



Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan
... a leader in the budget battle

By SUZANNE GARMENT
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — The official pronouncers decreed that President Clinton finally had a Good Week, capped by the passage of his budget in the Senate. But more interesting than this cheery news about the president is the fact that much of the news these days is not about the president at all. For the moment, attention has shifted away from the White House. This change in focus is not only a relief to news consumers everywhere but probably a favor to Clinton himself.

The pronouncers are not wrong when they say the president is looking much less green around the gills. His Supreme Court nominee, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, is getting sensational press. Versions of the president's national service and campaign reform plans are moving through Congress. In the Senate Finance Committee, Chairman Daniel P. Moynihan, a New York Democrat, actually managed to get the unanimous Democratic vote he needed to pass the Clinton budget.

In fact Moynihan, not Clinton, has been the leading Democrat in the budget drama. Analysts seem surprised that such a "quirky," "fey" professorial figure could succeed so well at holding the Democrats in line. But Moynihan was in training a long time for the job.

When Moynihan taught at Harvard, some faculty members thought his political background made him a less-than-genuine professor. When he was U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, State Department diplomats insisted he would never be a

Suzanne Garment is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. She is the author of Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics (Times Books).

The president is upstaged by two wily pros

real, honest-to-God ambassador. He proved them all wrong. When he ran for the Senate, the politicos said he would never last as a real candidate. But he and his wife, Liz, dragged themselves through a campaign that, in its early phases, was a living nightmare.

Then they said Moynihan would never be a real, honest-to-God senator. Four elections later, they just knew he could not make tough deals like a true finance committee chairman. But of course he could: He had years of practice in learning to do whatever a new job in government required.

When the budget moved onto the Senate floor, the most compelling figure in the contest became Republican Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas. If Moynihan earned his stripes by slogging through one government rice paddy after another, Dole got his in a tougher arena. He is, by common agreement, one of the senators you would least like to have on the opposite side in a political battle.

That fear stems not just from Dole's aggressiveness as an adversary but from knowledge of where that aggression comes from. It is impossible to look at him, with his stiff arm crooked close against his chest, without remembering how massively his body was shattered during World War II and how awe-inspiring, almost unimaginable, was the physical and mental effort by which he made himself a functioning human being again. This is a man who fears nothing that a mere political opponent can dish out. He has, in a different sense from Moynihan's, run the gamut of experience and emerged a large man.

Dole and Moynihan are years older than the new president, and those particular years divide the generations in U.S. politics. The two senators were adults when President Kennedy was killed, while Clinton was a boy who had, not long before, shaken Kennedy's hand in the Rose Garden. Clinton's life

looks simple when compared with the complexity of Dole's or Moynihan's career and temperament.

The two men and their fellow senators have given us a good budget fight. The White House has been reduced to playing a supporting role, hoping only to get some budget — any budget — through the Senate so that it can try to exercise more influence in the conference between Senate and House. The debate has been a highly public, extremely partisan one; the Democratic version of the budget was bound to pass, but both sides know they are struggling in the broader arena of U.S. public opinion over the larger question of which party is more fit to govern.

Dole, for his part, has tackled the issue as he might have been expected to do. He championed deficit reduction before Clinton was politically sentient and retained a stubborn concern for deficit reduction even in the heyday of the devil-may-care GOP supply-siders. Dole is barred by current Republican strategy from acquiescing in either Clinton's tax increases or a massive raid on the Pentagon. The only solution is broad spending cuts — which the Republican budget plan did propose.

Moynihan's performance was more complicated. He is no enthusiast for taxes and he knows better than most the perils of entrusting large spending decisions to government. But he also knows how uncertain the effects of any government action are — whether it is a new tax or a new social program.

Far more certain is the disaster that would befall the Democrats if they were to be seen as incapable of taking at least apparent control of the country's affairs. Moynihan is intermittently faithful to liberal policies, but he remains loyal to the old liberal idea of a national government that actually governs. It was for this principle, not for any particular tax philosophy, that his finance committee performance was a victory.



Sen. Bob Dole
... got his stripes in a tougher arena

This Republican-Democratic battle has been far different from the controversies that characterized the news coming out of the administration in the past months. From the White House, the news was internal — who's up, who's down, who made what decision, what's the current state of play. It was news of court politics. It was based on gossip and was almost sure to veer off periodically, as it did, into trivialization and sensationalism.

By contrast, we are now getting an earful about spending caps versus targeted cuts and freezes; the rhetoric of taxing the rich versus the argument for maximizing investment, and the debate over what the country is going to need in the next years in the way of defense.

This is not scintillating stuff. But after the stream of scandal that has poured out of the White House, a good glass of water is a nice change.

Since Clinton took office and began to falter, there has been a lot of talk about how important his success is to the country and what a calamity it would be were he to fail. David R. Gergen, an adviser to Ronald Reagan and a speechwriter for Richard Nixon, was persuaded to join Democrat Clinton's staff because, as Gergen said, it was so important to the nation that there not be another "failed presidency."

This is a responsible statement. But maybe it does not matter whether we have a failed presidency; perhaps what matters is whether we have a failed government. For government to succeed, it is not necessary that the president be its policy command center and sole locus of personal power. This country has other resources among its elected federal officials. It may be that Clinton's best chance for success lies in recognizing this, making the most of it and giving up on the vision of a personalistic presidency dominating the American political universe.

THE WICHITA EAGLE Monday, July 5, 1993

Reforms may seal Dole's GOP war chest

By Tom Webb
Eagle Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — Kansas Republicans, who have enjoyed huge sums of campaign money funneled into state races courtesy of Sen. Bob Dole, may soon find that the spigot has been shut off.

A campaign-reform bill passed by the U.S. Senate would prohibit most political action committees run by congressional leaders. And that would shut down Dole's own PAC, Campaign America.

In the 1992 election, Dole's PAC reported \$140,750 in direct contributions to Kansas Republican groups and individual Republicans running for the state legislature.

"It was devastating to us," said Robert Swanson, executive director of the Kansas Democratic Party. "The amount of money that Bob Dole funneled to Kansas through Campaign America was enormous. ... Typically that money has nothing to do with Kansas."

From the Republican perspective, "He's been very generous to us, there's no doubt about that," said Steve Brown, executive



Dole

director of the Kansas Republican Party. But if the Dole money stops, "we're not going to close our doors," Brown said.

Although Dole voted against the Senate's campaign-finance-reform bill, he does support a ban on all PAC contributions — and that would include his own, said spokesman Walt Riker.

But until such a law is passed, Dole's spirited efforts to aid Kansas Republicans is legal.

"He's the No. 1 Republican in Kansas, and he takes that responsibility very seriously," Riker said. "The Democrats have big advantages when it comes to labor PACs and labor contributions that pour into their

campaigns, and if Sen. Dole can offset that somewhat, so much the better."

Dole's Campaign America PAC essentially acts as a middleman, taking money from wealthy individuals and conservative PACs around the country and dispensing it to Republicans in Kansas and elsewhere. In the 1991-92 election cycle, Dole's PAC took in \$1.4 million and spent \$1.8 million on expenses and contributions.

Dole is hardly alone in doing this. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash., are among the high-profile

lawmakers who have similar PACs. Contributions to Dole's PAC are limited to \$5,000. Among the contributors: billionaire oilman Philip Anschutz and PACs from agribusiness giant Archer-Daniels-Midland, Boeing and the National Rifle Association.

After the money flows to Campaign America, Dole redirects it to Republicans he supports. Campaign laws limit the size of each contribution, so Dole's PAC spreads the money around.

The reports show 29 Kansas Senate candidates and 21 Kansas House candidates received donations of at least \$1,000. An additional 38 Kansas Republicans took in \$500 from Dole's political action committee. Three Kansas Republican groups collected \$5,000 apiece; three others took in at least \$1,000.

Those sums can matter a great deal in small Kansas House and Senate districts, where a typical House race costs less than \$10,000.

One thing that galls Kansas Democrats is that national money ends up hurting their local candidates.

"It's out-of-state money. It's not money that would normally be given to Kansas candidates, except that someone gave it because Bob Dole asked them," Swanson said. "And he's funneling it legally through his account to help candidates in Kansas who would not normally get the money."

Replies Riker of Dole's office, "They're jealous and envious, and it's hypocritical. The money that's pouring in from big labor organizations are comprised of huge out-of-state money, union money, and they're more than happy to use it."

Despite the money he gives to Kansas Republicans, most of Dole's PAC money actually goes to Republicans running for Congress. In the past two years, he gave \$377,236 to 33 Republican candidates for Senate and 49 Republicans running for the House.

One of Congress's most vocal advocates of banning so-called leadership PACs is Rep. Mike Synar, an Oklahoma Democrat.

"They've been abused to promote individual members' careers, and I think that that has to be stopped," Synar said. "People who can potentially run for leadership positions use those PACs to benefit members, so there's an allegiance there. It's done to get access, or to promote access, and to promote friendships."

Maybe that's how politics works, but Synar indicated that public officials ought to be working in the public interest, not their own.

"People are giving money for the wrong reasons," Synar says. "Isn't that what we are trying to get at with campaign-finance reform?"

8 Saturday, July 10, 1993

The Salina Journal

Dole blasts Perot, urges supporters to back the GOP

By The Associated Press
CHICAGO — Senate Republican leader Bob Dole labeled Ross Perot a "walking soundbite" Friday, yet beseeched the Texan's supporters to join the GOP fold and vent their fury at Congress by expelling Democrats in 1994.

While taking time in a speech and later news conference to poke at Perot, Dole told the Republican National Committee the GOP's future depended heavily on winning back the Republicans who deserted the party to support the Dallas billionaire.

Dole also renewed his sharp, familiar criticism of President Clinton's economic plan as tax-heavy and told the GOP leaders the party could block Clinton's agenda if it picks up seven Senate seats next year to regain the majority.

"We'll turn off the lights. We'll set the agenda," Dole said. "We'll cut the Clinton term in half if we have 51 votes."

Dole's tweaks at Perot included a prediction that 1992's surprising independent candidate would fare poorly if he ran in 1996 as a Republican — a race likely to include Dole himself.

"I don't think in the Republican Party he would win primaries," Dole said.

Citing a new poll by a Democratic group showing that the majority of Perot's support came from Republican ranks and that anger at Congress was the single-biggest factor in their alienation, Dole offered this entreaty to Perot's army:

"Keep in mind one thing: the Democrats have controlled the Congress almost completely for the past four decades. Give us the opportunity to govern ... and if we don't change things in four to eight years, then kick us out."



The Associated Press
Bob Dole said Republicans share much of Ross Perot's agenda.

Dole said Republicans shared much of the Perot agenda: support for deficit reduction, a line-item veto and a balanced-budget amendment. But in citing areas where Republicans and Perot supporters have common ground, Dole still said it would "be very difficult" for the GOP to win the defections back. And he couldn't resist aiming a few barbs at Perot himself.

"I know he likes what he is doing and he's pretty good at it," Dole said of Perot, who has since winning 19 percent in the presidential race has pledged to turn his organization into a powerful national political force. "He is a walking soundbite."

At his meeting with reporters, Dole said Perot had it easy — using his high media profile to offer folksy descriptions of the nation's problems without being in an elected position to be accountable.

"I want to hear the solutions," Dole said.

THE WICHITA EAGLE Thursday, July 8, 1993

Highest of Washington profiles: 'sit down and shut up' Dole shirt

By Tom Webb
Eagle Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — Here's the latest fashion statement for frustrated Democrats: the \$13.99 anti-Sen. Bob Dole T-shirt.

T-shirt shops in Washington are starting to stock the new creation, featuring the in-your-face slogan, "Dole, sit down and shut up!"

"I've had two people asking about it today, and I think it will do well," said Jose Rodriguez, owner of the Politically Correct shop in Washington, who just ordered a dozen. "We carry like 50 different shirts here, and for people to come in and ask for a shirt we don't even carry is kind of surprising."

The Dole T-shirt was created

by a small Washington company called Infrastructure USA. Owner Phil Corrigan said he printed the shirt after growing weary of the Kansas Republican's attacks on President Clinton.

"I have a very optimistic view on things, built around people working together, and I just got tired of all the negative bashing of everybody," Corrigan said. "I wish this man would stop it. He's not doing anything positive."

Dole's spokesman, Walt Riker, replied that Dole "was elected (Senate Republican) leader to stand up for party principles and reflect the views of the people of Kansas."

Dole hasn't seen the T-shirt yet, but Riker quipped, "It again demonstrates that 'Bob Dole is

creating more business opportunities than President Clinton with his tax agenda."

Most T-shirt shops, particularly in Washington, have long peddled T-shirts that poke fun at the president — whether that's Bill Clinton, George Bush or Ronald Reagan. Even Rodriguez's liberal shop stocks a T-shirt featuring Clinton playing the saxophone and the slogan, "Taxaphone."

But it's rare indeed that a Senate minority leader becomes prominent enough to appear on a T-shirt, a backhanded compliment to Dole's new role as the voice of the Republican Party.

Said Riker, "I can't remember the last time any Senate leader was on a T-shirt."