought by the administration.

Allen Terhaar, head of the U.S. Feed Grains Council in Washington, said he and others in the industry

think that President Bush last month gave the green light for a lower reduction level.

Terhaar called it a "political decision" made in order to push the GATT talks to a conclusion. The administration has not confirmed the action by Bush.

Dole said he would bring up the matter when he meets with the president this morning in Washington.

"I do think it would be good if he spent some time on farm policy," Dole said.

After Kansas Farm Bureau President Doyle Rahjes asked him about the prospects for U.S. agriculture in the trade talks, Dole said, "Agriculture's always the last thing to be considered, and somehow we never come out where we should in the mix."

But if the administration asks Congress to approve a GATT accord that leaves agriculture short, "it won't get approval in the Senate," Dole said.

A USDA official who spoke at Wednesday's meeting said the United States could still come out a winner with a lower reduction of European subsidies, but added that Kansas farmers and grain industry leaders needed to make their case in Washington.

"We need to hear this," Charles Bertsch, an agricultural attaché with the USDA's Foreign Agricultural Affairs, said after his talk. "Now is the time for those concerns to be heard. We're not going to sell Congress a bad agreement."

Bertsch said he was surprised by the negative tone of some of the questions and remarks he had heard at the meeting, but said he thought they reflected the frustration people felt from so many years of trade negotiations that have not yielded any results.

Grain industry representatives at the meeting, held at the Wichita Hilton, said the EC would have to cut its subsidies by 70 percent or more for U.S. agriculture — from producers to grain handlers and processors — to benefit.

"Seventy percent as a minimum is already giving in too much, but it might be OK as long as it doesn't include rebalancing," said Terhaar of the Feed Grains Council, referring to the raising of a trade barrier to compensate for the lowering of another.

Anything less than a 75 percent reduction isn't acceptable, said Owen of Union Equity.

If it comes to that, he said, "U.S. agriculture should stand up and say the GATT is a failure."

Terhaar put it this way: "What we



Dole warns that a GATT accord that shortchanges agriculture "won't get approval in the Senate."

Dole's future: Kansas Republican can will decide soon whether to run again. 10A

# Dole close to a decision on run for a fifth term in U.S. Senate

By Tom Green  
The Wichita Eagle

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, who has worried some fellow Republicans with his indecision about seeking re-election to the U.S. Senate in 1992, said Wednesday that he would make up his mind by the end of the year.

In brief remarks after speaking to the board of the Wichita Area Chamber of Commerce, Dole said he would be able to focus on his political future now that Congress has adjourned for the year.

Dole said last month that the possibility of Republicans' losing

ground in the Senate — where the Democrats hold a 57-43 advantage — was making him question whether to run for a fifth term.

On Wednesday, Dole said he has heard from people who say that possible Republican losses make it more important for him to run. "Other people have written since I mentioned that, saying there's more reason to run now than ever," Dole said.

Dole said his decision ultimately would be based more on personal considerations than on political factors. His voter surveys — one of which was taken as recently as 30 days ago — show he is in good

shape politically if he decides to run, the senator said.

"There is some anti-incumbent feeling around, but I think politically it looks very good," he said.

Dole returned to Washington on Wednesday night to join in the effort to devise an economic-growth package. Although Congress as a body has adjourned, the Senate Finance Committee — of which Dole is a member — is holding hearings today and Friday on the economy.

In his speech to the chamber group, Dole expressed skepticism that a tax cut by itself would be sufficient to stimulate the economy.