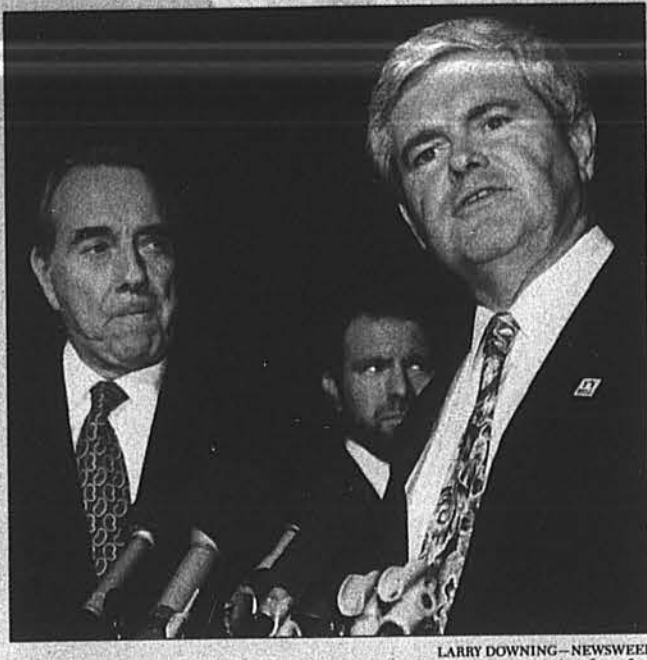


## Newt's Next Challenge: What About Bob?

IT WOULD BE SIMPLE for Newt Gingrich if he only had to worry about Bill Clinton. But after winning control of the House last November, Newt told his inner circle the next target in the conservative revolution was someone else: "Now we have to destroy Bob Dole." Insiders say he was joking, of course. But Dole and Gingrich have long been political allies who don't like each other very much, and trust each other even less. And Dole isn't quite mollified by assurances that Newt isn't running for president. Two weeks ago, NEWSWEEK has learned, Dole associates began calling Democrats who have nasty files on Newt, preparing an opposition research dossier on the speaker, just in case.

The differences between Newt and Dole are more than personal: they represent competing visions of what it means to be a Republican leader. Newt sees politics as an outside game of vilifying Democrats and "educating" average citizens. Dole sees politics as an inside game of making deals and getting laws passed. Newt's people think Dole's operation is too moderate and "doesn't get" the need for radically shrinking govern-



Competing visions: The speaker and the Senate majority leader don't like each other—but need each other now

ment. (The current American Spectator savages Dole's office, overseen by chief of staff Sheila Burke, as "relentlessly feminist.") Dole's people see Newt's people as immature school kids who are misguided, badly intentioned and could marginalize the party by alienating mainstream voters. "And Newt's in the fifth grade," says

one GOP insider close to Dole. Now they need each other as they try to reconcile the House and Senate plans to balance the budget by 2002—so they have forged a fragile détente. At one recent brainstorming session, Newt told advisers he had to "run things by Dole" before they proceeded—and he kept his word. Dole, meanwhile, knows that it's Newt's

ideas that are stirring GOP hearts, so he must move Newt's way to win the nomination. Dole also realizes that the more voters get to know Newt, the more Dole looks statesmanlike by comparison.

Just kidding: The strains between them still show. Last week, as they began private budget talks in Newt's office with GOP Chairman Haley Barbour, they needed each other—in fun. Dole had gently criticized the lame soft-porn prose in Newt's upcoming novel, "1945." Newt held up the New York Post headline about the razzing—DOLE RIPS NEWT'S SEXY NOVEL—and teased back. "You're helping your political campaign," Newt said, "and helping me sell books."

The budget talks were polite but settled nothing. Newt said he'd like to have \$260 billion in tax cuts. The Senate calls for \$170 billion in cuts, and Dole told Newt that was only one issue—they also have to honor the Senate's commitment to defer the tax cuts until real progress is made in balancing the budget. "It's going to be a train wreck," one GOP senator predicted. But Newt and Dole do agree on one thing: they have to forge a deal that will pass both houses—or they'll both lose credibility.

THOMAS ROSENSTIEL

## GOP's ideological cross fire pins down welfare reform

Los Angeles Times/Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans are so deeply divided over welfare reform that it might be difficult for them to pass any legislation on this key GOP issue, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole said Sunday.

After moving easily through the House and three Senate committees, welfare reform is trapped in a Republican ideological and regional cross fire that threatens to delay and perhaps even scuttle one of the most prominent elements of the Republican legislative agenda.

In recent days a major conflict has developed within Republican ranks over the formula for dividing federal welfare money among the states.

"And if we get into a big formula fight, it's going to be very difficult to pass any welfare bill," Dole said Sunday on CBS's "Face the Nation." Senate Republicans engaged in what some participants described as

heated debates over welfare reform during a caucus last week and floor action on the issue was then postponed.

Dole said Sunday, "We have a working group now trying to come to — you know, bring everybody together on the Republican side," but he did not say when he expected welfare reform to come up for a vote.

The formula fight pits representatives of Sun Belt states with high population growth against those from Northern and Midwestern states with stable or declining populations. Other battles are being fought between Republicans who place a premium on using welfare reforms to engineer social changes such as a decrease in teen pregnancy and those whose first priority is reducing rulemaking by the federal government.

Altogether, the Senate's difficulty in handling welfare reform illuminates a greater variety of priorities and allegiances among congressional Republicans than was apparent when the House charged through the GOP's Contract With America last spring. Welfare reform was one of the key elements of the contract.

"The hot-button issues here are the formula (for allocating money among the states) and the number of restrictions to put on the states in spending it," Sen. Kay Bailey

Hutchinson, R-Texas, said last week. "We are far from consensus at this point."

The House passed a welfare bill in March that would turn poverty programs over to the states with lump sum payments, or block grants, to pay for them. Governors would be required to meet strict work requirements and to deny benefits to teenage mothers and for additional children born to women receiving welfare. Many of the restrictions are designed to reduce the number of children born out of wedlock.

The Senate Finance Committee passed a bill last month that drops all restrictions except the work requirements, leaving it up to states to determine who should receive assistance and at what level. The Senate Agriculture Committee and Labor and Human Resources Committee also have speedily moved legislation designed to be incorporated into a welfare reform bill on the floor.

Under both the House bill and the version approved by the Senate Finance Committee, block grant payments would be frozen for five years with each state receiving the same amount it did in 1994. Many Northern states pay far higher welfare benefits than states in the Sun Belt and West, and therefore have been receiving more matching federal money.



Dole

The Topeka Capital-Journal Wednesday, June 21, 1995 / 5A

## Dole foundation returning funds

By R.H. MELTON  
The Washington Post

WASHINGTON — A conservative think tank founded two years ago by Sen. Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., to assist his political aspirations will return what's left of the more than \$4.6 million it collected from major American companies and wealthy individuals, a senior officer of the organization said Tuesday.

The 86 donors to the Better America Foundation constitute a virtual Who's Who of corporate America and include 19 contributors who gave \$100,000 each. Donors on the list, obtained by the Washington Post, ranged from Mesa Inc., whose chairman, T. Boone Pickens, is a finance vice chairman of Dole's presidential campaign, to New York billionaire Ronald O. Perelman, whose \$250,000 contribution was the largest.

Neal S. McCoy, one of four directors of the foundation, said Tuesday in response to questions that in addition to returning roughly \$2.5 million, Better America will publicly release the donor list and give a full accounting of the organization's spending since it was founded in early 1993.

"We didn't want it to obscure issues in the campaign," McCoy said. As a tax-exempt foundation, Better America had operated outside the campaign-finance laws regulating federal elections.

Dole, the GOP's leading presidential candidate, shut down the organization two weeks ago after Democrats and others complained he was using it for activities promoting himself, including a fund-raising brochure

with his picture, a poll asking voters which issues mattered to them, and a television commercial in which he starred.

The money was raised without the restrictions that normally apply to political organizations and campaigns. There were no limits on the size of the gifts, no donor was disclosed to the Federal Election Commission and corporations weren't banned from giving, as they are in the case of presidential candidates.

The contributors reached by telephone Tuesday said they admired Dole as a politician and as an individual, adding in most cases that it was only natural that by supporting GOP causes they would one day help the man himself.

Most were unaware Dole had ordered Better America to close its doors this month, and no one asked for money back, as some foundation critics have urged. Most of the donors reached said they had been asked to give by Dole staff, mutual friends, and in one case by Dole himself.

"I wanted to help the party and to help him, and that's what he suggested I do," said Virgil Lair, of Piqua, Kan., who owns nine banks in Kansas and first helped Dole when he ran for Congress in 1980. Lair's wife, Mary Alice, is a member of the Republican National Committee.

Richard Fink, a senior vice president of Koch Industries, an energy giant and one of the largest companies in Kansas, wouldn't confirm that the firm had given \$225,000, but he did say there had been a corporate gift to Better America.

"We don't consider ourselves Republican or Democrat," said Fink, adding that when he met with Better America executive director Jim Whittinghill, he "pitched me on a balanced budget-fiscal responsibility-free trade message."

David Koch, an executive vice president of the company, is a vice chairman of Dole's campaign. "We are thrilled with his leadership," Fink said of Dole. "There's a lot of good feeling and loyalty there."

## Dole group offered donors a 'loophole'

Kansas City Star

WASHINGTON — Scores of Sen. Bob Dole's political donors, many of whom have millions of dollars riding on legislation, side-stepped federal contribution limits by giving large sums of money to a private political foundation controlled by the Senate majority leader.

Dole, who agreed to make the Better America Foundation's secret donor list public earlier this week, has supported much of the legislation backed by the foundation contributors. At times he personally pushed proposals that would benefit them.

Among the contributors were top executives for entertainment and

telecommunications companies, such as Time Warner Inc. and Telecommunications Inc. They stand to profit greatly from the passage of a Senate bill last week that effectively would scrap federal regulation of cable television.

"From regulatory reform to environmental legislation, I think you will find that a lot of people on this

list had a financial stake in these bills," said Gene Kimmelman of Consumers Union, a consumer advocacy group.

Dole spokesman Clarkson Hine dismissed the criticism.

"Senator Dole's positions in the Senate have absolutely nothing to do with contributions to the Better America Foundation," Hine said.

The Topeka Capital-Journal  
Tuesday, June 20, 1995 / 3A

## Dole tells Foster he'll bring up nomination

By JILL LAWRENCE  
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Dr. Henry Foster won assurances from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole on Monday that his nomination as surgeon general will be brought before the full Senate.

But the embattled nominee still faces a likely filibuster.

Dole, R-Kan., said he and Foster had a "very frank discussion" that lasted 30 to 40 minutes.

Though he still opposes the nomination, "I told Dr. Foster we would try to work out some procedure on the Senate floor," Dole told the Senate.

Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, and other conservatives have promised to filibuster the Foster nomination. Dole said he would permit two attempts to cut that off; it takes 60 votes to do so.

Dole didn't disclose any information on timing. He did say he would meet today with Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., to work out an arrangement.

Senate Democrats said they anticipated a vote within the next two weeks on the fate of the obstetrician-gynecologist, best known for a program discouraging pregnancy, violence and drug abuse among inner-city Nashville, Tenn., teen-agers.

Foster's nomination has been stalled for months as senators have argued over his record of performing abortions and White House handling of the nomination. GOP presidential politics, dominated by competition between Dole and Gramm for the loyalties of social conservatives, also have been a factor.

The Salina Journal Saturday, June 24, 1995

## Dole captures Round No. 1 in GOP battle

Swift votes on Foster nomination show Kansan in control of Senate

By JOHN KING

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — If, as Democrats complain, the Senate has become the site of the first Republican presidential primary, then Bob Dole is the clear early leader. And Phil Gramm is a man having trouble finding his niche.

With deft maneuvering in the debates over tax cuts and President Clinton's choice for surgeon general, Dole reinforced his position as the more agile candidate in the battle of the senators who would be president.

"Gramm has had a terrible few months," said Scott Reed,

Dole's campaign manager. "There has been none of the disciplined, focused Gramm that everybody has heard about."

But he's hardly impartial. And Gramm says not to worry about him.

"Every time that there's a story of the death of my campaign, it means somebody at some point is going to have to write a story of a resurrection," he said. "The truth is the campaign is not dying."

Indeed, with seven months to go before the first votes are cast, it's far too soon to say whether Dole's apparent tactical edge will hold up. Gramm, for all his troubles, is still the fundraising leader among the GOP candidates. He is building respectable organizations in important early primary states.

Nonetheless, there is a sense of urgency these days at the Gramm campaign. Charles Black, a veteran of the Reagan and Bush presidential campaigns who has been advising Gramm, has been asked by the senator to take a much more active day-to-day role, and there is talk of a broader shakeup.

If the campaign is struggling, it is in no small part because of Dole's maneuverings in the Senate and on the campaign trail. In engineering the defeat of Dr. Henry Foster's nomination for surgeon general with two swift votes Wednesday and Thursday, Dole stole from Gramm some of the thunder the Texan had hoped to get from staging a filibuster.



Sen. Bob Dole was able to trump Sen. Phil Gramm's opposition to the surgeon general nomination by staging quick votes.

The Salina Journal A4 Saturday, June 24, 1995

## Editorial Opinion

### Dole Suck-up Watch 7

Senator wins first GOP primary

Oh, what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to suck up.

OK, so it doesn't rhyme. This isn't Sir Walter Scott, and Bob Dole sure as heck ain't Lochinvar.

As he seeks the Republican presidential nomination, the senior senator from Kansas has been forced into an increasingly embarrassing set of concessions to the party's aggressively retrograde right wing.

He has made nice to traitors like Oliver North, pretended that abortion is of primary interest to him as a leader and hinted that government should take action to limit tasteless expression from Hollywood and on the Internet.

But if there is anything Dole does stand proud of, it is his duty and ability as majority leader of the Senate. Regardless of ideology or the buzz issues of any moment, getting that lumbering institution to do anything useful requires a set of skills that Dole rightly thinks should count in his favor.

Getting those two missions to jibe in handling the controversial nomination of Dr. Henry Foster as surgeon general looked like a tough job. But, after some initial fumbling, it looks as though Dole pulled it off.

Killing the nomination was, of course, disgraceful. Foster was eminently qualified for the post and his experience on the front lines of medi-

cine — including his teen-age pregnancy prevention programs and, admittedly, abortion — is a big part of what makes him so qualified.

The issue was the fact that the nomination had turned into the first GOP primary of the 1996 campaign, and the enemy was presidential rival Sen. Phil Gramm.

Dole needed the nomination killed, or he would be in big trouble with the Christian right that has so much muscle in the party's nominating process.

Even Dole's announcement that he would allow the Foster nomination to come to the Senate floor drew a heated fax from Right to Life of Kansas, one that accused Dole of turning his back on the movement and that anointed Gramm as the new real champion of the true believers.

But because there were not the votes to defeat the nomination outright, the only way to stop it would be to have it filibustered to death.

And a long filibuster would not only give a lot of exposure to Gramm, it would also bog down Senate business for weeks or months, undermining Dole's claim to be an effective leader.

Dole split the difference and came out a winner. Gramm was allowed to filibuster, but only for two days, and Dole still drew most of the attention.

Dole gave Foster supporters two chances to break the filibuster and, when they failed, he was able to credibly claim that the nomination was dead and move on to other business.

On the campaign trail, he will be able to claim not only that the nomination died, but that he killed it, even though a majority of the Senate supported Foster's confirmation.

And they call the president slick.



Dole

## Let them know

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