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Haldeman's diaries show partisan Dole

By CURT ANDERSON
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole's reputation for political hardball got its national start during the Nixon years, when he often was called upon by the White House to deliver scathing partisan attacks.

The just-published diaries of the late H.R. "Bob" Haldeman, who was President Nixon's chief of staff for four and one-half years, contain numerous entries about the Kansas Republican, then in his first Senate term and chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1971-73.

Haldeman wrote on Feb. 27, 1971, that Nixon was trying to find ways to blame the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for escalating the Vietnam War.

"If the Democrats want to fight the war issue on a partisan basis, this is the way they're going to have to

take it," Haldeman wrote. "He wants Dole to take this on and for others to follow up, softening it, of course, by saying we have a strong level of minorities of Democrats who support the P (president) in his efforts."

Later, as the Watergate scandal began to unfold, Nixon was worried about how to counteract claims the White House was linked to the break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters.

"His main concern, of course, is that we make sure we keep the White House out of it," Haldeman wrote on June 21, 1972. "He thinks Dole ought to attack (DNC Chairman Larry) O'Brien for his malicious libeling and guilt by association of the White House and the P."

Several entries in the 700-page book deal with Haldeman's opposition to Dole as RNC chairman. On Dec. 7, 1970, Haldeman rated George Bush and Clark MacGregor, Nixon's liaison with Congress, as the top candidates.

A single line dismissed Dole, "because he's an incumbent senator."

Two days later, Nixon decided to make Bush the United Nations ambassador, throwing open the question of who would be RNC chief.

"After considerable agonizing, the decision there was to go with Dole, even though he is an incumbent senator. We'll have to find a really top-level executive to work under him."

By Dec. 15, Dole reported to Haldeman he had 28 senators willing to support his RNC bid. A discussion ensued with Nixon.

"The general feeling is very strongly against Dole on the grounds that he is divisive rather than inclusive and that his appointment would be a signal that we were taking the wrong direction politically," Haldeman wrote.

By mid-January, the decision was made to appoint Thomas Evans of Delaware and Anne Armstrong of Texas, national committee members, as unprecedented "co-chairs" of the RNC. This angered Dole, Haldeman wrote on Jan. 13, 1971.

"Dole decided he was going to make a power play to see how far he could get in establishing total control," he wrote.

Finally, Mitchell "made the point to Dole that if he didn't want to take the chairmanship, that was fine."

Dole's appointment was announced publicly the next day.

In a recent interview, Dole said Haldeman's record of those days is "fairly accurate."

"He didn't want me to be the chairman," Dole recalled. "The feeling from Haldeman was that I was too independent, that I wouldn't take orders — which was true."

Haldeman, he said, often blocked access to the president.

"But then if I'd see the president and tell him I'd like to see him privately, generally that was done very quickly," Dole said.

After the 1972 election, Nixon was concerned about GOP losses in state races and questioned the job done by Dole's RNC.

Dole wanted to stay on as chairman, but Haldeman on Nov. 17 wrote he was "going to have to work out a shift" to find someone to take the job full time.

Mitchell was given the task of informing Dole. On Nov. 27, Mitchell told Haldeman that Dole was "bitter because he got no credit at the election night celebration" and wanted to stay on. But Nixon had decided to replace Dole with George Bush, which happened in early 1973.

By that time, Haldeman's days at the White House were numbered as Watergate exploded, and he resigned in April 1973. Haldeman died Nov. 2, 1993, in Santa Barbara, Calif.



Sen. Bob Dole



H.R. "Bob" Haldeman

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The Salina Journal
Tuesday, June 14, 1994

Dole must juggle on health care

He aims to please differing interests

By JOHN KING
The Associated Press

SALEM, Mass. — Forget employer mandates and regional alliances. Bob Dole says he's solved the health care reform debate: "I want the Strom Thurmond plan."

Thurmond, after all, is going strong at 92 and talking about running for an eighth Senate term come 1996. So when it comes to health care, Dole says he'll take his cues from Thurmond: "When he eats a banana, I eat a banana."

If only it were that easy. As the health care debate enters a crucial stretch in Congress, Dole is hard to figure out, and for good reason: He is the senior senator from Kansas, the Republican Party's chief elected spokesman, a presidential hopeful and the leader of a quirky, combative Senate Republican caucus all at once.

So as he juggles roles, he can be conciliatory in one breath, confrontational the next, leaving a trail of confusion about his strategy that starts in his own caucus and reaches into the Oval Office.

"He seems to have different positions at different times of the week or month," said deputy White House chief of staff Harold Ickes.

Dole admits to being a little confused himself.

"I don't know where the debate is going," he said in a weekend interview as he, as always, traveled to support Republican candidates, this time in Massachusetts and Connecticut. "It is a hard one to figure out. It is so big and so complicated."

Dole's history is as a deal maker, so odds are that he will be there in the

end if a compromise is struck this year. But he faces a difficult dilemma along the way: Cater too much to conservatives, and Senate moderates may cut a deal with Clinton on their own; lean too left of center, and risk alienating conservatives who are not only vocal in his Senate caucus but powerful in the presidential nomination process.

"Jiminy, yes," he says with a laugh when asked if his many roles complicate his ever-shifting approach to the health care debate. "It's always difficult."

He has his chief of staff exploring avenues of potential compromise, but is keeping his own distance from such talks for now, lest he be accused of collaborating with the Democrats.

To convince moderates he is committed to reform this year, Dole encourages those talks and says a deal could be struck if Clinton would just drop his insistence on making employers pay most health care

costs.

To convince conservatives he'll only compromise on GOP terms, Dole says he's more than willing to urge all Republicans to oppose any bill with mandates, even if that means keeping health care reform from passing this year.

Six months ago, "I thought that would be a terrible thing" for Republicans to have to defend in the November elections. Now, however, Dole says he is convinced the public has gone sour on the Clinton approach, and would not punish Republicans for opposing it.

If all this back and forth makes

Dole appear a bit coy, so be it.

"I thought about just introducing my own bill," Dole said. "But I don't have the flexibility that the individual members have, either. You've got to try to keep your people together."

Besides, if there is a compromise to be struck, Dole wants Clinton to show his hand first.

"I think Clinton is really searching for another way to redefine universal coverage," Dole said. "I think there is a lot of flexibility there."

THE HAYS DAILY NEWS
TUESDAY JUNE 14, 1994

Dole donated \$69,000 to charity, records show

He also took 23 trips paid for by others; Kassebaum took none

By CURT ANDERSON
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole took 23 trips paid for by others last year.

In addition, he donated more than \$69,000 in speaking honoraria to charity, according to documents released today.

Dole's wife, Red Cross president Elizabeth Dole, also was in great demand on the speaking circuit, often commanding fees of \$20,000.

Much of her income from those speeches went to the Red Cross, the annual financial disclosure forms show.

Forms also were released for Kansas' junior senator, Republican Nancy Kassebaum.

Dole, R-Kan., accepted air travel costs for speaking engagements from companies such as Archer Daniels Midland, Philip Morris and John Deere; GOP candidates such as Texas Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison; and organizations such as the Jewish Community Relations Bureau in Kansas City, Mo.

Mrs. Dole listed 33 expense-paid trips for speeches in 1993, some of it paid as an in-kind contribution to the Red Cross.

Dole donated \$69,450 in honoraria to charity last year, including \$41,950 to charities based in Kansas. The largest single beneficiary was the Lakemary Center in Paola, which received \$13,450.

"I'm pleased that some of the speeches I enjoy making to fine groups can benefit so many needy causes in Kansas," Dole said.

The Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington was given \$13,000.

Included in the honoraria is \$400 from two appearances on NBC's "The Tonight Show."

The Doles listed a variety stock, bank and real estate investments in addition to the senator's salary of \$148,400.

He rents the basement of his home in Russell, Kan., and receives an Army pension of \$17,700 annually.

Dole got Ethics Committee waivers for five gifts — two crystal bowls, a crystal etching and a silver eagle — worth between \$340 and \$855 from groups such as the American Medical Association and Republican Party of Florida.

Kassebaum took no trips paid for by others, accepted no gifts and had no honoraria. Kassebaum's annual salary is \$133,600.

She listed as assets several stocks in companies such as Exxon, General Electric and General Motors and investment in a Liberal radio station. She also owns land in Morris County.



Dole

Dole racks up numerous all-expense-paid trips

By Curt Anderson
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — Bob and Elizabeth Dole were popular public speakers in 1993, according to the Kansas senator's financial disclosure forms.

The Senate GOP leader reported donations to charity of \$69,000 in honoraria from speeches, while Mrs. Dole, president of the Red Cross, listed sev-

eral speeches that commanded fees of \$20,000.

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Hutchinson News Tuesday, June 14, 1994 Page 5

Will Dole be deal-maker or candidate?

By John King
AP Political Writer

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Besides, if there is a compromise to be struck, Dole wants Clinton to show his hand first.

"I think Clinton is really searching for another way to redefine universal coverage," Dole said in the interview. "I think there is a lot of flexibility there."

Yet, juggling again, he warns conservative Republicans against holding out for too much, saying such a strategy might allow Clinton to peel away enough moderate Republicans and make the rest look obstructionist.

"I think when people say compromise is a bad word, they need to be reminded it depends how it is defined and who is doing the compromising," Dole said.

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