

THE WICHITA EAGLE Saturday, December 2, 1995

Bob Dole stays true to himself on Bosnia

By Helen Dewar
Los Angeles Times/
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Often regarded as a legislative fixer, partisan slasher or awkward combination of the two, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole is giving the world a glimpse of what many colleagues regard as the essential Dole: the wounded, decorated World War II veteran who never forgot how to salute his commander in chief.



Dole

When he agreed Thursday to support President Clinton's plan to send 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia to help enforce a fragile peace, Dole reached back to what supporters and detractors alike refer to as his "old values," including a conviction that partisanship stops at the water's edge, especially when American lives are at stake.

After playing every angle on issues ranging from Hollywood to guns and gay rights in his bid for the Republican presidential nomination, Dole appeared to be driven by some kind of inner force to give at least grudging support to the president he is trying to replace, according to close colleagues.

Even those who suggested he may also have had some political motives agreed the move was consistent with everything the Kansas Republican has done since he fought back from near-fatal injuries suffered while he was leading an assault on a German machine gun nest in Italy in 1945.

His withered right arm a permanent reminder of his sacrifice, Dole tears up at the sound of patriotic music and messages. He argues with presidents on foreign policy but does not challenge their decisions when troops are headed into harm's way. He still bristles at House and Senate Democratic leaders who opposed President George Bush's plan to send ground troops to the Persian Gulf in early 1991.

"I think what you saw in Bob Dole was an instinctive respect for the office of president and the Constitution," said Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., a decorated war hero from another generation and another war — Vietnam — who teamed up with Dole on Bosnia even though he is supporting one of Dole's rivals for the nomination, Sen. Phil Gramm, Tex.

"He was under a lot of pressure ... but he did what his whole history said he would do. He supported his president, his country and, probably most importantly to him, his country's

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troops," said Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., another key player in the Bosnia debate.

Dole may have put it most directly in his somber speech to the Senate late Thursday. "The president has the constitutional power as commander in chief to send these forces. The Congress cannot stop this troop deployment from happening. ... If we would try to cut off funds (as the House proposed last month), we would harm the men and women in the military who have already begun to arrive in Bosnia," he said.

So what if it looks as though he is helping Clinton, Dole said with a trace of impatience. "We have only one president at a time. He is the commander in chief."

On the surface, it appears that Dole was taking the kind of political risks he has tried to avoid in his role as front-runner for the GOP nomination.

But the risks may be less than they seem and less than those that might have arisen out of a direct confrontation with Clinton, some GOP strategists say.

"I don't think there's any doubt that he realizes it hurts him in the short run," especially among conservative Republicans who turn out for the party's primaries and caucuses, McCain said. Sending U.S. troops to Bosnia at the bidding of Clinton is particularly unpopular among these voters, he said.

Others said the risks may be overstated, especially if there are few casualties during the mid- to late-winter primary season, if Dole continues to stress his differences with Clinton over the policy and if his rivals do not find an effective way to turn his action against him.

Dole also has mitigated his risks — and demonstrated some consistency with his earlier criticism of Clinton's Bosnia policy — by insisting that any Senate resolution of support include conditions aimed at ensuring the

troops' safety and laying the groundwork for their "timely and honorable" departure.

The conditions will insist that the U.S. forces be limited to a military mission, excluding "nation-building," and that Bosnian Muslims be armed and trained as rapidly as possible to establish a military balance in Bosnia, according to McCain.

The day after his speech supporting the mission, Dole took further steps to distinguish his position from Clinton's, by issuing a statement Friday emphasizing the conditions, and saying he remained "deeply concerned" about what he sees as inadequate administration plans for training and equipping the Bosnian forces.

It is unclear whether the conditions that Dole is proposing will be sufficient to shield him from blame if U.S. casualties begin to mount. "Like Clinton, he walked into the wind instead of keeping it at his back" and could suffer the consequences, said Lieberman.

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Dole wants firm plan

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Secretary William Perry and Gen. John Shalikashvili were asked about the possibility that the mission would expand beyond what is contemplated.

Shalikashvili, the nation's top military officer, said that reserve units needed for the buildup were being notified. He didn't identify them, but he and Perry have said that about 3,500 reservists would be needed.

The general was pressed to give an estimate of casualties but said it was impossible to do that with any reliability. He said that based on the experience of U.N. forces there could be about 50 in a year. But he emphasized the U.N. forces were on a different mission and were lightly armed.

The question of arming and training Bosnian forces has received a mixed reception.

At a House committee hearing on Thursday, Rep. Ike Skelton, D-Mo., appealed to the administration not to even indirectly assist in the arming and training of the mostly Muslim Bosnian army.

Skelton said it was "inviting vengeance" by the Serbs.

"This policy paints a bull's eye on every American soldier," he said.

Perry and Shalikashvili said the United States was supporting a program to help the Bosnian military but that it wouldn't be done by the U.S. forces sent to Bosnia.

"I think it's unquestionable that we'll have to furnish some kinds of equipment to the Bosnian government because of the deprivation that they have suffered from the embargo over the years," Christopher told the Foreign Relations Committee. He

said a team was in Bosnia trying to assess what the government forces might need to bring them up to parity with the better-armed Serb forces.

Dole said that confusion on the issue of arming and training the Bosnians "raises a serious question as to whether the safe and honorable withdrawal at the completion of their mission can be assured."

The Senate leader called on the administration to "present to the Congress without delay a concrete, detailed and effective plan to assure that Bosnia will be able to defend itself at the time of the American withdrawal."

Other senators sought assurances from the administration that the mission wouldn't be expanded or extended.

"There's a lot of concern that this could be a slippery slope," said Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minn.

Referring to opinion polls that show most Americans oppose the deployment, Byrd, D-W.Va., said during an Appropriations Committee hearing that President Clinton ought

to keep Vietnam in mind. "If the president doesn't have the support of the American people, or that support begins to waver and then to reverse itself, the president is going to be in a very difficult situation," Byrd said.

Earlier, at the Foreign Relations hearing, Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., a Vietnam veteran, said, "We are not passing a Tonkin Gulf-type resolution," a reference to the resolution that authorized the buildup under President Johnson.

In response to several questions about the possibility the mission could extend longer than a year, Perry said, "I don't envision the circumstances in which I would ask for any extension of that commitment."

At the White House, Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state and an engineer of the Bosnia agreement, told a briefing that congressional and public opposition to the use of U.S. troops was inevitable after Vietnam, Lebanon, Somalia, and four years of televised images of war in Bosnia.

"Leadership requires doing things in the national interest even if the radio talk shows run 100 to one against you at the outset," Holbrooke said.

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BOSNIA

Dole wants firm plan on Bosnia

Congressional support seems to be growing.

By DONALD M. ROTHBERG
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole threatened Friday to withhold his support for sending U.S. troops to Bosnia if President Clinton doesn't lay out "a concrete, detailed and effective plan" for arming and training the Bosnian military.

"I remain deeply concerned that the plans and commitment of the administration to an immediate program for the equipping and training of Bosnian forces is vague and confused," the Kansas Republican said in a statement.

The front-runner for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination, Dole raised the issue the day after he told the Senate he was working on a resolu-

tion supporting the troop deployment.

Dole's statement came just as administration officials were sounding more optimistic about winning the backing of Congress.

Largely on the basis of Dole's earlier statement, the Bosnia mission appeared to gather support on Capitol Hill, though senators prodded the administration to spell out what the troops will be asked to do.

"We might keep in mind Vietnam," cautioned Sen. Robert C. Byrd.

After three hours before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said: "I think Congress is indicating, at least individually, a stronger understanding of the importance of proceeding here. I sense a grasp of the consequences of not going forward."

Repeatedly, Christopher, Defense

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The Kansas City Star Sunday, December 3, 1995

Dole has lead that counts at bank

His campaign has raised more funds so far than any other GOP contender.

By JOE STEPHENS
and GREGORY S. REEVES
Staff Writers

Another day, another \$80,000. That, on average, is how much money has flooded into Sen. Bob Dole's presidential dream factory every 24 hours since fund-raising began Feb. 15.

By Thursday, Dole's campaign said, that cash had mounted to almost \$23 million, far and away the most claimed by any Republican presidential aspirant.

"We have set a new standard for political fund-raising," Dole campaign manager Scott Reed crowed recently, "more than \$20 million raised in just eight months."

The cash gushed from every cranny of America — from New York City (where contributors gave Dole the most) to San Diego, from Miami to Seattle. And, of course, money flowed from throughout the Midwest, where Kansans gave more per capita than any other state.

More than 225,000 times in the first nine months of this year, Dole's campaign said, individuals and political committees reached for their checkbooks. They ponied up amounts ranging from \$5,000, the federal limit, to 25 cents — a quarter taped to a piece of paper.

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Dole campaign has lead where it counts—at the bank

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In the most recent federal reporting period — the third quarter, from July 1 to Sept. 30 — those gifts totaled more than \$5.6 million. That was more than twice as much as any of Dole's Republican rivals collected.

He has done extraordinarily well," said Larry Sabato, a professor of presidential politics at the University of Virginia. "Over the years he has built one of the most impressive fund-raising machines in the country."

The range of contributions to Dole is rivaled only by the variety of contributors. Millionaires and mothers, magnates and maids have all chipped in.

Comic Bob Hope gave. Karate-kicking movie star Chuck Norris gave. Even Jimmy Stewart, of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" fame, pitched in.

Three of the 10 richest Americans, as ranked by *Forbes* magazine, gave to Dole this year: Richard M. DeVos and Jay VanAndel, co-founders of Amway Corp., and John W. Kluge, who controls the movie and television station conglomerate, Metromedia.

And four of the richest residents of Kansas and Missouri gave: Hallmark Cards Inc. Chairman Donald Hall and his sister, Barbara Hall Marshall; Jack Crawford Taylor of Enterprise car rental in St. Louis; and Charles Koch of

Wichita, chief executive officer of Koch Industries, Inc.

Bankrolls, doughnut holes

The stack of papers listing Dole's donors this year is 1 foot thick. And while it reveals some interesting things, it also keeps its share of secrets.

Federal campaign laws have more holes than a doughnut shop. A determined and unscrupulous donor could give millions with little fear of discovery.

For example, by law an individual may not give a campaign more than \$1,000. But experts say the wealthy easily multiply the amount of their contributions.

They simply ask employees, spouses, children and other relatives to contribute. Campaign junkies call the practice "bundling." And while it is widely criticized, it is generally legal.

Another problem: Despite laws requiring Dole's campaign to list the occupation and employers of all contributors, only about one in four actually did. And in many cases, the occupations listed revealed little.

In the same quarter, for example, more than 400 givers called themselves "lawyer" or "attorney," without disclosing whether they were lobbyists or whom they represented. And \$21,500 came from people who listed themselves as students. Finally, \$482,000 came in amounts smaller than \$200. The law does not require campaigns to

reveal the sources for contributions that small.

Mickey and the Mirage

No matter what their weaknesses, campaign documents provide some fascinating snapshots. Most fun, perhaps, are the little ironies.

Last spring, for example, Dole trashed Hollywood and Time Warner Inc. for "mainstreaming deviancy." He smacked the Walt Disney Co. for distributing a movie that he said debased our moral standards.

Even so, Dole this year has taken \$9,000 from Disney executives and a Disney political action committee. Sid Bass, a Texas billionaire and Disney's biggest stockholder, gave Dole \$1,000. So did his wife.

Time Warner executives gave Dole at least \$7,000. And another media potentate, Rupert Murdoch — who controls Fox Television, 20th Century Fox and *TV Guide* magazine — gave him \$1,000.

While collecting checks from the media, Dole also hit the jackpot with the gambling industry.

Nevada residents have given at least \$410,000 this year, most of it from casino owners and managers.

Steve Wynn, chairman of Mirage Resorts Inc., was Dole's Las Vegas cheerleader. In the first six months of this year Wynn, his employees and their families gave at least \$80,000, all in \$1,000 contributions. That includes individual \$1,000 checks from Wynn's wife, brother and mother.

In fact, Mirage spokesman said Wynn sponsored a Las Vegas luncheon last summer that netted Dole almost \$500,000.

"We are an extremely politically active company," explained Mirage Vice President Alan Feldman. "Mr. Wynn has been very vocal about his desire to see a change of administrations."

Wynn formerly supported President Clinton but switched after the president proposed a federal casino tax in early 1994.

At other gambling companies: Golden Nugget execs coughed up \$15,000 for Dole; people associated with the Hilton Corp. gave \$9,000; and people associated with Station casino company — which runs a casino near St. Louis and hopes to open a gambling house in Kansas City — gave nearly \$7,000.

In addition, three casino company political action committees pitched in \$15,000.

But casino mavens have nothing on local companies, like Hallmark Cards Inc. and Overland Park's Yellow Corp.

Executives at Hallmark, the company's political committee and members of the Hall family gave Dole's campaign at least \$16,000.

Yellow Corp., the trucking behemoth, used its political action committee to give a total of \$10,000 to two committees backing Dole's presidential bid.

The gifts of Grace

Dole's campaign filings establish

that many of his givers are millionaires; some are billionaires.

But not all.

For every Adele Hall, the doyenne of the Hallmark fortune whose occupation is listed in campaign records as "civic leader," there are dozens of contributors like Grace Spence, who listed her occupation as janitor.

Others identified themselves as bartender, violinist, glass blower, grocery clerk, truckdriver and journalist.

In the third quarter of 1995, Dole listed more than 3,800 contributions of \$25 or less. And he collected more than \$1.4 million in donations of less than \$200. Any contribution of \$200 or more — or multiple contributions adding up to more than \$200 — must be reported to the government.

Spence, 74, was one of the small givers. She's the janitor at the Knotty Pine Cafe of Mount Vernon, Wash., population 17,600.

She's a war widow who rises before dawn each day and spends two hours cleaning up the cafe, a homey joint with a counter that she describes as "nothing fancy."

Money's so tight she doesn't have a telephone.

Even so, last summer she contributed six times to Dole's campaign. None of the gifts exceeded \$33.

"I like the things he talks about, like values," she said. Why does she keep sending him money? Because his campaign asks

for it once a week or so through the mail.

In fact, the solicitations arrive so regularly that, Spence says, "it gets you down after a bit."

Some contributors get a letter, a week. Others say they get a registered letter almost every day. That's the case with Owen Green, 90, a World War II veteran from Minnesota.

Green gave to Dole 10 times last summer. Most gifts were for a scant \$2.

"He hints he wants big money, but I don't give big money," Green said.

Among the more than 15,000 contributions Dole reported during the third quarter, the smallest came from Wichita businesswoman Jo Herdt.

Her gift: a quarter taped to a piece of paper.

She also gave Dole a \$250 contribution, she said. But the quarter was a belated, and special, gift.

Herdt grew up in Dole's hometown of Russell, Kan. When Dole returned after World War II, townsfolk plunked a cigar box on the counter at Dawson's Drugstore. Contributions went to help pay Dole's hospital bills.

"I was such a little kid at the time that I didn't have any money," Herdt recalled. "I ... said, 'When you see Bob next time have him throw that in his cigar box. ... I was just making up for lost time.' Even at \$80,000 a day, each quarter makes a difference."