

# Dollars for Campaign America

## Senator's PAC gives money to other political candidates

By BARRY MASSEY  
Associated Press Writer  
WASHINGTON — Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole has raised an average of \$56,000 a week since the start of the year through his political action committee, preparing for the election battles of 1994 — and perhaps beyond.



Sen. Bob Dole

The Kansan's PAC, Campaign America, collected nearly \$1.5 million from January through June. That's five times more money than he raised during the same period in 1992 and nearly three times greater than in the first half of 1991.

"We were in a re-election mode last year and had to focus all of our fund-raising activities there and really did not do any active fund-raising for Campaign America as a result," said Jo-Anne Coe, the PAC's executive director.

Recent contributors to Dole's PAC read like a Who's Who of corporate America. Among the senator's biggest financial supporters were California winemakers Ernest and Julio Gallo and their families. Ten Gallo family members each gave \$5,000 — \$50,000 total — in January and February. A Gallo winery executive and his wife contributed another \$10,000.

Other notable donors were Dwayne Andreas, chairman of Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., and his family members. Six members of the family gave Dole's PAC a total of \$6,000 in April.

Campaign America, formed in 1979, is separate from Dole's re-election campaign committee and is the senator's vehicle for party-building activities. He uses the PAC to contribute money to other candidates, and it pays for most of his political travels around the country.

For example, Dole used the PAC in laying the political foundation for his unsuccessful 1988 presidential bid.

Coe says Dole's fund-raising this year is aimed at helping elect more Republicans in Congress and in

state offices.

"We've got some critical elections coming up next year and a couple of gubernatorial ones this year that he will be involved in," Coe said.

Virginia and New Jersey will elect governors this fall, for example.

And 1994 will be a key congressional election — the first midterm test of President Clinton's political standing. The outcome of next year's Senate elections will prove particularly important to Dole's own political future. Twenty Democratic-held seats are up for election in the Senate, and Republicans will defend 13 seats.

As GOP leader in the Senate, Dole wants as many Republican victories as possible. Democrats now control the Senate 56-44.

A winning election year for Republicans in 1994 could narrow the Democratic majority in the Senate or even give Dole another chance at serving as majority leader with Republicans in control. Dole was majority leader in 1985-86 and has been minority leader since then.

As of midyear, Dole's PAC had a cash stockpile of almost \$1.4 mil-

## Top contributors to Campaign America are listed

WASHINGTON (AP) — A list of people who contributed \$5,000 during the first half of 1993 to Campaign America, a political action committee operated by Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan. The names and hometowns of contributors are from financial reports filed with the Federal Election Commission.

- Gerhard Andlinger, Vero Beach, Fla.
- Philip Anschutz, Denver
- William Armfield, Greensboro, N.C.
- Herbert Barnes, Doylestown, Penn.
- James Barry, Highland Beach, Fla.
- Stephen Bechtel, San Francisco
- Bob Beren, Wichita, Kan.
- Arthur Blank, Atlanta
- J. Coleman, Modesto, Calif.
- Sue Coleman, Modesto, Calif.
- Herbert Collins, Gloucester, Mass.
- Sheila Collins, Gloucester, Mass.
- James Conneen, New York, N.Y.
- Bill Cowsley, Shawnee, Kan.
- Gerard DiMarco, Rochester, N.Y.
- Joseph DiMartino, New York
- C. Dillon, New York
- Stanley Druckenmiller, New York
- Norman Eig, New York
- Lawrence E. English, Simsbury, Conn.
- Arnold Fisher, New York
- Richard Fisher, New York
- Joseph Fogg, Muttontown, N.Y.
- Thomas Foley, New York
- James Foster, Pacific Palisades, Calif.

- William Furman, Lake Oswego, Ore.
- Aileen Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Amelia Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- David Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Mrs. David Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Ernest Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Joseph Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Julio Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Ofeilia Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Robert Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Mrs. Robert Gallo, Modesto, Calif.
- Howard Gittis, New York
- Thomas Gosnell, Rochester, N.Y.
- Mel Harris, Tarzana, Calif.
- Charles Heimbald, New York
- T. Jordan, Healdsburg, Calif.
- Dr. N. Kalici, Newburgh, N.Y.
- Herman Klipper, Urbandale, Iowa
- George Klein, New York
- Frederick Klingenstein, Rye, N.Y.
- David Koch, Wichita, Kan.
- Edward Kratovil, Darien, Conn.
- Lawrence Kuppin, Los Angeles
- Elaine Langone, New York
- Kenneth Langone, New York
- Carl Linder, Cincinnati
- John Loeb, New York
- Frank Mancuso, Los Angeles
- Harold Manders, Dallas Center, Iowa
- Louis Marx, New York
- Andrew McIntyre, Hidden Hills, Calif.
- Fred Merrill, Mission Hills, Kan.
- James Moffett, New Orleans

- James Moran, Deerfield Beach, Fla.
- John Moran, Palm Beach, Fla.
- Mrs. Y. Oshiyee Murase, Ardsley on Hudson, N.Y.
- John Palmer, Overland Park, Kan.
- Thomas Patrick, Chicago
- Stanley Rawn, New York
- George Roberts, Atherton, Calif.
- Elizabeth Ruan, Des Moines, Iowa
- John Ruan, Des Moines, Iowa
- Lewis Rudin, New York
- James Russell, Pleasantville, N.Y.
- Iris Schwartz, Aventura, Fla.
- Richard Sharp, Richmond, Va.
- Harry Evans Sloan, Los Angeles
- Abraham Sofer, Washington, D.C.
- David Stockman, New York
- Sydney Sussman, Trenton, N.J.
- A. Alfred Taubman, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
- Thomas Teague, Winston Salem, N.C.
- L. Thomas, Panama City, Fla.
- Robert Thompson, Greenville, S.C.
- Barbara Thornhill, Los Angeles
- Sophie Vavlitis, New York
- Thomas Weisel, San Francisco
- Mrs. Wesley West, Houston
- John Whitehead, New York
- Carol Williams, Washington, D.C.
- J. D. Williams, Washington, D.C.
- William Williams, Carpinteria, Calif.
- Gary Winnick, Beverly Hills, Calif.
- Jim Xhema, Greenwich, Conn.
- H. Yoh, Radnor, Penn.

lion and had contributed nearly \$65,000 to Senate and House candidates nationwide. About \$8,000 has gone to state and local candidates during the first half of this year.

During that period, contributions to candidates accounted for about 10 percent of Campaign America's total expenditures. The rest of the spending went for fund-raising, travel and operational expenses such as staff and telephones.

Campaign America traditionally has been one of the biggest fund-raisers among so-called leadership PACs, those political action com-

mittees affiliated with members of Congress, usually people in House and Senate leadership jobs.

During the 1991-92 campaign cycle, Campaign America raised and contributed more money to federal office candidates than any other leadership PAC operated by a member of Congress. The PAC raised \$1.4 million and gave \$377,000 to candidates.

The Effective Government Committee, the PAC operated by House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., was second with contributions of \$204,000. The Fund for a Democratic Majority, a PAC affiliated with Sen. Edward

Kennedy, D-Mass., was second in fund-raising, \$311,000.

So far this year, Dole's PAC again leads the fund-raising race. Gephardt's PAC has collected about \$286,000 and contributed \$31,000 to federal candidates through midyear.

But leadership PACs such as Campaign America are coming under criticism as pressure builds for Congress to revamp the system of financing congressional campaigns. A Senate-passed campaign reform bill would prohibit leadership PACs.

"It just makes it easier for the special interests to buy influence

when you use a leadership PAC as a fund-raising device — more money, bigger chunks, more access," said Ellen Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics.

# GOP will help on health care

## Dole says that health care is different from the budget

By R.A. Zaldivar

Eagle Washington bureau

TULSA — After months of attacking virtually every major initiative of the Clinton administration, Senate Republican leader Bob Dole adopted a conciliatory tone Tuesday and said he wants to cooperate with the president on health reform.

Dole's stance, signaled in an address to the nation's governors, is significant because President Clinton has little chance of overhauling the nation's health care system without support from moderate Republicans.

One reason Clinton's presidency has gotten off to a rocky start is that Republicans — led by Dole — have been unified in opposing Clinton's programs, particularly his tax and spending policies.

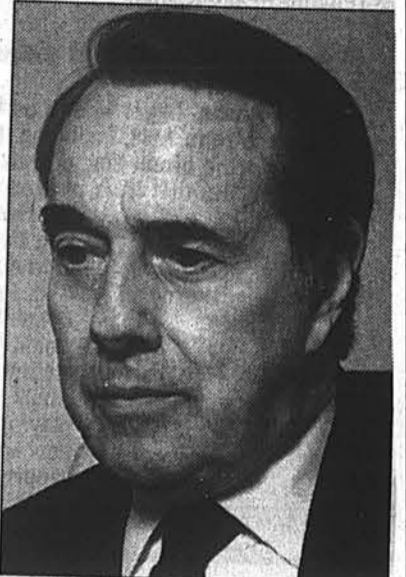
But Dole said health care is an area where Republicans want to help shape legislation, not just oppose it. "The budget package was different — they tend to be partisan," said the Kansas Republican. "This is a different issue."

Speaking at the summer meeting of the National Governors' Association, Dole held out the possibility of finding compromises with Clinton on some of the most controversial aspects of health care reform. Clinton is expected to unveil his plan next month.

Most notably, Dole said Republicans are not unalterably opposed to Clinton's proposal that all employers be required to provide health insurance for their workers.

"That's just one piece of a big, big puzzle," the Kansas Republican told reporters after his speech. "Maybe we will be able to modify it. There's flexibility."

Reminded by Georgia Gov. Zel



Sen. Bob Dole said Republicans are not unalterably opposed to the concept that all employers be required to provide health insurance.

Doctors survey: Patients prefer paying as they go. 5A.

Miller, a Democrat, of a recent letter from 41 Senate Republicans to the White House opposing an employer mandate for health care, Dole said the letter did not mean the GOP position is set in concrete.

The original draft of the letter declared that Republicans "under no circumstances" would accept an employer mandate. "We changed that wording to 'strongly disapprove,'" said Dole, a co-signer.

Dole's appearance came a day after Clinton asked the governors to work with him on a plan that would guarantee coverage for all Americans through a managed care system financed primarily by employers.

Dole's moderation was well received by the governors. Oklahoma Gov. David Walters, a Democrat, told him that Clinton had been open to suggestions during his meetings with governors, and that Dole should adopt a similar posture.

Ironically, guaranteeing health coverage for all through an employer mandate was originally a Republican idea. The Nixon administration first put it forward in the 1970s as an alternative to a Democratic proposal for a government-run health system like Canada's.

But today's Republicans are not as supportive. "Employer mandates would damage the economy and hurt those who need the help most — new hires, small businesses and low-income workers," Dole told the governors.

Instead, Dole suggested that one way to help finance coverage for all is to make the better-off elderly pay more for Medicare coverage.

Republicans and Democrats share at least some common ground on many of the issues in the health reform debate, Dole acknowledged. For example, there's substantial bipartisan agreement on forming insurance purchasing co-ops for small businesses, protecting people from loss of coverage when they switch jobs and encouraging more people to join managed care plans.

Along with the offer of cooperation, Dole had a warning for Clinton: Attempts to woo a few Republicans without addressing the GOP's central concerns could backfire.

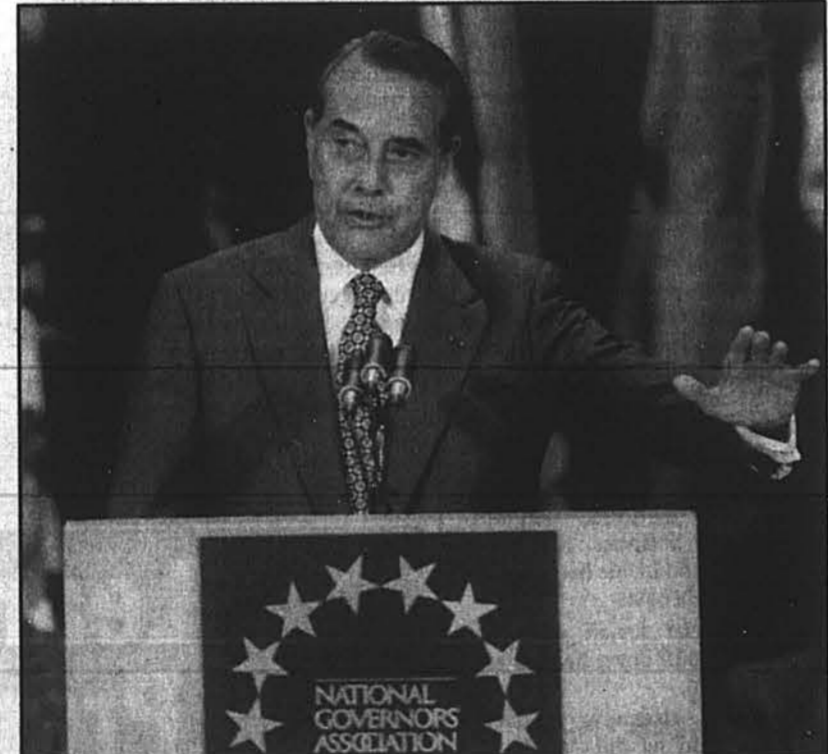
On another subject, Dole sharply criticized Clinton and the United Nations for "standing on the sidelines" while the Serbs gained control of much of Bosnia.

In his speech to the governors, Dole said that "if we can't help in any other way," at the very least the United States and its allies should end the ban on arms to the Bosnian government.

# Dole may back health plan

## Republicans open to some of the ideas

By The Associated Press  
TULSA, Okla. — Striking a conciliatory tone, Senate Republican leader Bob Dole said Tuesday he shared President Clinton's goal of universal health coverage and was open to an initiative with employer mandates and higher cigarette taxes.



Bob Dole told the nation's governors that he could support employer mandates and a higher cigarette tax.

Dole's olive branch on health care came on the closing day of a National Governors Association meeting dominated by the issue, including Clinton's speech Monday laying out the broad outlines and political rationale of the plan he will offer next month.

Dole's call for bipartisanship echoed the appeal Clinton made a day earlier. It also suggested that at least until the details are on the table, neither party wants the health-care debate to fall into the harsh partisanship that dominated the budget deliberations.

As they departed Tulsa for their home states, the governors joined in the call for cooperation on health care. They said the need for reform is so urgent, and the public demand so great, that partisanship would be a grave political error for both parties.

"This is not going to be a process of confrontation," said Republican Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina, who took over as the association's chairman Tuesday. "This is going to be a process of negotiation."

Whether that turns out to be just

wishful thinking will become clearer next month, after Clinton unveils his plan to provide universal health-care coverage by making employers provide insurance to their workers and creating a government fund to cover the unemployed.

Most Republicans oppose any mandatory plan, and just last week 41 Senate Republicans sent Clinton a letter making that opposition clear. Dole, however, said that his op-

position was not absolute. He could be convinced to support employer mandates if convinced that the subsidy program Clinton promises to include in his plan will protect employers, particularly small businesses, from untenable financial burdens.

"It is too early to start putting out benchmarks," Dole said. "I think we ought to see what he has first before we start knocking it."

# Dole offers to bend on health reform

By JOHN KING  
The Associated Press

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# Dole blasts policy on Bosnia

TULSA, Okla. (AP) — President Clinton and the United Nations have allowed Bosnia to be "gobbled up," and partitioning Bosnia in a peace settlement will invite more ethnic conflicts, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole says.

"Right now we don't look very strong in the eyes of the world," Dole told reporters after delivering his rebuke in a National Governors' Association speech Tuesday.

"Now that the Cold War is over, there are some who would like to give up America's leadership role around the globe," Dole, R-Kan., told the governors. "The term 'multilateralism' is no longer used to describe a means of implementing foreign policy but as an excuse for abdicating U.S. leadership."

At a minimum, Dole said the United States and its allies should lift the embargo banning the supply of arms to Bosnian forces. Clinton favors lifting the embargo but has been unable to persuade Western allies to go along.

"While the United States hesitates from afar, the United Nations and the European Community have been engaged in diplomatic hand-wringing as a member state of the United Nations is being gobbled up — defenseless because of an arms embargo that violates the very principles of the U.N. charter," Dole said.

The warring factions in the former Yugoslavia have been trying to negotiate a peace settlement. Muslims, Serbs and Croats have agreed to carve up Bosnia into three ethnic states with a weak central government, but they haven't decided on the borders.

Clinton has said he would support such a settlement if negotiated by the ethnic rivals. But Dole said it would set a dangerous precedent.

"Any such settlement will not only be an invitation to that brutal dictator in Belgrade, Slobodan Milosevic, to tighten his grip on the already suffering Serbian people and begin full scale ethnic cleansing against Albanians in Kosovo, but an invitation to other dictators and would-be aggressors who are lurking in the shadows of the former Soviet Union and elsewhere," Dole said. "How many thugs around the world will R.S.V.P. to that invitation?"