

## ■ CAPITOL HILL

# The Shadow President

For Bob Dole, the health-care battle is the first primary in his own campaign for the White House

By LAURENCE I. BARRETT WASHINGTON

IN WASHINGTON GAMES OF GOOD COP-bad cop, Bob Dole often plays the heavy. But last week a different Dole was on display. While some of his Republican colleagues were busy blasting Bill Clinton's domestic agenda to pieces, the Senate minority leader gave every appearance of struggling to put things back together again. On health care, Dole asked, "Why aren't we sitting together? Why don't we make a list of all the things we agree on?" Later, when an angry Clinton blamed C.O.P. partisanship for sinking the crime bill, Dole declared that "playing the blame game won't get us anywhere" and faxed a letter of ostensible compromise to the President as he flew on Air Force One. Who is this statesman-like, conciliatory character in the body of Dole?

As chief of the opposition in Congress, he is instinctively pugnacious and frequently savages the Administration when it suits him. But a likely presidential candidate cannot appear blindly partisan on all issues. Ask Dole if he wants to run for President, and he answers with typical drollery, "Every country ought to have one." He coyly points out that he's making some preparations—just in case. But ask Dole if he really wants to be President, and the whimsy fades. "It's something that I think I could do, that I'd be willing to do, that I'd hoped to do," he told TIME. Yet all that, he added immediately, "doesn't get you there."

Dole certainly works as if he wants to get there. He has put his supporters on alert for a national campaign. Most weekends he travels on behalf of C.O.P. candidates, raising money for them while raising his own banner among influential party centrions. He has high hopes that in this year's elections, Republicans will gain several Senate seats. "Seven More in '94" is our slogan," he chirps. Winning those seats would give him a promotion: to majority leader. That would make Dole even more the Republican shadow president.

In running for the real job, his first primary-like test is his performance in leading

his party's charge against the health-care plan devised by majority leader George Mitchell and endorsed by the President. While ideologues on the right wanted to oppose any expansive health-care legislation, Dole fretted about being tarred as an obstructionist. But with Democrats in turmoil on the issue and the Clintons' propos-



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al junked, Dole gained more freedom to make peace with his colleagues.

While he originally endorsed a scheme by Republican liberal John Chafee, the minority leader now sees that plan as bad politics because it would require individuals to provide their own coverage. Instead, Dole has crafted his own health-care plan, a spare model based on changes in insurance practices and subsidies for the working poor. Forty of the Senate's 44 Republicans promptly signed on; party conservatives praised him for rescuing the C.O.P. health-care initiative. As he campaigns for C.O.P. candidates, Dole promises

voters that if nothing passes in 1994 and if they send more Republicans to Congress, "we'll give you a good bill next year that doesn't put bureaucrats between you and your doctor."

On the road, Dole comes across as a much happier warrior than in the grim corridors of the Capitol. "My mother-in-law," he observes wryly, "tells me that I should smile more." He has good reason now. Though Dole turned 71 last month, chance has provided another pass at the prize he first sought in 1980. After he lost the nomination to George Bush in 1988, Dole recalls, he concluded that it "was probably the end. It seemed to me that that was my best shot." But serving as Senate C.O.P. leader under a Democratic President has allowed him to regain stature and visibility as his party's top gun.

But run for President? Dole candidly acknowledges that even if he decided not to seek the presidency, it would be advantageous for him to carry on the tease. For one thing, it helps as he campaigns and raises money for this year's crop of C.O.P. candidates. "People will turn out to see what this guy [who might run in 1996] is like."

The minority leader has been known to muse on what a Dole Cabinet might be like. But he will not say whether he will run—not now anyway. He knows there are reasons for not running. Many Republicans believe '96 should be the time for generational change. Dole's potential rivals for the nomination are all considerably younger. Furthermore, the party's right wing—despite Dole's current success in the health-care fight—remains chary of him. "I'm not the darling of everyone on the right," he says. So he makes occasional concessions. Despite original misgivings, he endorsed Oliver North's Senate candidacy in Virginia, the result of a convention dominated by ultraconservatives. John Warner, Virginia's C.O.P. Senator and a Dole ally, has disavowed North and is backing a rival.

Most of Dole's political pals believe that, in the end, he will make the run for the White House—probably for the reason cited by Wyoming's Alan Simpson, the C.O.P. deputy leader in the Senate. Says Simpson: "I think he'll do it—very much in the spirit of competition. He's a lover of politics as a contact sport." And Dole is ever ready with the teaser. "I do a lot of traveling," he likes to say. "I've been to California, New Hampshire, Ohio, New Hampshire, Iowa, New Hampshire."

—With reporting by Julie Johnson/Washington

TIME, AUGUST 22, 1994

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The Salina Journal Thursday, August 25, 1994

## Democrats fighting GOP to free crime bill

### Republicans ask for additional provisions

By CAROLYN SKORNECK

The Associated Press

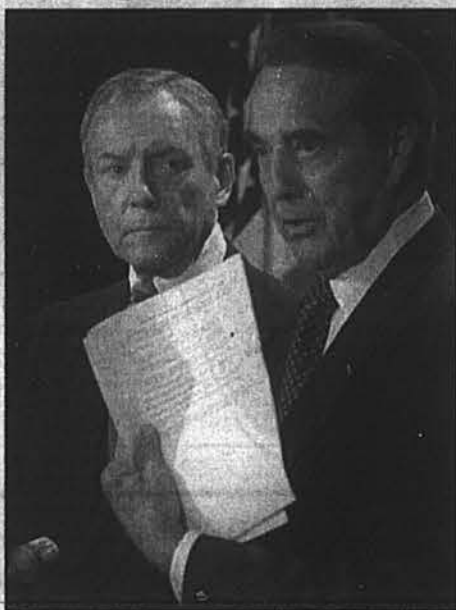
WASHINGTON — Senate Democratic leaders struggled Wednesday to pass the \$30 billion crime bill, saying it was being "held hostage" by Republicans who appeared to be amassing enough votes to block its progress.

President Clinton, meanwhile, exhorted lawmakers to "put away the excuses" for inaction.

"All we want is to vote on the crime bill," said Majority Leader George Mitchell after Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole proposed votes on a series of amendments to the bill that the House also would have to approve. The Senate could not vote until the House acts.

"It appears to be a continuation of an effort to kill the crime bill by indefinite delay," Mitchell, the Maine Democrat, said, suggesting that the House would reject some amendments and add new ones, including one to strip out the ban on assault-style firearms.

"We don't want the crime bill held hostage to a list of other amendments. We want to free the crime bill," he added.



Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, with Sen. Orrin Hatch, holds a list of proposed Republican amendments to the crime bill Wednesday.

Meanwhile, several senators vowed to fight on.

"We're going to win or we're going to go down with our colors flying," said Republican Sen. Trent Lott of Mississippi. "We're not going to get rolled."

"All we are asking is that some of these provisions we fought hard for on the floor be given consideration by the House and put back in," argued Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah.

Republicans have complained that a House-Senate compromise bill now before the Senate bears little resemblance to a form of the legislation that passed the chamber 95-4 last November. They have threatened to use a procedural maneuver to stop the measure.

Democrats have said that GOP charges of "pork" spending are disingenuous and have said the bill contains the kinds of crime-fighting programs that law enforcement officers want.

The big question was which party had the votes to work its will. The existing crime bill was passed by the House 235-195 on Sunday, with 46 Republicans supporting it.

Mitchell, D-Maine, told colleagues: "It's clear a substantial majority of the Senate would support the bill." But he also said he did not know if enough Republicans would join the Democrats to block a GOP procedural move. The so-called "point of order" on a budgetary question relating to the bill would, if successful, undo the package that had been negotiated in the House.

But Republicans, too, were hedging their bets.

When Dole was asked if he had the 41

votes needed to uphold the procedural challenge, he said, "I hope I have. I think I have."

Crime bill supporters would need 60 votes to turn back the challenge.

If the compromise bill passed by the House on Sunday is reopened immediately for GOP amendments, it would have the effect of sabotaging the legislation. Changes would require the House to take up the bill again.

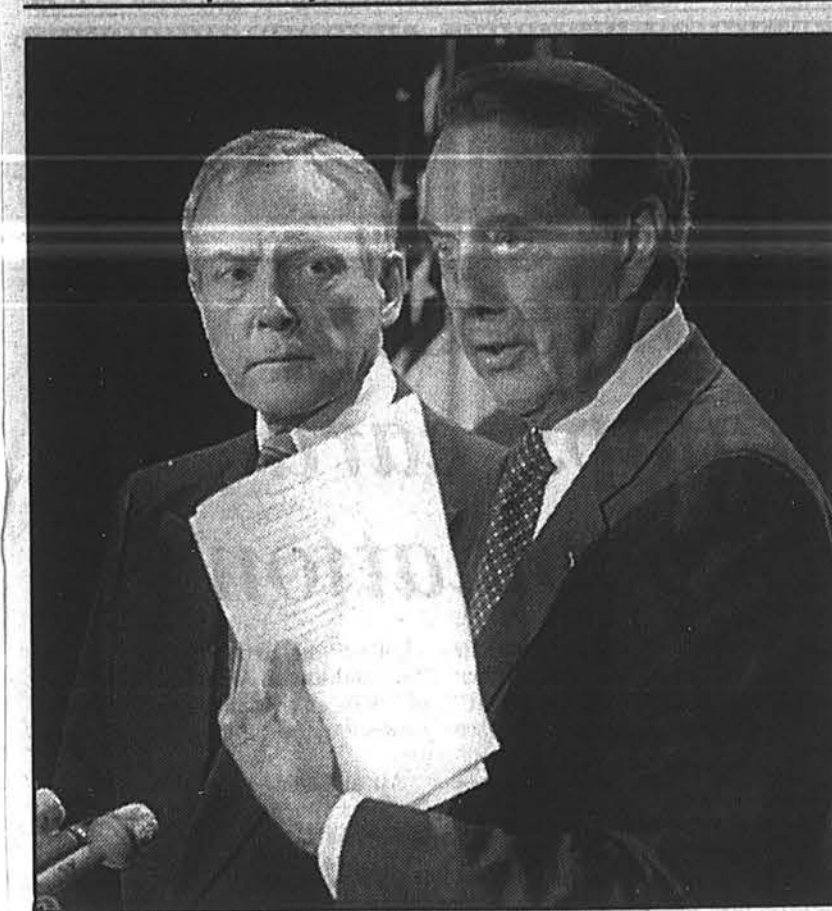
The bill would, among other things, set up a federal-state-local partnership aimed at placing an additional 100,000 police officers on the streets. It would require life sentences for some third-time felons and would expand the federal death penalty to cover more than 60 crimes.

Dole used the threat of the procedural move to pursue his tug-of-war with Mitchell. He asked Mitchell to allow votes on 10 amendments to the crime bill.

Conspicuous by its absence from this GOP wish list was any language attempting to remove the crime bill's proposed ban on assault-style weapons. Nevertheless, many of the amendments were politically attractive and involved items that had been approved overwhelmingly by the Senate last November.

"If they want to vote against all these things, welcome to it," Dole said.

8-A The Topeka Capital-Journal, Thursday, August 25, 1994



—The Associated Press

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., held a list of proposed amendments to the crime bill at a news conference Wednesday. He was accompanied by Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah.

## Leaders in Senate struggle to resolve crime bill stalemate

By CAROLYN SKORNECK

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Senate Democratic leaders struggled Wednesday to pass the \$30 billion crime bill, saying it was being "held hostage" by Republicans who appeared to be amassing enough votes to block its progress.

President Clinton, meanwhile, exhorted lawmakers to "put away the excuses" for inaction.

"All we want is to vote on the crime bill," said Majority Leader George Mitchell after Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole proposed votes on a series of amendments to the bill that the House also would have to approve, opening the way for possibly further changes to the bill in the House.

If the bill goes back to the House, Democrats fear the ban on assault weapons would be jeopardized. The House approved the ban by a slender two-vote margin last May and could kill it this time.

"It appears to be a continuation of an effort to kill the crime bill by indefinite delay," Mitchell, the Maine Democrat, said, suggesting that the House would reject some amendments and add new ones, including one to strip out the ban on assault-style firearms.

"We don't want the crime bill held hostage to a list of other amendments. We want to free the crime bill," he added.

Meanwhile, several senators vowed to fight on.

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Republicans have complained that a House-Senate compromise bill now before the Senate bears little resemblance to a form of the legislation that passed the chamber 95-4 last November. To thwart the measure, they have threatened to use a procedural maneuver that needs just 41 votes to succeed. The Senate has 44 Republicans.

Democrats have said that GOP charges of "pork" spending are disingenuous and have said the measure contains the very kinds of crime-fighting programs that law enforcement officers want.

For his part, President Clinton kept up the pressure from the White House.

"This bill is centrist and bipartisan to its very bone," he told members of the International Convention of B'nai B'rith in Chicago via satellite. "It's time to put away the excuses, the blame and the politics and join forces and pass this crime bill now."

But on the Senate floor, and in the cloakrooms, offices and corridors, the principal question was which party, Democrat or Republican, had the votes to work its will. The existing crime bill was passed by the House 235-195 on Sunday, with 46 Republicans supporting it.

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Hutchinson News Sunday, August 28, 1994 Page 3

## Dole: Scaled-down version of health reform still a prospect

The Associated Press  
KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Chances of passing a massive health-care reform measure in the Congress this year are "pretty bleak," Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole said Saturday, but a scaled-down version still could win approval.

"There's a chance we can still get something done" if Democrats are willing to look at an incremental plan, Dole said during a brief news conference at the Downtown Airport. "There are about 20 items that every Democrat and Republican agree on."

Dole has put forward a plan that contains subsidies and insurance reforms designed to help

people who can't afford coverage or can't get it because of pre-existing conditions.

The Kansas Republican also mentioned the plight of Jennifer Lucas, an 8-year-old Independence girl who was born with a heart ailment. The girl wrote a letter about her family's insurance problems to President Clinton. He and Hillary Rodham Clinton both referred to her plight during their visit to Independence last month, and at other stops while stumping for health care reform.

The girl's family cannot get health coverage for her because of the pre-existing condition. They have amassed about \$20,000 in bills they cannot pay. A recent story in The Kansas City Star said the family had hoped the media attention would help increase contributions to a trust fund, but they said that had not been the case.

"I sent her some money," Dole said. "She was kind of abandoned" after the initial crush of news coverage, he said.

The family could not be reached Saturday afternoon to confirm Dole's contribution.

Dole also said the crime bill passed by the Senate on Thursday was too expensive, and he called his Kansas colleague's vote in favor of it "a mistake."

"I was very disappointed with the vote," of Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, Dole said.

Kassebaum's vote for the crime bill won't affect the relationship between her and Dole, he said.

"My view as the leader is you don't look at the last vote, you look at the next vote. I think it was a mistake, but there will be another vote as soon as we get back."

"You don't cut off anyone at the knees because they disagree with you," he said.

The Salina Journal Saturday, August 27, 1994

## Kansas should receive \$236 million from bill

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Kansas share of the crime bill passed by Congress amounts to nearly \$236 million over six years, including \$110 million to hire 1,200 police officers, found a Senate analysis.

Meanwhile, Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum's office was bombarded with hundreds of telephone callers irate over her decision to vote for the bill and its ban on 19 assault-type weapons.

"We're hearing from people all over the country who are very, very, very strongly against," said Kassebaum spokesman Joel Bacon. "They are very nasty."

Kassebaum was one of six Republicans who voted with 55 Democrats to pass the bill Thursday night. GOP Leader Bob Dole voted against the bill.

Besides the 1,200 police officers, a Senate Judiciary Committee analysis indicates Kansas could get \$68 million in prison grants,



Dole Kassebaum

\$11.1 million for other law enforcement, \$10 million for drug courts and \$2 million for judges, prosecutors and public defenders.

Kansas also stands to receive more than \$34.7 million through the year 2004 for prevention programs such as midnight basketball and anti-gang efforts, inner-city economic development and prison drug treatment.

Kansas and its cities can also apply for shares of millions of dollars in grants for economic development, recreation and aid to poverty-stricken urban areas.