

173 1981



SEN. BOB DOLE  
... Sudden rise to power

"Right now we're very effective. I don't know of anything we've tried that we haven't succeeded in. But it's early. There's still a lot of work to do."  
— Sen. Dole

## Bob Dole Smiles a Lot These Days

By DAVE BARTEL  
Of Our Washington Bureau  
WASHINGTON — After nearly two weeks of argument around the littered conference table of the Senate Agriculture Committee, the chairman finally showed the frustration he felt at losing every vote.  
"My own co-sponsor is voting against me in absentia — I don't understand it," complained Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., casting a rueful, accusing glance at a fellow Republican seated next to him.  
The fellow Republican — Bob Dole of Kansas — smiled easily, cast a few more proxy votes given to him by other committee members and killed yet another of the chairman's proposals.  
By the time the committee finished work on

the 1981 farm bill and food stamp legislation earlier this month, Bob Dole had won nearly every major argument.  
The Kansan not only trounced Helms' cherished plans for massive cuts in the food stamp program, but defeated other major features of the farm bill being pushed by the Reagan administration.  
"The Senate Agriculture Committee?" some members joked. "Isn't that the one run by Bob Dole?"

"Right now we're very effective," Dole said last week, assessing his own performance of the past five months and a "we" that includes the young, savvy staff he has assembled.  
"I don't know of anything we've tried that we haven't succeeded in," he added during a break

in Senate floor debate. "But it's early. There's still a lot of work to do."

One year ago, amid the wreckage of his own presidential campaign, Dole toyed with the idea of quitting politics. After 20 years in Congress, his career seemed at a dead end. Today, he is viewed widely as one of the more influential members of Congress.

At age 57, Dole has attained a position he has always sought. He's a leading member of a Republican majority in the Senate, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a power broker between Capitol Hill and the White House.

(See THE SENATOR, 4A, Col. 1)

### From Page 1A

It all seemed to come together overnight, a sudden rise to power that surprised even Dole.

But over the past few weeks, the man from tiny Russell, Kan., has proved he knows how to use power now that he has it.

In short, Bob Dole has become a power to be reckoned with, as Helms learned. Some liberal Democrats have gotten the same message in the Finance Committee.

In the midst of the Agriculture Committee's arguments over the farm bill, Dole rose one day and excused himself.

"I have to run over to the Finance Committee," he said. "We've got a little package of budget cuts to consider."

When members arrived in the committee hearing room, where all federal tax laws and half the federal budget are decided, they found Dole's "little package."

The summary produced by the committee staff covered 24 legal-sized pages, single-spaced. It outlined a complex series of spending cuts in programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, unemployment compensation and Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Overall, the plan called for cuts of \$10.2 billion in fiscal 1982 and \$11.9 billion the following year. That's about \$1 billion more next year than President Reagan's budget-cutters proposed.

From the start, it was clear the package had been neatly wrapped and tied. Proof came with an immediate endorsement from Sen. Russell Long, D-La., the wily Southerner who ran the Finance Committee for 14 years until surrendering the gavel to Dole in January.

But Sens. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., and Pat Moynihan, D-N.Y., objected, saying more time was needed to digest the maze of cuts and changes in programs affecting so many millions of people.

So the Finance Committee debated for a few hours and then put it to a vote. The result was an 18-2 approval of Dole's package.

"Dole orchestrated the whole thing," a senior committee aide said exuberantly. "It was one of the neatest coups in Washington history."

While that may seem like overstatement, the feat was indeed remarkable. Dole won approval of more than \$2 billion in spending cuts — perhaps the deepest ever made by any congressional committee — in a single afternoon.

Victories didn't always come so easily for Dole.  
During his eight years in the House

and his early career in the Senate, he developed a reputation as a hard-bitten, acid-tongued partisan and rock-ribbed conservative.

He made himself a one-man committee to investigate scandals in the Johnson administration, voted against nearly every part of the Great Society program and became expert at tweaking the noses of liberal Democrats at every opportunity.

His voting record was consistently at the far right end of the political spectrum. He voted the GOP line 90 percent of the time in most years, and displayed even greater loyalty to the conservative coalition.

During President Nixon's first term, Dole was a self-appointed White House defender on the Senate floor, with a shoot-from-the-lip style that offended even many Republicans.

In one memorable speech in 1971, defending Nixon's Vietnam war policies, Dole accused Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., of "the meanest and most offensive sort of political distortion."

He called other war opponents "a Who's Who of has-beens, would-be's, professional second-guessers and apologists for the policies which led us into this tragic conflict in the first place."

Dole accused Democrats of "parrotting the propaganda of a communist enemy" on Vietnam. Later, he rushed to Nixon's defense during the early stages of the Watergate scandal, backing away only when the evidence became overwhelming.

For such loyalty, Dole was rewarded by Nixon in 1970 with appointment as Republican national chairman, a title Nixon took back two years later under bitter circumstances.

In the Senate, meanwhile, Dole was written off by many members as a mean-spirited partisan.

Sen. William Saxbe, a moderate Republican from Ohio who later became attorney general, labeled Dole as "a hatchet man . . . who couldn't sell beer on a troopship."

The epithet and the image endured for years.

"I guess he's changed somewhat," said a senior Democratic aide who has observed Dole for years. "He's had the good judgment to use different methods in recent years."

"I think he has good relations with most senators. He listens to what they're saying and if they have a good point he supports them, whether they're Democrats or Republicans."

Senators from both parties cited the same qualities — a willingness to listen and accommodate — as reasons for joining with Dole on such issues as food stamps and the farm bill.

"Bob has been on the (agriculture) committee longer than anyone else and he has the experience to be able to be an honest negotiator," said Sen. Mark Andrews, R-N.D. "People trust him."



"Mellowed? I don't know. I think you probably change. I still like to have some fun in committee or on the floor, but you find out that when you go out and make scathing attacks on your colleagues, you don't last long around here."  
— Sen. Dole

The Democratic aide calls it "the greening of Bob Dole." One of the Kansan's aides put it this way:  
"He's really grown in the past five years; he's developed into an effective leader. He's mellowed a little, too. That helps."

"Mellowed?" Dole asked, turning the word over in his mind as he sat in the ornate Senate reception room. "I don't know. I think probably you change. I still like to have some fun in committee or on the floor, but you find out that when you go out and make scathing attacks on your colleagues you don't last long around here."  
"You can be just as aggressive and just as effective without being personal."

Another ingredient in Dole's success rests in an old Washington maxim: Power, like money, multiplies itself.

As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Dole is the gatekeeper for all legislation affecting federal taxes, health programs, Social Security and a dozen lesser, but important, other issues.

All of that gives Dole special levers, perks, favors and bargaining chips in dealing with 99 other senators, the Democratic leadership of the House and the Reagan White House. And that means power.

"You can't bludgeon people into doing things that aren't in their states' interest or their own political interest," said one veteran committee

staffer. "But you can wheel and deal to some extent. You can make some trades."

"I don't know that it's being finance chairman," Dole said, deftly hedging on the question of power. "I think when you have the votes, people pay attention."

"Over the years, I think I've developed some qualities that help there. I don't play games with members; I don't renege on things I've said. I try to accommodate the liberals, the conservatives, the Democrats and the Republicans on things like witness."

"The bottom line is that when you have the votes it gives you more influence or control over what happens. When the opposition knows you have the votes, there's a more cooperative attitude."

Just as the Agriculture Committee was finishing work on the food stamp

bill two weeks ago, Dole learned that the White House might back down on its agreement to seek an extra \$500 million this year to keep the program going.

"I think the committee felt there was an agreement here," Dole warned Agriculture Department officials. "If they're not going to come through, we may want to reconsider some of these cuts."

Not content with that, Dole began calling senior presidential aides at the White House and Office of Management and Budget with the same message.

At the end of one conversation, the senator finally got the promise he wanted on the money. He thanked the Reagan aide, placed the telephone receiver in its cradle and turned to one of his assistants with a broad smile.

"Does this mean," the aide asked with mock ceremony, "that the senator from Kansas has prevailed once again?"

Dole didn't answer. He didn't have to. As with most other things these days for Bob Dole, the smile said it all.

20 Topeka Capital-Journal, Saturday, May 30, 1981

## Dole still works for tax-cut plan

By KYLE PETERSON  
Capital-Journal Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON — Undaunted by a snag in his push for a tax-cut compromise, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Dole said Friday he thinks continued negotiations still can lead to an agreement.

Dole said he was not surprised when Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee Thursday rejected a proposal he offered as an alternative to President Reagan's package.

On Friday he was back working on three fronts, continuing his talks with Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, members of his Senate committee, and administration officials, including Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan and White House chief of staff James Baker.

Dole, R-Kan., also dispatched staff aides on the Finance Committee to meet with Treasury officials and the Joint Tax Committee to develop what he called "alternate routes of compromise." Specifics of the proposal were unavailable late Friday afternoon.

Dole earlier this week offered an alternative to Reagan's proposed three-year, 30 percent tax cut, approaching Rostenkowski with a 25 percent, across-the-board reduction over three years. Also included was Rostenkowski's proposed reduction in the tax rate on investment income.

When Rostenkowski approached committee Democrats with the package, however, they spurned key elements of Dole's plan, especially the

across-the-board approach and the multiyear aspect of the tax.

Dole was not surprised at the House Democratic reaction because Rostenkowski had made no promise to push for the plan.

Dole held out little hope that Reagan would accept a tax cut that gave more breaks to the \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year wage earner, as Rostenkowski wants in his own plan.

The senator, however, noted that a tax cut can be fashioned that is not only across-the-board but also gives special attention to certain income categories.

Dole, confessing he had a headache because he had talked to so many people on Friday — 18 Republican and Democratic members on his committee. All, including Democrats Patrick Moynihan and Bill Bradley, said they wanted fast action on a tax-cut bill, he said.

Dole still hopes to get a tax-cut package to Reagan before the August recess and said he hopes to keep it within the \$40 billion range for 1982. Reagan's plan, on the other hand, would cost \$55 billion.

Although Dole and Rostenkowski have not set any new meeting date, the two continue to talk by phone.

"There are still areas of dispute, and if at some point it becomes clear we can't make further headway, I am prepared to look for solutions outside these negotiations," Dole said.

Dole's cause is helped by Reagan's apparent willingness to compromise.