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TOPEKA CAPITOL 1-19

Dole keeps stressing Bush wealth

MANCHESTER, N.H. (AP) — Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole took another swipe at rival George Bush's wealthy family background Monday and said it was "chauvinistic" to lump his finances in with his wife's money.

Dole, Senate minority leader, campaigned in Vermont and New Hampshire defending his support of an oil import fee and denouncing opponents who said he likes to raise taxes.

Dole defended his personal wealth — and his campaign claim of being "one of us" — after a luncheon speech to the Manchester Rotary Club as he sought votes in the state's primary, which will be the first in the nation on Feb. 16.

Pressed by reporters, Dole denied any "class warfare" with Bush — who comes from an old-line Connecticut family.

"I don't know what he has or what he is going to inherit either," Dole said of Bush. "I know what I have and I know how I got it — the old-fashioned way — I earned it."

Asked if he was saying Bush has gotten where he is because he is rich, Dole replied:

"I'm saying that if he can prove he has ever been poor, then he ought to be president."

Dole left for Iowa without explaining the comment.

Over the weekend, Dole released tax returns dating back to 1986 that showed his income rising steadily after his marriage to Elizabeth Hanford. Last year the couple earned \$508,078 and paid taxes of \$133,856.

Dole said it was wrong to lump their money together.

"That's chauvinistic to do that, because you're including Elizabeth's,"



Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., declared for the Vermont primary Monday in front of a statue of President Lincoln in the hall of the Vermont Statehouse. He was the first of the six major GOP candidates to file before today's deadline.

he said. "I thought chauvinism went out the window about 10 years ago."

Dole defended an oil import fee as part of a budget-cutting package and to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil. But he was quick to add that he would rebate or credit the increased cost on heating oil.

In recent weeks, Dole has been emphasizing his small-town Kansas roots and saying he worked for everything he has achieved. Bush, whose father was a U.S. senator, fired back by disclosing his tax returns for 10 years and challenging Dole to do the same.

CHICAGO TRIB 1-21

Dole sharpens Dole image for the bigger picture

By Philip Lentz
Chicago Tribune

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Bob Dole likes to tell the story about how he got into politics.

It was several years after World War II and Dole had just returned home to Russell, Kan., after spending 39 months recuperating from serious wounds that paralyzed his right arm.

"The Democrats asked me first to run," he recalls. "I said, 'Why? I don't know anything about politics.' And they said,

Campaign '88

Hart's staff answers new charges about campaign finances. Page 2.

"You don't need to. You got shot and we think we can get you elected."

"But I became a Republican when I learned there were twice as many Republicans in the county as Democrats. It wasn't a great philosophical discussion."

The story always prompts laughter, but for Dole there is a point behind the tale. He is telling voters that Bob Dole—Senate Republican leader, veteran legislator

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and master of the witty one-liner—is a politician who has not forgotten his roots, that beneath all the pomp and ceremony of the presidential campaign is a candidate who is one of them.

Indeed, a chief hurdle for Dole is to show that he is more than just a skilled Washington insider.

Unfortunately during the early stages of the campaign, his speeches tended to reinforce that very image. He talked more about legislation on Capitol Hill than proposals for a Dole administration. His own ideas were few. What he did suggest was vague.

There was widespread talk in the political community that Dole lacked a vision of where he wanted to lead the country.

However, in recent days, with the crucial Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary just weeks away, Dole's approach has changed noticeably.

His speeches have become more focused, his ideas more specific. He speaks less about the daily tribulations of Washington and more about where he would like to see the country in the year 2000.

He is sounding, for lack of a better word, more presidential. Dole aides say the senator always knew he had to abandon his "inside-the-Beltway" jargon, but that it was a difficult change for a 27-year veteran of Congress to make.

"You have to remember, he's been in Congress for a long time and when he first went on the stump, he talked about what Congress was going to do next Wednesday," said David Keene, a key Dole adviser. "Now, he's talking about where the country is going."

Paul Jacobson, Dole's press secretary in New Hampshire, said, "It's essentially a style change, that we are indeed running for president, not running the Senate. It's getting away from the arcane language of the legislature, things like continuing resolutions."

Dole has sharpened his message by speaking in broader themes. He talks in great detail about his modest origins in Kansas, contrasting his childhood with the affluent upbringing of his chief rival, Vice President George Bush.

And when he talks about specific legislation, it is to underscore his central campaign theme that, as a Senate leader, he already has been

tested and has shown he can provide leadership.

"I can look everyone in this audience right in the eye," he told a Rotary Club luncheon in Manchester this week, "and say, 'Yeah, I've made a difference and I've been there right on the firing line. I've lost some and I've won some, but I've tried to do what I thought had to be done.'"

Dole also is becoming more specific on his plans for lowering the federal deficit.

On the stump last year, he said the deficit was the country's biggest problem, but he would then just throw out several solutions in an off-handed way. Now, he pledges to impose a one-year budget freeze that he says would save \$50 billion a year.

By talking less about the present and more about the future, Dole's message has become less cluttered, making it easier for him to give a sense of his vision for the future.

He even jokes about the criticism of his supposed lack of vision.

"You can't let the press set the pace," Dole said Sunday in a televised interview with Marvin Kalb of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. "They were looking for a vision a year ago and if I had had one, they'd have said it was no good. We thought about a Vision of the Month Club. So I'd have one for spring and one for the fall just for the media."

Pressed by Kalb about his vision, Dole had an answer.

"Like everyone else, I want to make the world better," he said. "I want America to be stronger. I want more opportunity for young people, more jobs, better education. I want to bring in the disabled and others who have been left out in the cold."

Some question whether his emphasis on his humble roots will play here among the affluent Yankee Republican electorate in New Hampshire, as it does among hard-scrabble farmers in Iowa.

Despite all his efforts, there are still times when the legislator in Dole gets the best of him.

After a recent speech in Charleston, N.H., a college student confronted him on what he would do about acid rain.

"Reduce it," Dole said, mentioning a Republican environmental bill pending in the Senate.

"But what are your ideas?" the student persisted.

"I don't have the bill with me," Dole responded.

"But what are you going to do about acid rain?" the student persisted.

"Bring it to the Senate floor," said an exasperated Dole, handing off the young man to a member of his staff.

TOPEKA CAPITOL 1-19

Dole's organization weak compared to Bush campaign

By EDWARD WALSH
L.A. Times-Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Campaigning in New Hampshire, Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., sometimes jokes about his first try for the presidency in 1980, when his candidacy sputtered and quickly crashed after he received a total of 597 votes in the New Hampshire primary.

"We had a secret plan" to win, Dole says, "which we announced after the election." He goes on to say that that was then and this is now and "a lot of things have happened in the last eight years."

Four weeks before Dole again faces New Hampshire primary voters — and three weeks before an even more critical test in the Iowa caucuses — major questions remain about how much has really changed since 1980. Disorganization was one of the hallmarks of Dole's first presidential campaign, and it has followed him into his second.

The campaign organization of his chief opponent, Vice President Bush, meanwhile, was in place early, contains far more political professionals experienced in the strategies and crises of a presidential campaign, and is broadly in place around the nation. Although almost no political professional would argue that good organization is more important than the candidate, many argue that lack of organization can be a decisive factor between two strong candidates like Bush and Dole.

After almost a year of drift and indecision, the Dole organization now is scrambling to make up for lost time. A new campaign chairman, William E. Brock III, was named in November, and he began reorganizing the operation and bringing in new help. But Brock's original part-time status, and the turmoil produced by changing personnel in midcampaign, has created a new set of problems. As a result, according to Republican political operatives, Dole has left himself little margin for error to recover from unexpected setbacks in his quest to overtake Bush.

Dole's organizational problems reflect his traditional operating style, both during his abortive 1980 presidential campaign and his long career in Congress.

Over the years, Dole has earned a reputation as a political tactician, one-man band, a politician whose considerable personal talents and

temperament have made him reluctant to delegate authority to others. Dole loyalists such as Dale Tate, one of his Senate press secretaries who has temporarily joined the campaign staff, say he is now much better on this score.

This has raised the stakes even higher for Dole in Iowa, where it is widely agreed he must finish ahead of Bush to keep his second campaign alive.

At Dole's national campaign headquarters here, Brock, a former senator from Tennessee and labor secretary in the Reagan administration, has brought in several new senior aides and shifted roles of others.

Analysis

Both the Brock appointees and the holdovers acknowledge that the transition came late in the political cycle and was not always smooth, but they also insist that they are putting in place the kind of organization that can challenge Bush.

Others say they detect some improvement in the Dole organizational effort but not nearly enough.

Eddie Mahe Jr., a veteran GOP political consultant who is not working for any of the presidential hopefuls, said he sees some improvement.

"I'd be shocked if there had not been some improvement, but one clearly has the sense that they still have a long way to go," he said. "You talk to people in some of these states about the Dole organization and you get a chuckle."

"If it's gotten any better, it is only marginally better," said another Republican consultant who is not associated with any of the presidential campaigns. "This is a sad, sorry campaign at the moment. It's a tribute to how strong Dole is, how much stature he enjoys, that it is still holding together."

In 1987, with the top operations of most of his challengers essentially in place, Dole allowed most of the year to slip by without a permanent campaign director, and without state operations in many key states whose primaries and caucuses occur after the Iowa and New Hampshire contests next month.

That decision increases Dole's vulnerability to early elimination if Bush wins the first contest, because Bush's organization is considered just as strong in the next big test, the "Super Tuesday" Southern con-

tests on March 8, as it is in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Republicans who know Dole say the situation is consistent with his entire career. "Ultimately, the blame goes back to Dole," said a Republican consultant. "Dole's idea of a campaign organization is to have 10 or 12 guys he can call up or who call him."

"If your inclination is to do everything yourself, you're unwilling to release it to someone else," said another veteran GOP operative.

The result of this slow start left Dole far behind Bush even in key, early states. In New Hampshire, said Paul E. Jacobson, a Dole campaign aide there, "as late as April or May we had one desk, one person and 62 names in a box. Bob Dole had made dozens of visits to New Hampshire and all he had was 62 names. We've been behind the curve and still are."

In Texas, site of the largest of the Super Tuesday contests on March 8, the Dole campaign has been embarrassed by the discovery of forged signatures on petitions to get Dole's name on the ballot. And the recent controversy over Dole family finances, while not a political organization problem, illustrates Dole's tendency to maintain tight control through a small circle of close friends.

David Owen, the campaign finance chairman who resigned in the wake of the controversy, is a longtime friend of Dole's from Kansas, as is Ellsworth.

Brock is now working virtually full time on the Dole campaign, according to aides. Bernard Windon, a Brock protégé from his days with the national Young Republicans organization, is serving as the campaign's deputy chairman in charge of day-to-day operations.

The campaign they took over was and remains best organized where it is most vital, in Iowa, where Sen. Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, has put his own extensive grass-roots organization to work for Dole.

But whether Brock, Windon and other members of the revamped Dole campaign can deliver on Dole's strong lead in Iowa — and capitalize on a Dole victory in New Hampshire and beyond in extended trench warfare with the Bush organization — remains a major question.

Daily Courier-News, Sunday, January 24, 1988

George Will

Dole must deliver empathy, will



WASHINGTON — If Bob Dole says one more word—even one more—about his rise from the social depths, he should be sentenced to go bowling. That punishment would be deliciously condign because Dole might bump into George Bush, who recently has allowed as how he is a bowling-alley kind of guy.

So, all of you Stanley Kowalskis, put your elbows on the formica top of Stella's kitchen table and imagine how George Bush feels suffering through a rerun of this issue.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan, that horny-handed son of toil, sashayed out of his tarpaper shack—or was it a log cabin?—in Pacific Palisades to challenge Bush for the nomination. Reaganites, hurling epithets the way boys in school dining rooms hurl hard rolls, charged Bush with being "a clean-fingered Republican."

One day in 1980, several journalists badgered Bush about his ability to "understand" folks who are just folks, because he "hasn't suffered" or "been tempered by difficulties."

Bush: Financial difficulty, you mean?

Journalist: Well, whatever we mean by the dark night of the soul, of that sort of personal difficulty.

Bush: Have you ever sat and watched your child die?

Journalist: Thank God, no.

Bush: I did, for six months.

Journalist: What did that do to you? Is that the answer?

ENOUGH, already. Today's Dole-Bush debate about who looks spiffier in bowling shoes is (as a reviewer said of a dreary novel) "like a long hike home in wet socks and gym shoes,

uncomfortable and unnecessary." Let's agree that they have both suffered enough, and that their argument has enabled us all to make the same boast.

Such arguments recur because they are rooted in Republican history. Democrats can nominate the gently-born (FDR, JFK), but Republicans recoil from the idea. Robert Taft and Nelson Rockefeller, from opposite wings of the party, failed. Nixon knew the rule: When the going gets tough, the tough wrap themselves in their wife's "Republican cloth coat."

As you might expect, Republicans can not get the hang of the class struggle, so things get confusing. Taft, a president's son and a Yale, was beaten by Dewey and Eisenhower, two men from modest backgrounds backed by the wicked East.

But at least Taft was from Ohio; conservatives called him a tribune of the plain people. Willie and Hoover made sacks of money (as Landon later did) but, as Dole understands, Republicans are permitted to make it, just not inherit it.

Coolidge rose by the effervescence of his personality (that's a joke, son) and Harding rose because things lighter than air do that. Charles Evans Hughes was the humbly-born son of an immigrant clergyman. Not for 76 years, not since William Howard Taft, have Republicans nominated someone born to wealth.

DOLE'S POINT is that his life has etched on his consciousness an awareness that many deserving people need help from government. But he can sing that refrain in a different, less gratifying key, the one he improvised recently in a

New Hampshire debate.

The candidates were asked to square their ritual denunciations of drugs and government spending with the fact that drug rehabilitation facilities are underfunded. Dole, who falls somewhere short of hip, did not know that his five-word punline was a refrain from George Harrison's top-of-the-charts rock record: "It's going to take money."

As Harrison says, money "to do it right." The country wants candidates, especially Republicans, with the independent judgment to say that some things have not been done right.

As vice president, Bush is cast in the unenviable role of the Republican Party's dripping faucet, saying and saying and saying something that most Americans doubt: that no significant course correction, no temperamental tougher than Reagan's, is required.

If Dole is chosen, it will not be for his charm which, although real, is rationed (and is, like rationed sugar, especially pleasing when experienced). If Dole goes to the top of the charts, it will be because of a point he has yet to make.

He has made his point about Bush—that Bush has lived a life of lateral movement—a point that may or may not justify negative inferences about Bush's inner resources.

BUT DOLE'S positive point about himself can not be merely that the experience of social hardships is itself a virtue. Dole's task now is to show how his private biography foreshadows public benefits—how a quickened capacity for empathy and a steely will can translate into the sort of presidency that ought to come next.

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