

# Dole tainted by own campaign finances

**With** President Clinton's campaign finance reform bill expected to be debated this week in the Senate, The Capital-Journal examines the issue of campaign financing by looking at the Kansas congressional delegation.

The first of a three-part series shines a spotlight on the campaign finances of Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, who is preparing to launch a filibuster effort against the president's plan. Monday's story examines how the Kansas congressional delegation is reacting to the proposal. Tuesday's story looks at the delegation's 1992 campaign finances.



By MARK SOMMER  
The Capital-Journal

**T**he financing of Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole's political campaigns, gleaned from reports filed with the Federal Election Commission, epitomizes much of what the public is saying is wrong with campaign financing today.

That is why Dole will present a curious sight when, as is expected, he attempts an obstructionist filibuster against President Clinton's campaign finance reform package as early as this week.

Over the past two decades, the Republican's Senate floor leader's campaign finance practices have given, at the very least, the appearance of numerous conflicts of interest.

Dole has assembled huge funds for his re-election, and been among the top recipients of special interest political action committee contributions from the nation's most powerful corporations.

This has helped him trounce opponents and with leftover funds

**"When these political action committees give money, they expect something in return other than good government."**

—Sen. Bob Dole

begin his next campaign with an almost insurmountable advantage. He has routinely ridden on corporate jets at cut-rate prices and was a recipient of large sums of dollars in honoraria from the same corporations that have filled his campaign coffers. He has created a PAC of his own to funnel money to other Republican politicians.

There are accusations that some of these corporations have received special favors from Dole as a payoff for supporting him.

In July, 1982, Dole acknowledged in the Wall Street Journal that PACs had a purpose in mind when aiding politicians.

"When these political action committees give money, they expect

something in return other than good government," Dole said.

Kansas Sen. Nancy Kassebaum disapproves of large PAC contributions and accepts no more than \$1,000, returning anything over that amount. Dole, who has for some time proclaimed his desire to see an end to PAC money, has never placed limitations on PAC contributions or refused them outright, despite the enormous head start he would have over a challenger without them.

Attempts to interview Dole were unsuccessful. His press secretary, Walt Riker, insisted there was nothing improper about how his boss financed his political campaigns. He said Dole had never been unduly

influenced by contributors.

Whether improper or not, Dole has left a campaign trail of money that raises many of the issues the public has expressed concern about.

## Corporate-lined campaign coffers

Dole-for-Senate campaign receipts in the election cycle of 1991-1992 totaled \$2,362,936, easily dwarfing the \$246,056 raised by Democratic challenger Gloria O'Dell. Included in Dole's bulging campaign chest was \$1,237,318 collected from special interest PACs. O'Dell received \$40,150 in PAC money.

Dole's campaign committee had a \$1.7 million surplus to put toward his next campaign in 1998 should he decide to run again. Short of a devastating scandal, that would give him a virtually unbeatable edge over a challenger.

Last year wasn't the first time the incumbent Dole enjoyed a tremendous advantage over an opponent, or the first time he tapped



—Amy Kunhardt/The Capital-Journal  
Sen. Bob Dole

Continued on page 8-A, col. 2

# Dole tainted by own campaign financing

Continued from page 1-A

into significant PAC funds.

In his last three Senate campaigns, Dole has raised 14 times more, received 36 times more in PAC contributions, and spent nine times more than his three challengers, Federal Election Commission reports show.

From 1972 to 1986, PACs gave Dole \$3,366,305. That was over three-quarters of a million dollars more than any other senator.

His PAC contributors, and many of the larger individual supporters, look like a who's who of American business.

Hundreds of corporate political action committees have lined up to pour money into the senator's campaign, particularly from U.S. agribusiness and finance, real estate and insurance interests.

Not coincidentally, Dole is a senior Republican member of the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry committee, and the senior Republican on the Finance committee.

Prominently represented among agribusiness PACs are Archer Daniels Midland, Farmland Industries, Philip-Morris, Dow Chemical, John Deere, Kellogg and General Mills. Among finance PACs are Equitable Life, Goldman Sachs, American Express, Glendale Federal Savings and Loans, PaineWebber, First Boston, Chemical Bank, Mutual of Omaha, New York Mercantile Exchange, Chicago Board of Trade, and Prudential Insurance.

Other industries significantly represented include telephone utilities, defense aerospace, oil and gas, real estate, manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, automotive, and air transport.

In the period 1985 to 1990, 94 percent of the PAC dollars collected by Dole was from business interests.

Among large personal contributions that totaled \$1,172,588 — much of it from business executives of industries associated with friendly PACs — 87 percent was from out of state.

## Leader of the PAC

Dole also has a PAC committee of his own, into which many of the same corporations and individuals contribute. His influential party-building PAC, Campaign America, has

dispensed hundreds of thousands of dollars primarily for Senate Republican candidates, but also to GOP legislators and groups in Kansas.

During the 1989-1990 campaign cycle, the Associated Press reported, Campaign America contributed more money to candidates for federal office than any other so-called leadership PAC operated by a member of Congress, about \$300,000. Since 1991 alone, Dole's PAC has raised over \$1 million, much of it from other PACs.

He also has established the Dole Foundation, which is a charitable organization that raises money for projects to benefit people with physical handicaps. Once again on the contributor's list are found many of the same individuals and PACs.

Despite being one of the biggest beneficiaries of the current system, Dole has publicly spoken out against the use of PACs, going so far as to call for their abolition. Yet, in the book "PAC Power" by Larry Sabato, Peter Lauer of AMPAC expressed his anger with what he felt were improper solicitations of financial support from the senator.

"I got a letter from Dole asking for money for his PAC. I also got a telegram from him two weeks out from election saying, 'I see you have not supported (a Dole-backed candidate in Kansas.) Deeply disappointed. Signed, Bob Dole, Chairman, Senate Finance Committee.' What kind of sledgehammer is that? I find those things deeply disturbing."

**From 1972 to 1986, PACs gave Dole over three-quarters of a million dollars more than any other senator.**

Before honoraria was halted in Congress, Dole was among the top recipients in the Senate. He collected more than \$1.1 million for speaking engagements, earning several hundred thousand dollars while donating more than half to charities. Many of the gatherings he addressed were

sponsored by the same industry groups that have funded his campaigns. Through 1986, he had accepted honoraria from 78 groups whose PACs also contributed to Dole's reelection efforts, Campaign America or the Dole Foundation.

Dole also has routinely used planes owned by corporate donors to his campaign at rates lower than for chartering private jets.

Dole has taken 25 or more trips on private

planes provided by Archer Daniels Midland (32), U.S. Tobacco (27), ConAgra (27), Browning Ferris (26), Torchmark (25), and American Financial (25).

While in compliance with the law, it is another example of the appearance of a cozy relationship between Dole and powerful, moneyed interests who gain special access to him.

There are other examples of how PAC supporters have shown displays of support for Dole.

During the 1992 Republican Convention, a lavish brunch was given in Dole's honor in the elegant ballroom of the Four Seasons Hotel in Houston. The tab for the expensive event was picked up by RJR Nabisco Corp., the giant tobacco and food products corporation. RJR had already given

\$25,000 to The Dole Foundation, a significant contribution but one that paled next to the \$100,000 given by AT&T.

## ADM — Gateway to Bob Dole

In turn, there are examples of how Dole has helped the corporations who give him PAC money.

In "The Best Congress Money Can Buy," author Philip Stern presents several examples he believed showed Dole routinely crossed over a gray line into impropriety or worse.

Dole is described using his power to show support or intervene on behalf of substantial contributors to his campaigns. In each case, maneuverings by the senator saved these corporations, including major tobacco companies, commodity brokers, aerospace companies and winemakers, millions, and in some cases hundreds of millions of dollars.

One particularly close relationship concerns Dole and the multibillion-dollar food processing firm, Archer Daniels Midland. ADM and its principal stockholder Dwayne Andreas have been generous supporters of Dole's over the years, providing tens of thousands of dollars to all three Dole financial entities.

Stern suggests Dole has returned the favor, coming to ADM's aid by helping to stem

imports of cheap foreign sugar. This helped ADM because the corn it processes goes into high-fructose corn syrup that is used as a sugar substitute and sells at a lower price than domestic sugar.

ADM is also the nation's largest producer of the grain alcohol that goes into ethanol, a

nine-to-one mixture of gasoline and alcohol. Stern said Dole sponsored a major tax concession for ethanol in 1978, and had sponsored at least 23 other bills to promote the product. He also claimed Dole was part of a successful effort to tighten imports of the less expensive Brazilian ethanol, a move favored by Andreas.

In 1991, according to the book, "Adventures in Porkland," Dole again came to ADM's rescue by helping to see that a

hefty tax credit was renewed that would benefit ADM to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars over five years.

Along with being a frequent traveler on ADM's private fleet, the Dole's own an oceanfront cooperative building in Bal Harbour, Fla., of which ADM's Andreas is its chairman, secretary, treasurer and major stockholder.

A New York Times Magazine article in November 1987 said the Doles received "preferential treatment from Mr. Andreas" in having access to shares of stock in the complex and arguably, a price break on the apartment. According to the article, a similar apartment in a less desirable location in the same building sold for \$190,000 three months before the Doles bought theirs for \$150,000.

A New York Times article that later revisited the issue found no clear evidence of wrongdoing, but once again, it is another example of how the senator has allowed himself to be placed under a cloud of suspicion.

To many observers, Dole's questionable relationship with carefully cultivated special interests now casts serious doubt over his credibility to lead an expected Republican filibuster against the president's proposal for campaign finance reform.

**Hundreds of corporate PACs have lined up to pour money into the senator's campaign, particularly from U.S. agribusiness and finance, real estate and insurance interests.**

# Dole recommends outside group do campaign reform

**By The Associated Press**  
PORTLAND, Maine — Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole suggested Sunday that the best approach to campaign finance reform would be to appoint an outside group to develop a plan and, in effect, impose it on Congress.

The Kansas Republican said his party is prepared to work with majority Democrats on a bipartisan plan that bans contributions from political action committees and is fair to both parties.

Dole, who is expected to lead the opposition to President Clinton's campaign finance reform plan, said Democrats would like nothing better than to see the GOP kill the bill.

"It's sort of a con game where the Democrats put (their bill) out, the liberal press supports it, and if we're seen as trying to change it, somehow we're seen as opposed to campaign finance reform," he said.

The Topeka Capital Journal, in Dole's home state, reported Sunday that the senator has been a top recipient of special interest PAC money that gives, at the least, the appearance of conflict of interest.

At a news conference that followed his commencement speech at Colby College in Waterville, Kan., Dole in-

dictated that he did nothing improper. "We play by the rules. The present rules are that you can accept PAC money, and I accept PAC money."

"We're willing to ban PACs, and have been for three or four years on the Republican side, but that doesn't mean we have to adopt a plan that's going to hurt Republicans," he said.

The senator, accompanied by Sen. William S. Cohen, R-Maine, suggested that a reform proposal be drafted by an independent commission similar to the one that is now reviewing the politically charged question of military base closings.

"You may have to put together some Rube Goldberg approach where you have some outside group that makes recommendations," Dole said.

Cohen said spending limits and public financing of campaigns would only serve to solidify the Democratic majorities in Congress. But if public financing were to be adopted, it should apply to primaries as well as to general elections, he said.

"Otherwise, you're just insulating the incumbents without providing them with any real competition in the primaries," he said.

Dole reiterated that the bipartisan deficit-reduction plan unveiled last week was "a big step in the right direction because it puts the emphasis on spending cuts" instead of on higher taxes.

# Reaction of Dole, others mostly scathing

By JIM ABRAMS  
The Associated Press

**W**ASHINGTON — Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas said Sunday that the plan drawn up by the United States and four allies to set up safe havens in Bosnia "amounts to writing off Bosnia as a state."

"I am deeply disappointed at the 'Joint Action Program' agreed to by the Clinton administration," Dole said in a statement.

He said the plan, urged by Europe and Russia as a short-term measure to stop the killing, offers little if any

hope of ending the war in Bosnia.

"Moreover, it amounts to writing off Bosnia as a state by ratifying the status quo on the ground," he said.

The plan, which sets up six safe areas for Muslim civilians to be protected by U.N. troops, was announced Saturday in Washington.

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, D-N.Y., also condemned the plan, saying, "We are legitimizing genocide." Asked on NBC's "Meet the Press" whether Clinton had made a mis-

take in his Bosnia policy, Moynihan said, "The world that watched has committed a grave sin."

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., however, praised Clinton for working with the allies and "not just jumping in doing something precipitous. Of all the bad solutions that we've got for Bosnia, this is the best one."

Dole urged that the U.S. arms embargo be lifted. "We must allow the Bosnians to protect themselves — it is the least we can do."

# With calls pouring in, Dole ponders a toll-free number

Associated Press

**WASHINGTON** — Senate Republican leader Bob Dole, enjoying new celebrity status as President Clinton's nemesis, is pondering an 800-number for calls coming in to his Capitol office.

The Kansas Republican has averaged about 1,000 calls a day since Clinton took office, said Dole's spokesman Walt Riker.

People nationwide started calling en masse on the Zoe Baird nomination, and it's continued through the

gays in the military controversy. Clinton's proposed tax increase-deficit reduction budget and a range of other issues, Riker said.

"We're the most visible opposition leader in the country," Riker said. "The volume of calls has just gone

through the roof. People calling in to complain, congratulate, offer advice, whatever. I've never seen anything like it."

Democrats were skeptical of a potential Dole call-in.

White House spokeswoman Lorraine Voles.

"Does this mean the president gets a 1-800 number? Is Mitchell going to get one, too?" she said, wondering if Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, should

have a toll-free line. Right now, the White House copes with its own barrage of phone calls — as many as 67,000 a day — with 20 volunteers on "comment" phone lines, Voles said.

Many members of Congress are reporting huge increases in the volume of mail they receive.

Riker said Dole's calls this year mark about a 50 percent increase from previous years.