

Los Angeles Times

327. 1988

DOLE: THE GOOD TRAITS CAN HURT

★ Sunday, January 31, 1988 / Part I 23

DOLE: Few Doubt He Has the Resourcefulness to Be President

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time, Ward White, son of Dr. Fagin White, who had been Bob Dole's role model when he wanted to become a doctor, rented one of the rooms and eventually went to work for Dole in Washington. He remembers dinner at Bob Dole's house. "He did not want other people to cut his food. But he couldn't cut it himself. So he'd have hamburger steak day after day."

Tom Korologos, a lobbyist and a friend, recalls him struggling with formal dress. "He ties his tie. He's a stubborn character. I told him, 'Go buy yourself a damn tie that clips. Nobody is going to know.'"

"But, no."

Professionally, says John Smith, also a former aide, this self-sufficiency has a profound effect. "This streak of independence and self-reliance is a lot deeper and more central to a lot of things that have developed than most people think."

Because of it, Bob Dole "doesn't delegate much," says an aide who worked for one of his Senate colleagues. "And he also doesn't impart a whole lot of his thoughts to his colleagues or to his staff."

Dole could "make a decision as President," says an aide who has worked for him and for the Reagan Administration. "But the problem he will have after he's decided what to do is to let other people do it." One of his biggest problems, a close friend says, "is that he is not a good administrator. He does not know how to use his staff properly."

One former aide makes this distinction: Bob Dole will let someone else handle a policy matter before he will let someone else handle a political matter. A policy can get fouled up, the aide says, "and he lives to fight another day."

But a political problem goes to the heart of Bob Dole's instinct for survival. "It's his future," the aide says. "It's his ass that's on the line."

"I hate to let go sometimes," Dole concedes. "I've always told my staff, 'You may goof up, but I'm the guy that gets hit with it. I'm on the ballot.' When it's a political judgment, I'd like to kind of know what's going on."

For that reason, Dole holds things particularly closely during campaigns—and it has caused him trouble in his current presidential effort.

A former Dole staffer and an officer at a large Southern California firm give this account of an instance that cost Dole significant good will and perhaps campaign funds.

Arrangements were made for a series of meetings in Los Angeles between Dole and top executives of several firms, including Arco, the Bank of America, Southern California Edison and Lockheed.

"Four or five meetings," the corporate officer recalls, "where he could talk to their top 50 people or meet with a few of their managers, just to make contact." The ex-Dole staffer says: "These were CEO types and presidents of corporations, who have clout and the ability to enhance his opportunities to be the next President."

"And he flat-out pitched it."

"Just scratched right through it and said, 'I'm not going to go.'"

Economic scarcity and his physical limitations taught Bob Dole to be resourceful and pragmatic.

If his disability meant that he could not be a doctor, he would become a lawyer and a politician. While he was still in law school at Topeka, he ran for the state legislature and won. Two years later, after graduation,

'One thing I've learned in that little city of Washington is that up there you don't really have time to build friendships.'

—Sen. Bob Dole

he decided to run for Russell County attorney—the prosecutor's job back in his hometown.

"Bob came to me," remembers Dean Banker, who by then had taken over his own family's department store and was emceeding barbershop quartets on the side, "and he said, 'I'm going to run on the Republican ticket.'"

"And I said, 'Well, that's the right ticket.'"

"And he said, 'Would you introduce me at our first shot—our first opening salvo over in Bunker Hill?'"

"And I said, 'Why the hell are we going to Bunker Hill?'"

"He said, 'Because Ray Shaffer is from Bunker Hill. You open up in his hometown, and he tells everybody you're a good man.'"

Ray Shaffer was what Dean Banker calls "the Republican mentor." In Chicago, Banker says, "he would have been a boss, a legitimate boss. If you opened up in Russell, and, especially, if you didn't tell Ray that you were going to do that, why, Ray could press it pretty hard. And Bob was smart. He's a smart ass, but he's an astute smart ass."

Bob Dole won.

In 1960, he was elected to Congress. As a member of the House of Representatives, Dole became even more skillful.

"I was here [in the House] before Bob, and I was here with Bob and after he left," says Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and often an opponent. Then slowly and with the authority of one gifted deal maker who recognizes another, Rostenkowski adds: "He was a clever legislative operator."

In the Senate, his reputation grew even larger. Friends and enemies alike describe him as "extremely intelligent," "brilliant."

Former Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), who preceded him as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, says without any reservation: "The man is smart. And I think that is his greatest strength. The man's very smart."

Bob Dole is "street smart," says lobbyist Tom Korologos. "Also, he is smart-smart. No less an authority than Richard Nixon told him one time, 'You're the second smartest guy in the Senate.'"

"I was there, and I said, 'Who's the smartest?'"

"And Nixon said, 'Russell Long.'"

A large part of Bob Dole's resourcefulness was his practicality.

"When he was the majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. [now White House chief of staff] was the best guy for getting compromises," Ward White says. "But Bob Dole is the best strategist in how to get something done."

He learned the ways of Washington.

Once a deal was made, it was made. He stood behind it. "Some people's definition of an honest politician is someone who, having once been bought, stays bought," says Richard A. Viguerie, a direct-mail fund raiser and a spokesman for conservatives. "If you make a deal with Dole, in the best sense of the word, he will probably keep that deal."

Early in the Reagan Administration, Bob Dole put together his resourcefulness, intelligence and skill in a classic example of legislative ingenuity.



With his wife Elizabeth, Dole announces his candidacy last November. At right, Dole's first wife, Phyllis, and daughter, Robin, 14, with him in 1968.

It grew out of a problem he had helped to create. In 1981, as Finance Committee chairman, he had supported President Reagan's tax cut. By 1982, the economy had fallen into severe recession. High unemployment, low productivity and a Treasury drain caused by the tax cut had created a big increase in the federal deficit.

Interest rates were climbing to 20%.

It was an election year. The President would not stem the tide by raising taxes. Neither would the Democrats.

Dole went to the Treasury, says a former Senate aide, and suggested ways to raise revenue. Most were ways to close tax loopholes.

The Constitution says all revenue bills must start in the House. So Dole took up a minor tax bill that had passed the House and amended his proposals to it.

President Reagan would not budge from his opposition to raising taxes. So Dole got on the telephone and then went to the White House. A top Administration official says he could be "a tough adversary."

Eventually, the former Senate aide says, "we got the President on board."

The jeopardy to tax advantages brought scores of lobbyists to the Capitol, each bent on protecting the interests of his clients.

In their book about tax reform, "Showdown at Gucci Gulch," Jeffrey Birnbaum and Alan Murray describe the scene. The hallway outside the Finance Committee room was jammed. Near the end of the committee's work, somebody referred to the crowd of lobbyists and the expensive Italian shoes they wear.

"There's a wall-to-wall Guccis out there," he said.

"Well," Dole replied, "a lot of them are going to be barefoot after this is done."

As work on the bill progressed, among the hardest hit were powerful lobbyists for the restaurant, banking, insurance and oil industries.

By a party-line vote of 11 to 9, the committee sent the package to the floor of the Senate. Dole made a thinly veiled threat: If the Senate returned the bill to the committee, he would send it back out with even tougher tax requirements. The threat almost worked. But at 4:30 a.m. on July 23, just before the final vote, Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.) succeeded in deleting a requirement for reports on waiters' tips, strongly opposed by the restaurant lobbyists.

Immediately, Dole gathered the Republican members of his committee. "He had sort of a committee meeting in the cloakroom right then, in the early morning hours," one Senate aide says, "and they agreed to disallow half the cost of business meals as tax deductions." Democrats had been saying deductions for business meals should be disallowed entirely. It was called the "three-martini lunch" amendment. And the restaurant industry hated it—even more than the requirement for reporting tips. But now the idea, in the form of a "1½-martini lunch" amendment, was coming from Republicans. "And the Democrats couldn't do anything but support it," the aide says. "It was sort of a master stroke."

"The restaurant lobbyists had all gone home, celebrating their victory, popping their champagne. They woke up in the morning and realized that something even worse had happened to them."

"Well, they died."

"And they suddenly saw the merit of the tip provision. When we got to conference, they decided that the tip provision wasn't so bad, and what we were not up passing in conference and what became law was not

a 7% reporting requirement but 8%."

And Reagan, who had sworn raising taxes, signed the bill. It was worth \$97.8 billion, the biggest tax increase in peacetime history.

But Bob Dole's skillfulness can become manipulative. He can be sly and devious.

The slyness was apparent during the confirmation of Daniel A. Manion two summers ago as a federal appeals court judge. After his nomination by the President, Democrats called him unqualified. Republicans said he was being harassed because he was a conservative.

In an initial vote, three Manion opponents were paired with three absent Republicans. In pairs, senators declare their opposing positions but do not vote. But in this case, the proponents were absent—and their positions were only assumed. And Dole, the majority leader supporting the Administration's nominee, permitted the assumptions.

In fact, however, two of the paired proponents—Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Bob Packwood of Oregon—had not yet decided how to vote. And, since pairs cancel opposing votes, the Manion foes who had paired with Packwood and Goldwater—had canceled their votes for nothing.

Manion was confirmed.

The Democrats were furious. And some Republicans who had opposed Manion were unhappy as well. One such opponent was Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), whose vote had been canceled by the pair with Goldwater—on a false assumption. Bob Dole had not requested her pair, she says—other senators had. But, she adds that as the majority leader Dole should not have assumed Goldwater's position.

Perhaps he did it deliberately.

"When he knows it's a close call, maybe it's just as well to have a little confusing," she says. In the end, she notes, Bob Dole won.

Was it manipulation—transparent after the fact—that upset her?

"Life's too short," she says. "But, again, it's not the way I would do it."

The deviousness shows in things of large consequence.

In the fall of 1985, the Senate rejected an attempt to bring up sanctions against South Africa, which had been approved by the House and in conference committee—and now awaited final Senate ratification. The President opposed the sanctions, and so did Bob Dole.

Democrats, seeking to embarrass the President, tried repeatedly to bring up the sanctions for a vote. Dole, as majority leader, halted their efforts by taking what senators agree was an exceptional step.

He purloined the bill.

By the accounts of two sources, both knowledgeable, Dole and Sen. Richard G. Lugar, who was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee at the time, approached the clerk's desk at the front of the Senate.

Dole thumbed through the measure. Then he turned, handed it to Lugar and said, "Here, Dick."

Lugar slipped the papers to an aide and said, "Take these and put them in a safe place." The aide walked out of the Senate chamber with them.

With no copy of the bill to bring up, the Democratic proponents of sanctions were stopped, dead in their tracks.

They threatened to hold up other legislation until the bill found its way back to the clerk's desk. Minority

Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) and nine fellow Democrats protested for three hours on the Senate floor.

But there was no vote on the sanctions.

Finally, in Bob Dole's campaign financing, there is a matter of questionable propriety. On a number of occasions he has helped provide tax breaks for his financial supporters.

There is no evidence of any direct quid pro quo.

But on at least two occasions, both reported publicly, Dole has reminded prospective campaign contributors that he will be in a position of power whether he wins his presidential campaign or not.

Dole is not shy about acknowledging this. "The last time I was in St. Louis at a fund-raiser, I was introduced by a guy saying, 'Well, we're all happy you're here, and keep in mind that Bob Dole will be one of the following: President of the United States, vice president of the United States, majority leader, minority leader, chairman of the Finance Committee, or ranking Republican on the Finance Committee. Now, any of you fellows have any questions?'"

"You know," he says with a short laugh, "it's fairly subtle."

"But it's a fact: I'm going to be there. I'm not going to

'He came out of that campaign in '76 realizing people don't like him... I think it probably was a stunning moment for him.'

—Noel Koch, former Dole speech writer

just go away. I've tried to help my constituents, and I've worked with other senators to help them.

"If you got a pattern of always taking care of somebody, well, you're in trouble. But if you've got a pattern of trying to make it work, trying to balance it..."

Among the beneficiaries of Dole-supported tax breaks are commodity brokers, investor-owned utilities and the makers of general aviation aircraft.

Dole says: "I've never traded anything." But these tax breaks have cost the Treasury more than \$1 billion.

Just as Bob Dole's resourcefulness can become manipulative, so too his pragmatism can blind him. His practicality can get in the way of his vision.

A Republican senator who knows Bob Dole well says he is too down to earth to dream.

When Bob Dole ponders the presidency, his thoughts are not those of a visionary.

"You don't have to guess what Bob Dole is going to do in the future," Dole says about himself. "He's got a record of getting things done and looking out for people. I've got a record that says I can do it. That's the vision: making America better. I don't know what else you want, unless you just want something goofy."

"As President, I'm not going to sit around the White House. I'm going to be all over Washington, going around to these different Cabinet offices. You know, they don't have to come to me. I'm going to go to them. That's the way I do business. And I'm not going to make just a little visit every four years. We'll have the Cabinet meeting one day in the DOT [Department of Transportation] office. The next day, we'll meet in defense. We don't have to meet in that [White House] Cabinet room. You can meet anywhere."

"It's going to be a busy place around there if I get elected. There'll be three shifts."

Bob Dole's heritage and his misfortune left him another legacy that has won him praise: Like his father, he is a compassionate man.

His is a personal compassion, especially for others who are handicapped. And he extends it to the disadvantaged in general. It is hardly a political compassion in the sense that he extends it to those who oppose him—because he does not, but he makes it political by wringing compassion out of the government for those he calls "the down and out and left out."

He started a multimillion-dollar foundation to help train and find jobs for the disabled. He asks that his speeches be translated into sign language for the hearing impaired. And he is especially sensitive to slights against the handicapped.

Tom Korologos, the lobbyist, tells about a fund-raising dinner two years ago. "They had brought in some handicapped guys in wheelchairs. They'd put them all at one table. And it was dumb. Now, if that was not rank discrimination! He got pissed off. He went charging off. He had people moved all around. He ordered them sprinkled throughout the audience. 'Here, you're sitting here! You are sitting over there!'"

"They may have broken bodies," he said, "but their heads aren't broken."

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Sen. Walter Mondale and Dole shake hands before the vice presidential debate in October.



1976. At right, Dole and wife Elizabeth munch German food at Iowa State Fair that August.