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Bob Dole to Newt Gingrich: Thoughts don't always make good ideas, even if you have five file cabinets' worth to choose from. There are drawbacks to Gingrich's vision thing, Dole says of his fellow Republican in an interview published today in The New York Times Magazine.

Dole

"You can go out there and say, 'I've got nine ideas.' Well maybe one of them is good," says the Senate majority leader and presidential hopeful. "We're the party of ideas, but that doesn't mean every idea is a good idea." Dole adds wryly: "You hear Gingrich's staff has these five file cabinets, four big ones and this little tiny one. No. 1 is 'Newt's ideas.' No. 2, 'Newt's ideas.' No. 3, No. 4, 'Newt's ideas.' The little one is 'Newt's Good Ideas.'"

MONDAY MARCH 6, 1995 THE HAYS DAILY NEWS

Dole considers stepping down as majority leader if he wins early GOP primaries

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The candidate who can capture the presidential contests in Iowa and New Hampshire is probably going to win the nomination, Dole said on CBS' "Face the Nation."

"If I lose those two states, I can be full-time majority leader. If I win those two states, then I think I'd take a hard look at stepping aside," he said.

Dole was responding to a statement made Saturday on CNN's "Evans and Novak" by Senate Majority Whip Trent Lott, R-Miss., that it would be difficult next year for Dole to lead the Senate and still run for the GOP presidential nomination.

"I think Trent is right," Dole said. Dole said he expected the outcome of the presidential race to be decided fairly quickly in the spring of 1996. "It might be that you could just take a leave of absence for 30 days, but I'll address that later."

Early wins might shift Dole's focus

May give up Senate leadership role

By Jim Abrams
Associated Press

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Says Iowa and New Hampshire primaries hold the key to nomination

for the GOP nomination.

"I think Trent is right," Dole said. "I think he stated it about right."

Dole said he expected the outcome of the presidential race to be decided fairly quickly once the primary season begins in the spring of 1996. "It might be that you could just take a leave of absence for 30 days, but I'll address that later."

At least three other Republican senators, Phil Gramm of Texas, Richard Lugar of Indiana and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, are expected to run against Dole, as is former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander.

Alexander, also appearing on CBS, said Dole should remain as majority leader while a Washington outsider such as Alexander occupies the White House.

"The best contribution Bob Dole can make is to stay right where he is," Alexander said.

SUNDAY MARCH 5, 1995 THE HAYS DAILY NEWS

Kinder, softer Bob Dole seeks to convince voters this time around

By RUTH SHALIT

The New York Times Magazine

"Coffee, coffee, coffee," Sen. Bob Dole says, peering into a muggy cup of instant espresso. "One more sip of that good stuff. Ahhh. That's good."

It's 6:20 a.m. on the opening day of the 104th Congress, and the soon-to-be Senate majority leader is relaxing in the Capitol Building's TV anteroom, cracking jokes and gulping the foul brew from gold-rimmed china cups.

Up close, he looks tired. There are bluish shadows under his eyes, and his striped silk necktie is slightly askew. But as he barnstorms through the morning news programs, explaining in his rumbling bass voice his plans for the new Congress, Dole is on a roll.

In less than six hours, he will be transformed from minority leader to majority leader, from the Senate's critic to its commander. Already the tightly coiled, slightly menacing figure of years past seems a changed man: jaunty, self-possessed, aglow with power.

"Hope you sleep better this year," he tells the crew of the "Today" show, fixing his tie with a few energetic tugs. "Ought to, with Republicans in charge."

Not even the news of Kathleen Gingrich's indiscreet disclosure to Connie Chung fazes him.



Sen. Bob Dole works the crowd Friday in Bedford, N.H., at the annual Hillsborough County Republican Committee's fund-raising dinner.

"Too bad about the Connie Chung thing," he muses in the elevator. "That's going to be the big news today." He knits his eyebrows. "Agghh, my mother would have said, 'Off the record.'"

As yellowish daylight begins to seep through

the windows of the Capitol dome, Dole zigzags across his domain, greeting well-wishers, touching bases.

Ear-piercing victory shrieks echo all the way down the corridors. "Go get 'em, senator!" "Congratulations, senator!" "Go, Dole! We're with you!"

Dole basks in the warmth. To the crowds on the sidelines, he warbles, "Happy New Year... It's a great day for the country." To reporters: "Unhhh, I could whisper to you about '96!"

Heading over to the Senate floor to read his elegantly scripted opening statement, Dole notices that the plaque on his door has been changed from "Office of the Republican Leader" to "Office of the Majority Leader."

He scowls. "I wanted Republican leader," he says. "I told 'em not to change it. People don't know what majority leader means. They know what Republican leader means."

The title means many things to Dole: listener, arbiter, deal maker and party conscience, to name a few. But this year, more than anything else, it means one more shot at the presidency.

Without having even formally declared his candidacy, he has arrived with amazing speed at what looks like the verge of the nomination. At age 71 he now sees everything breaking his way. Dan Quayle and Jack Kemp have dropped

out, leaving — for now — only Phil Gramm and Lamar Alexander, the former education secretary, as serious rivals.

In the most recent Times-Mirror poll, taken in mid-February, 49 percent of those asked said Dole was their first choice, followed by Gramm at 13 percent and Alexander at 4 percent.

"In a certain sense, the campaign is Dole's to lose," says William Kristol, chairman of the Project for the Republican Future. "You can argue that his support is soft. But you can't totally discount the brute facts of public opinion. Elections are basically popularity contests. He could front-run all the way to the presidency."

Colleagues attribute much of Dole's resurgence as a presidential contender to the advent of Newt Gingrich. Dole, once seen as too old, too nasty and too much a creature of Congress, now seems a kindly elder statesman compared with Gingrich, the House speaker.

"Bob Dole's time has uniquely come," says Sen. Robert Bennett of Utah. "Only two years ago, I would have said — and was saying — he's too old, he's too old-fashioned, he's too tied to the processes of the Senate; that the country wanted someone fresh and new and vigorous."

"After 1994 I think we want somebody with a little gray in his hair; somebody who's not so

manic, not solving everything immediately. Frankly, among the people I talk to, Newt scares them a little bit. Isn't there some wise old uncle who can put his arm around him and calm him down a bit? And the obvious candidate to take that role is Bob Dole."

For now, Dole is offering himself more or less as he is — the quintessential Washington insider, absorbed less with the poetry of politics than with the plumbing. His agenda, simply stated, is the ethic of the deal: tackling problems as they land on his desk, cobbling together solutions.

"Takes a lot of time, a lot of patience, a lot of listening," he says with satisfaction. "Lotta meetings. Lotta sitting around with people. Sometimes you have to compromise."

Yet Dole admits readily, even happily, that he can't compete with Gingrich as a big-picture communicator.

"Sometimes I kind of wonder: 'Well, jiminy, why can't I think like this guy? Is there something wrong with me?' Then I think, 'Well, maybe not.'"

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■ The Kansas senator already is raising a war chest for the 1996 race. Page A10.

A10 SUNDAY MARCH 5, 1995 THE HAYS DAILY NEWS

DOLE: His campaign packagers call him an improved if not a new Bob Dole

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Like a British Tory rather than an American conservative, Dole distrusts visions and visionaries. He views Gingrich's effusions with amused skepticism.

"You can go out there and say, 'I've got nine ideas.' Well, maybe one of them is good. We're the party of ideas, but that doesn't mean every idea is a good idea."

Dole drops an eyebrow. "You hear Gingrich's staff has these five file cabinets, four big ones and one little tiny one. No. 1 is 'Newt's Ideas.' No. 2, 'Newt's Ideas.' No. 3, No. 4, 'Newt's Ideas.' The little one is 'Newt's Good Ideas.'"

Indeed, Dole's model for the presidency is far removed from the third-wave, futurist fantasies that Gingrich has come to represent.

"I've always thought about Eisenhower as my hero," Dole says. "He was a Republican, but sort of above it all. Not always, but most of the time."

The nation got its first look at Robert Joseph Dole in his 1976 vice presidential debate with Walter F. Mondale, during which he ranted about the "Democratic wars" of this century.

In his 1988 presidential campaign, he further reinforced that truculent impression by telling George Bush to "stop lying about my record" on the night he lost the New Hampshire primary.

Today, Dole is working hard to shed the hatchet-man image: offering up his Senate conference room for use during the baseball strike negotiations, swapping wisecracks with David Letterman ("Thought it went pretty good. Guy's easy, though"), helping to raise more than \$6 million for the disabled through the Dole Foundation.

"He's a very tender, loving man," says Elizabeth Dole. "He always has been. But that's not what people see." She is sitting in her tidy, chintz-covered office at the American Red Cross, wringing her manicured hands in wifely dismay. Now 58, Liddy Dole is an attractive, engaging woman with bright brown eyes and sharp chin.

Perched in a stiff armchair, she defends her husband's often-dour demeanor.

"I guess the phrase I'm looking for is frontier spirit, or pioneer spirit," she says. "Does that say something to you in terms of his ability to take the hard knocks of life without cringing?"

When Dole finally announces his candidacy, she will quit her job as president of the American Red Cross and work full time on the campaign.

"I look at the way he's doing things,

quietly and effectively, whether it's his public service career or whether it's privately, and I realize, this is Bob Dole," she says. "This is the part of him that needs to be told."

She leans forward in her chair. "Did you see the '60 Minutes' tape, where he teared up? Or at former President Nixon's funeral? He teared up there too. And there have been other little glimpses. He's letting his guard down a little bit. Maybe he's mellowed a little bit."

Part of the strategy, she says, has been to persuade him to shed his reluctance to talk about his war wound.

"You look at the three years he spent in the hospital, fighting his way back from total paralysis. It affects your whole life, in terms of the way you approach things. Sometimes, I forget he has this disability, and I may ask him to hang a picture. And he says, 'Now, Elizabeth, how do I hold the nail and hammer it with one hand?'"

His packagers are presenting him as an improved if not quite a new Bob Dole. But can a softer Bob Dole find the national base of support that has eluded him in the past?

As flame-throwing Newtoids turn Washington upside down, Dole remains an old-stripe Republican moderate with little interest in ideological revolutions.

He disdains Reaganomics: "If you're looking for ideology — well, there's Ronald Reagan. Then you see how the debt went up during those years."

He seems equally unenthusiastic about the Contract With America. "If you look back at 1994, people say it was won because of the Contract With America. Well, surveys show, what, 10, 12 percent of voters knew what it was all about."

He sees no vast ideological meaning in the Republicans' recent electoral landslide.

"The American people were voting for change," he says. "Just as I assume they were voting for change in 1992. If anybody could tell me precisely what the message was, I'll eat their hat."

On issues ranging from welfare reform to dismantling government, he is at odds with his more conservative congressional brethren.

Though his crusty streak has earned him a reputation for meanness, his support for the less fortunate is genuine. He opposes efforts by House conservatives to slash anti-poverty programs to help finance tax cuts.

"I don't care what kind of welfare program you have," he says. "Somebody's out there with no mother, no father, whatever. Something's gonna happen. We're not going to let kids starve. This is America."

He is uncomfortable with the conservative attempt to link welfare dependency to frayed morals. "You can't wrap all these things up in neat little packages," he says. "Every family's different."

Indeed, as a county attorney Dole found himself authorizing his own grandfather's welfare payments.

"My grandmother passed away at age 47," he says. "My grandfather was a tenant farmer. He couldn't find work. Times were tough. You don't forget those things. Now that doesn't mean you ought to support everybody. But there are some people who can't find work. Maybe as a last resort there ought to be some government job or some subsidized private sector job."

Dole's eyes are clouding over. "It's really sad," he says slowly. "You drive home. You see the people on the street, the homeless people. Well, you can't let your emotions dictate everything. But you have to be at least a little bit sensitive."

On various Republican red-meat issues, Dole makes all the wrong noises. Slashing government? "The government does a lot of good things. I mean, lookit, I'm a product of the GI bill."

Gay rights? "Well, you watch some of these programs. You read some of the material. And you say, well, they don't have any choice. Something else happens. Somewhere in the genes, or whatever. ... I don't know whether it's involuntary or choice. But either way they have, obviously, civil rights. No discrimination. This is America."

Gays in the military? "I haven't made a judgment on that. The big mistake there, whatever the answer is, was that Clinton brought it up so early."

Dole, who is anti-abortion, has countered religious conservatives who say they will bolt the party if a member of the '96 ticket supports abortion rights.

While emphasizing that he opposes abortion, he has said that to reject a running mate who might favor abortion rights would be like "saying you are not going to have anybody who is right-handed or left-handed. My view is that we are all Republicans, good Republicans."

Nonetheless, Dole and Gramm are likely to crash through their present

vener of Republican brotherhood and turn into snarling adversaries.

Dole has enraged his rival by maneuvering to keep him off the powerful Senate Finance Committee.

Privately, Dole staff members fret that Gramm is the one person who could cause their boss to violate the new-be-nice rule.

"I don't think Dole respects Gramm at all," says one Republican Senate staff member. "Gramm is the kind of guy who's always cutting to the front of the line, always big-footing. Dole has some respect for the process and the system. And there's just no decorum in Gramm."

Indeed, it is only when discussing his Republican rival that Dole's legendary testiness surfaces.

"Everybody says the most dangerous place in the Capitol is between Phil and a TV camera," Dole grouches. "He's very aggressive. You know, he comes to me now and then, and says, 'If I go too far, I want you to tell me. Well, I'm not going to tell him! He oughtta know when he goes too far.'"

But Dole's greatest worry seems to have been removed, at least for now — Gingrich has declared that he will not seek the nomination in '96. But that doesn't completely relieve Dole of his Gingrich problem, nor rule out a Gingrich reversal.

Gingrich's leadership would be the antithesis of Dole's. Compared with the dignified Kansan, Gingrich seems to lack maturity, presidential stature.

"There has to be a little mystery about the president," Dole muses.

"The American people, when they think about the president — and again, I'll find out after the election if I'm anywhere near accurate — don't want to see you popping up everywhere with 15 different programs. There has to be this sort of mystique, or mystery."

Suddenly, we are talking not about Gingrich but about Clinton.

"He'll go out and have a press conference at 10," Dole frets. "Then he'll go out and step on his story all day long with four or five other things."

Well, Reagan had a message, and he stayed right on his message and never wavered from it, win or lose. Clinton has the line of the day — and then he goes around stepping on it."

The Clintonites claim they couldn't care less what Dole thinks of the president. They have written him off as a negative obstructionist, temperamentally unsuited for the nation's highest

office. "I don't sense that people here are quaking about Dole," says an administration official. "Winning presidential candidates tend to be sunny, and upbeat, and hopeful and forward-looking. Dole is going to have a much harder time getting through."

In fact, in this age of empty third-wave optimism, it is precisely Dole's brooding, almost Nixonian opacity — his wound, his dark side, his aversion to self-display — that give him a kind of dignity.

Compared with the loquacious emotionalism of Clinton and Gingrich, Dole's reserve gives him an appealing mystery — not only to reporters but to many Democrats.

"He's like the mean old guy in the murder movie who everybody thinks is a killer," says one admiring Washington Democrat, "until five minutes before the end when the plot twists, and you find out he's not that bad after all."

Dole already raising funds for his 1996 campaign

GREENWICH, Conn. (AP) — Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, who expects to announce his candidacy for president in April, is already raising funds for the campaign.

Dole, R-Kan., was scheduled to attend a \$1,000-a-plate private fundraiser in his honor Saturday night in Greenwich. The affair was hosted by Brook Johnson, a textile business owner and former candidate for U.S. Senate.

Others planning to attend the dinner included Gov. John Rowland, U.S. Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., state Sen. William Nickerson, R-Greenwich, and Republican Town Committee Chairman Ed Dadakis.

Johnson, owner of Greenwich-based C.S. Brooks Corp., said he met Dole while he tried to thwart Democrat Christopher Dodd's re-election to the U.S. Senate in 1992.

"He did some campaigning for me and I worked a lot for him," Johnson said Friday. "He's the best person I've ever met for the job. Note: That's person with a capital 'P,' not politician."

Dole, 71, who has served in the U.S. Senate since 1969, ran for president in 1980 and 1988, and ran as vice presidential candidate in President Ford's

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— Brooke Johnson

unsuccessful re-election bid in 1976.

While Dole is not expected to formally announce his candidacy until April 10, he has begun laying the foundation for his campaign. Earlier this week, he named John Moran, a top fund-raiser for the Republican National Committee, as one of the financial leaders of his campaign.

Dole has made appearances on CBS' "The Late Show with David Letterman" and the "Imus in the Morning" radio show recently.

"He has a great sense of humor and a quick wit that makes him perfect for those formats," Johnson said.

Three Republicans have formally declared their candidacies: Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander and Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar. Patrick Buchanan, a commentator and former speechwriter for President Nixon, also announced his plan to run.