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DOLE IN WISCONSIN: "IF THE PARTY IS LOOKING FOR A LEADER, THEY'LL ONLY HAVE TO LOOK AS FAR AS THE U.S. SENATE TO FIND HIM"

FOR BOB DOLE, THE SENATE COULD BE A SPRINGBOARD—OR A SNARE

It was nearing sundown, and outside the Capitol the National Symphony was tuning up for its Memorial Day concert. Inside, police patrolled darkened corridors emptied by the holiday recess. Alone in his office, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole worked through a stack of papers. "There never seems to be enough time," sighed Dole. "And I've got a lot of catching up to do."

Dole, who failed in previous runs for Vice-President and President, is racing the clock to get his bid for the 1988 Republican Presidential nomination off the ground. When he formally announces his candidacy early next year, the 62-year-old Kansan will be starting from well back in the pack. In opinion polls, he trails Vice-President George Bush by a wide margin. Dole lacks a solid base of support in the party, and his organization is anemic compared with those of Bush, Representative Jack F. Kemp (R-N.Y.), and TV evangelist Pat Robertson.

HIGH RISK. Moreover, while his rivals are free to travel the country building their networks, Dole is stuck in Washington with the demanding work of running the Senate. But Dole plans to make a virtue of this necessity. With the Senate facing a daunting schedule this summer, he says a string of victories on major legis-

lative issues would give his campaign the boost it needs: "If the party is looking for a leader, they'll only have to look as far as the U.S. Senate to find him." It's a high-risk strategy, and one that Dole's predecessor, Howard H. Baker Jr., pointedly rejected when he left the job—and the Senate—at the end of 1984 to run for President (page 60). Dole's first task is to hold the fractious GOP

As majority leader, he's highly visible—and trapped in Washington while his rivals campaign

Senate majority together long enough to make good his claim to leadership, passing tax reform, the budget, and trade legislation. "If things fall apart, then we all start feeling a little sick," says Paul Russo, a Dole campaign adviser. Success in the Senate may still fail to give him much of an edge in the Presidential sweepstakes. Presidential campaigns are usually built around issues, and Dole doesn't seem to have one. As majority leader, he has devoted himself

to implementing Ronald Reagan's agenda, not his own. He is most strongly identified with his efforts to reduce the federal budget deficit—not much of a vote-getter. Nor does Dole benefit from a loyal constituency, one that could make the difference in GOP primaries. Kemp is the darling of supply siders and "movement" conservatives. Robertson has strong backing among evangelical Christians, a growing force within the Republican Party. And Bush, for the moment, appears to have the support of most of the GOP Establishment. That leaves Dole in the pack of second-tier centrists whose hopes rest on a fatal stumble by Bush.

HATCHET MAN? Despite outbursts of rhetorical independence, Dole has been a loyal soldier in the Reagan army and has compiled one of the most conservative voting records in the Senate. But the right distrusts him for his role, as chairman of the Finance Committee, in pushing through tax hikes in 1982 and 1984. And supply siders have never forgiven his 1982 crack that "a bus of supply siders went over a cliff. Unfortunately there were two seats empty."

What's more, Dole is still haunted by the "hatchet man" label he acquired as Gerald Ford's running mate in 1976. He

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came across as a caustic, low-road brawler with a bitter-edged sense of humor. Many Republicans blame Ford's defeat on Dole's performance during his debate with Walter F. Mondale. In the debate, he accused Democrats of starting virtually every war in this century. The big difference between the Bob Dole of today and the candidate who dropped out early in the 1980 primaries is a solid record of senatorial accomplishment. Although he distinguished himself during his four-year chairmanship of the Finance Committee, his leap to national prominence came only when Baker retired. In his first 18 months on the job, Dole quickly established himself as a more forceful leader than the easygoing Baker. He managed to obtain Senate approval of the fiscal 1987 budget resolution in less than two weeks. Dole also pushed through two languishing measures: a dilution of the gun-control law and ratification of the U.N. Convention outlawing genocide.

CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGER. Dole's leadership style is a combination of a sure tactical sense, good timing, and toughness wrapped in acerbic humor. But Dole can turn steely in an instant. Often he will make warring senators sit in his office for hours to force a compromise. "He looks you in the eye, and says: 'We're not leaving here until we have a deal,'" says Senator John C. Danforth (R-Mo.).

Dole is identified most with his efforts to cut the budget deficit—not much of a vote-getter

lined up a majority, although not before he had dispatched Capitol Hill police to wheel ailing Senator Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) in from his hospital room for a key vote on the Senate floor. It's unlikely that Dole will need such theatrics in the coming months. The majority leader plans to run an extremely tight ship during tax-reform deliberations—the first major Senate debate to be televised. He is also prepared to intervene personally in a House-Senate conference committee to ensure agreement

on the fiscal 1987 budget resolution. So far, Dole seems to be getting by on the viability that comes with being seen often on network news as the spokesman for the 58-member Senate GOP majority. Although he still trails Bush by nearly 20 points in the Gallup poll, a recent survey showed that 18% of Republicans listed him as first choice for President, up from 11% a year ago.

Dole is stepping up appearances in key primary states—although he sat out last month's courting of precinct delegates in Michigan. His best early shot may come in Iowa, where his long record of attentiveness to the needs of farmers could give him a boost. While his campaign staff remains relatively small, he is actively trying to recruit veterans of previous national campaigns.

Dole also is working to moderate his image as a wisecracker. Heeding the advice of staff, he has cut down on one-liners to concentrate more on his prepared text. Despite the Senate's most pro-Reagan voting record, he still courts conservatives by pushing for aid to anti-Marxist rebels in Angola. But Bush and Kemp already have stronger claims to Reagan's mantle—and a head start in the race. If Bob Dole is to convert success at running the Senate into broad national appeal, he'll have to move soon. By Ronald Grover, with Richard Fly in Washington

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1986

To Dole, It Was an Education to Get Past Disability

By JONATHAN FUERNBERGER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 15 — Bob Dole spent 15 minutes one morning recently buttoning the second button on his shirt.

Mr. Dole, the Senate Republican leader, has little trouble with his left thumb and forefinger, which is why buttoning is a challenge for him. It is the least of the damage done when he was shot in the chest by a sniper's bullet in the Po Valley of Italy on April 14, 1945.

His right shoulder was destroyed. His neck was broken. He was in the hospital for 28 months and lost one kidney. He has almost no use of his right arm and hand.

"I can't do buttons like you do, just feel and push them in there," he said. "I've got to be able to see the hole and sort of push the button in."

He has a habit of buttoning his shirt just as he does his trousers. "I've got to see the hole and push the button in," he said. "I've got to see the hole and push the button in."

That part, the three-year-old operation, the Dole Foundation, has raised \$250,000 to 21 projects around the country. On Monday, it will have its first major fund-raising event, a star-studded occasion. Senator Dole hopes will raise \$1 million.

Among the guests will be Edward H. Kennedy Jr., who lost a leg to cancer, and Representative Tony Coelho, a California Democrat, who lost an eye.

For years, Senator Dole performed setting up the foundation. But it was not until he went to a meeting in Dodge City, Kan., that he finally decided to act. At that meeting, where constituents expressed bitter opposition to a now-repealed law for withholding taxes on dividends and interest, were two youths in wheelchairs with severe disabilities.

"The boy could not even move," Mr. Dole recalled. "All he could do was his eyes. The girl was just about in the same shape. All they wanted was help."

An intimate glimpse of the other day and the formation of the foundation. Mr. Dole gave a rare personal glimpse of his own disability, its effect on him physically and how it has affected his outlook on life.

He said that the pen regularly slipped in his right hand and that "so



Senator Bob Dole

people won't grab my hand and break it off." The reason, he said, is that he reaches across his body with his left hand, since his right arm at the elbow and puts it up, he explained, a habit from the days when he had almost no control in his right arm.

He never loses his life in public, he continued, because of the struggle of buttoning it up again would entail.

He said he had learned to live with it. "I learned to live with it," he said. "I learned to live with it."

Other than those who treated him and family members, few people have ever seen him damaged about. "When I'm out in the sun," he said, "either I keep my shirt on or I take it off. I have a towel over my shoulder. Now, maybe that's too sensitive. Of course, Elizabeth always says that it's a badge of honor."

He was referring to Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Hanford

But there was a plus side, too. He returned a hero to his hometown of Russell, Kan., sought by both political parties as a candidate for office. And the struggle to overcome his wounds steered him for the rough-and-tumble of politics and Washington.

In discussing his medical history, Senator Dole put aside his need to appear witty, which he often uses to deflect unwanted political inquiries. His replies were straight.

Asked what he had learned in the hospital, he said: "I learned I couldn't get up. That sounds strange, unless you have never been there. That's where it all begins. You learn you can't do things. I fancied myself as quite an athlete. I never thought about politics. I thought about football, basketball and all that stuff."

"I'm probably pretty much like anyone else," he said describing his disability. "First, I was embarrassed about it. I tried to hide it. I put my arm in a sling. I was ashamed. I was ashamed. I was ashamed."

He has not seen the gym. "The gym is if I were healthy, I'd probably have been there every day," he said. "I don't know where it is. I don't know where it is. I don't know where it is."

He said he worked harder for what he wanted after his injury than before the war. He said he chose not to be the local disabled veteran and instead to go to a store and "probably a very happy life."

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Sen. Dole Right on Voting Act

THE U.S. Supreme Court earlier this week threw a roadblock before the Reagan administration's propensity to interpret civil rights law as it sees fit. Local election laws may be found discriminatory under the Voting Rights Act, the high court said unanimously, if their result is to dilute black voting power.

The administration had argued that the Voting Rights Act, as amended in 1982, requires no such remedy if minority officials occasionally win elections.

The high court's rejection of this crabbled view of Congress' intent in amending the act was no surprise. Last fall, Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., and four other GOP senators filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the high court saying the administration blatantly had misrepresented Congress' intent. That, they said,

was to guarantee that minorities couldn't be excluded from the electoral process.

The justices disagreed 5-4 on what standard must be met before a state's election plan can be struck down as discriminatory by the courts. The minority accused the majority, led by Justice William Brennan, of going too far toward requiring representation in proportion to the distribution of the races within a given district. Predictable losses by minority candidates, the majority justices said, mean the courts must overturn the electoral plans responsible.

But any lesser standard well might tempt election officials in states subject to the Voting Rights Act to devise new strategies for diluting black voting strength. Because Congress clearly wanted to foil such strategies, the court majority was correct to set the standard it did.

Dole assembling strong political team

By Stephen C. Fehr
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — A year ago this month, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole's political organization consisted of an accountant and a secretary who worked out of an office in a town house in downtown Alexandria, Va. The organization had raised \$92,026 in seven months.

Today, Mr. Dole's organization employs 18 persons, including a \$1,000-a-week consulting director. The offices of Campaign America, the name of the organization, now fill the town house. Through May,

the organization had raised \$1.2 million.

The dramatic buildup is testimony to the fact that Mr. Dole is putting together a team of experienced political professionals who in the short term are working to keep him Senate majority leader but in the long term would like to help make him president.

"It's the first time he's had a political team," said David A. Keene, a senior political adviser to the Kansas Republican. "Assuming all these people want to stay (at Campaign America), and assuming he's going to run for president, he's

got the nucleus of a campaign team."

Heading that team and largely responsible for the expansion at Campaign America is Donald J. Devine, who was named consulting director last July. Since then Mr. Devine has built Campaign America into a money-raising and political machine that compares favorably with Mr. Dole's rivals for the 1988 GOP nomination, although Vice President George Bush raises more money.

"I've made it into an operation," said Mr. Devine, President Reagan's former director of the na-

tion's civil service system, who is well-known among conservative Republican activists.

Mr. Dole, who is seeking re-election in Kansas this fall, was not available for an interview.

A milestone in the organization's history occurred last week as William B. Lacy, a deputy assistant to Mr. Reagan and director of the White House Office of Political Affairs, began work as deputy director of Campaign America, which means he will be running the day-to-day operations of the organization.

Campaign America, started in See DOLE, A-5, Col. 1

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1979, finances Mr. Dole's political travels and activities and contributes money to local, state and national GOP candidates. This year the organization's chief goal is ensuring that the Republicans maintain a majority in the Senate.

"I took the job with the main objective of keeping control of the Senate," said Mr. Lacy, a former director of political operations at the Republican National Committee. "That was my main focus at the White House. Obviously, if he (Mr. Dole) decides to run for president, I'm going to be there (to help)."

Elements of campaign

With the hiring of Mr. Lacy, the senator now has the essential structure of a national campaign. Among the elements:

● A cadre of seasoned political pros, with Mr. Devine at the helm and Mr. Lacy as his deputy. Two other paid consultants are Mr. Keene and longtime Dole ally Paul A. Russo, a political advance man. On occasion, Mr. Dole turns to three former Reagan campaign advisers who now are respected political consultants in Washington: John Sears, Lynn Nofziger and Charles Black.

● Four national political directors who have divided the country by region and work on fund raising and strategy. In addition, Mr. Russo was in New Hampshire this week scouting for a political operative for 1988. The organization also is looking for a part-time adviser in Iowa and has hired one in Michigan.

Another priority is developing a network of workers in the South. These places are where the early battle for the nomination takes place.

● A speech writer, Richard N. Smith, a Washington author who recently wrote a biography of Thomas E. Dewey, is the favorite speech writer of Mr. Dole and his wife, Transportation Secretary Elizabeth H. Dole. Mr. Smith, who is paid by Campaign America to write speeches, also is working with the Dole's on their joint autobiography, set to be released next year. The practice of a prospective presidential candidate releasing a book before the election has become common in recent years.

● A sophisticated fund-raising operation. Since last summer, Campaign America has held fund-raising activities in nearly every large American city, and they will bring in about \$2 million. In addition,

Mr. Devine has set up a separate political organization, called the Majority Leader's Joint Trust, which is raising money for 16 Senate campaigns this fall, including that of Missouri's Kit Bond. Mr. Devine has set \$3 million to \$4 million as a fund-raising goal this year.

● A direct-mail and communications computer operation. Some of the most successful fund-raisers — Mr. Reagan and North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms, for instance — have developed lists of donors over a period of time by using mail solicitations. Through Mr. Devine's help, Mr. Dole is starting to do that.

Dole learning to delegate

One of the complaints about Mr. Dole during his poorly executed 1980 presidential campaign, Mr. Keene said, was that he could not put together a strong political organization. Part of that was because his style of management is to make as many of the decisions as possible.

Now, however, as majority leader, senator and head of a philanthropic foundation for the handicapped, Mr. Dole has realized that he must delegate. In Mr. Devine, Mr. Dole has found a political director he can trust.

"He gives me enough freedom to do what I think has to be done," said Mr. Devine, who was an official in the 1980 Reagan campaign and a former university professor in Maryland.

Originally, Mr. Devine was going to work for Mr. Dole for six months. He has not only stayed longer but has said he will help if the senator runs for president.

"I don't think I'd work for anyone else if Dole ran for president," said Mr. Devine, who stands to earn \$156,000 this year as Campaign America's consulting director, more than Mr. Dole or any of his staff.

Use of direct mail underscores the trust Mr. Dole has placed in Mr. Devine.

Until Mr. Devine joined Campaign America, Mr. Dole was hesitant to build a direct-mail operation, generally because he said it was expensive in relation to the amount of money raised. But Mr. Devine has persuaded Mr. Dole to start sending letters to potential contributors asking them for money.

Because of his concern, we proceeded pretty conservatively with it, but it's getting larger all the time," Mr. Devine said of the direct-mail operation.

Mr. Dole has accepted Mr. De-

vine's advice on other matters as well.

For example, some of the other prospective GOP presidential candidates are falling over themselves in Michigan this summer to win the pledges of the state's Republicans for a nominating convention in early 1988. Mr. Dole, largely at his advisers' urging, has decided to ignore this summer's competition and come back later to get support from the delegates.

Conservatism emphasized

Mr. Devine also has worked with Mr. Dole to shore up the senator's reputation among conservatives. That is essential in the presidential nominating process because a large number of the voters in primaries and party activists are conservative.

Because of his past willingness to take the lead on politically sensitive issues, such as raising taxes, Mr. Dole hasn't always been a favorite among conservatives. Yet Mr. Dole's voting record is one of the most conservative in Congress.

A measure of Mr. Devine's success is the fact that Mr. Dole is better regarded nationally. Several early polls have put the senator in second place in the presidential derby, including a recent poll in Iowa, one of the first states to choose delegates in 1988.

Asked recently by a television interviewer who thought would be the top three Republicans in the 1988 race, Mr. Dole said: "Well, obviously, I think George Bush. If you look at it right now, Jack Kemp. I think the third spot is open."

Bob Dole?

"Hopefully, Bob Dole. I hope it won't be third either."