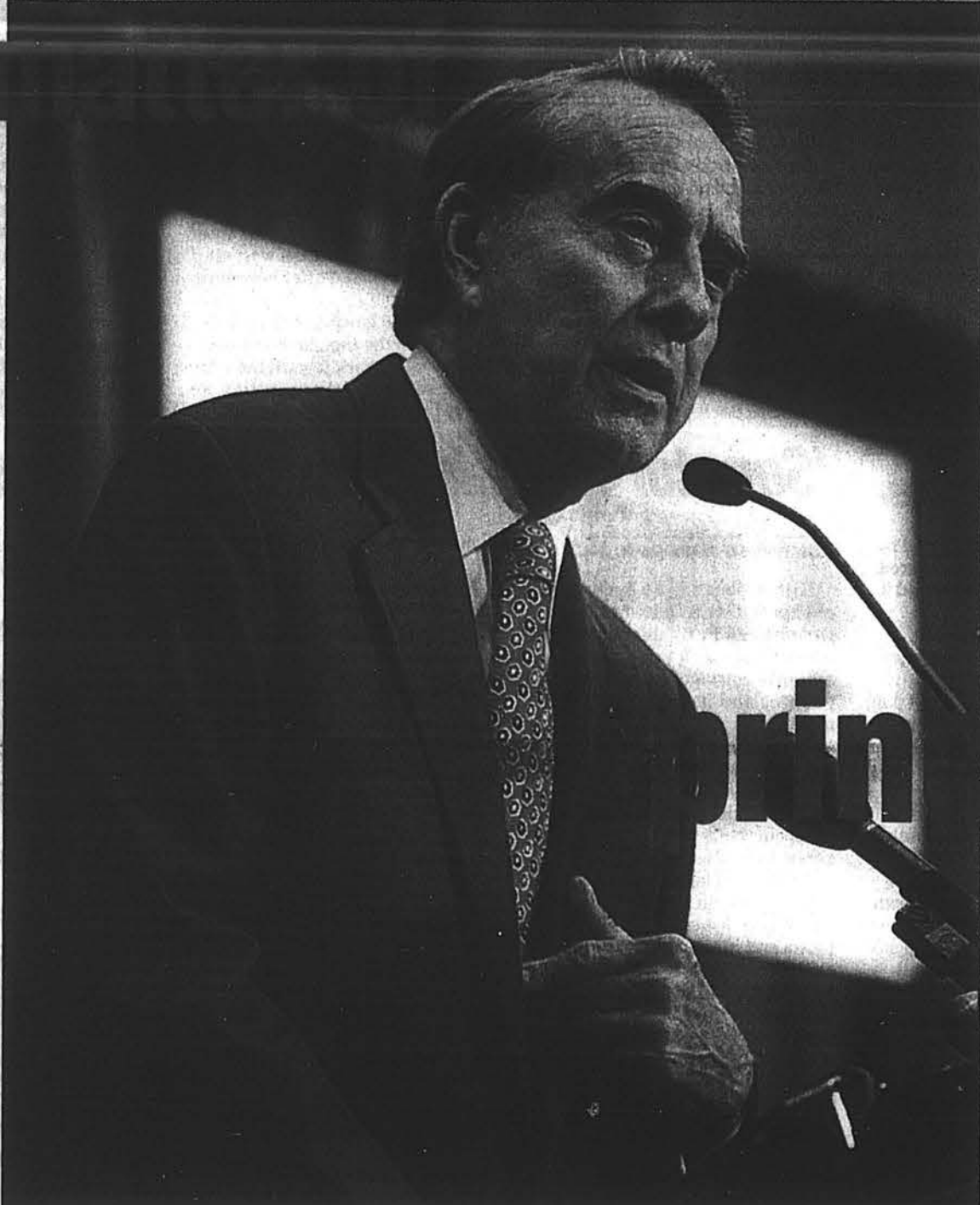


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Sen. Bob Dole is accused of recasting his views to gain favor with the Republican Party's conservative wing.

Principle

Stories by Mark Sommer The Capital-Journal

Republican presidential candidate Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., at a forum on national security last week in Washington.

They say what goes around comes around. Sen. Bob Dole has criticized President Clinton for lacking political conviction. Now the Kansas senator is hearing similar criticism. As Dole campaigns for the Republican presidential nomination, he is increasingly seen to be pandering to the party's far right, notably its Christian conservatives, in order to secure their support. While members of that wing of the party may be in the numerical minority, they have proven to vote out of proportion in the all-important party caucuses and primaries. Dole campaign spokesmen have defended his changes in political stances on such issues as affirmative action and gun control by saying they're merely an evolution of his positions. They say Dole only embraces positions he firmly believes in. Dole critics, however, say the 72-year-old senator's change in positions is an example of how far one will sacrifice principle for political expedi-

ency. They say it demonstrates the extent to which Dole, who has been running for president or vice president for at least the past 20 years, covets the highest office in the land. They look to the following as examples: **Affirmative action:** In 1988, Dole supported affirmative action in federal contracts, and sponsored a bill that created the Glass Ceiling Commission. In the mid-1990s, he even helped a minority staffer get a \$26 million concession contract at Fort Riley through the Small Business Administration's minority set-aside program. Dole now calls for an end to affirmative action programs. **Gun control:** In 1991, Dole voted for a version of the Brady Bill, and two years earlier said he would support a ban on assault weapons. This past spring, speaking before the National Rifle Association's annual convention, he denounced the assault weapons ban and spoke out against other forms of gun control. **Gays:** In March of this year, Dole told the New York Times that although he still hadn't

made a judgment on lifting the ban on gays in the military, he thought they shouldn't be discriminated against. Last month, Dole returned a political contribution from a group of gay Republicans — a thinly veiled attempt, some observers said, to court added favor with his party's right wing. **Taxes:** Dole supported and voted for the 1990 budget deal that raised a net of \$137 billion in new taxes over five years, which broke President Bush's campaign pledge of "Read my lips. No new taxes." This prompted Rep. Newt Gingrich to call Dole "the tax collector for the welfare state." Dole now adamantly opposes raising taxes, and signed a pledge promising not to do so in New Hampshire, site of the first presidential primary and the only state without an income tax. **Reaganomics:** Although Dole played an

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Dole suggests Senate may opt for smaller tax cut

By JIM ABRAMS The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, expressing surprise at the opposition of some Republican conservatives, said Sunday he might have to give ground on the GOP plan to cut taxes by \$245 billion. "There's been some indications even from conservative Republicans that maybe we shouldn't try to go all the way to \$245 billion," Dole, R-Kan., said on CBS' "Face the Nation." "Will it be \$245 billion? I'm not certain at this point." But House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., speaking on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," noted Dole and other Senate leaders had voted for the \$245 billion cut.

think the Senate frankly is honor bound to deliver on it." Gingrich said it would be "virtually impossible" to win House approval of a smaller cut. The tax reduction plan, a cornerstone of House Republicans' "Contract With America," has been hammered by Democrats who say Republicans are proposing cuts that mainly benefit the well-off at the same time they are slashing social programs and promoting steep cuts in the growth of Medicare and Medicaid. That argument got some support last week when three Republican members on the Senate Finance Committee, Orrin Hatch of Utah, Alan Simpson of Wyoming and

Dole: Senate may cut taxes less

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Alfonse D'Amato of New York, all expressed skepticism about the wisdom of cutting taxes while Congress was struggling to balance the budget. Hatch predicted the tax cut would never happen, and D'Amato said he would prefer dealing with Medicare and Medicaid reform without "this business of tax cuts." Dole said he was "hearing from a lot of sources on the Republican side, and not just those who've said from the start that they thought it was too much, but others who frankly I'm a little surprised by." "For the time being," he said, the \$245 billion cut will remain his goal. "We'll see what happens."

Medicare growth by \$270 billion over seven years. Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., told NBC's "Meet the Press" that "to pay for a tax cut for the wealthy out of a pool of resources for Medicare is wrong." The Senate from the beginning has been less enthusiastic than the House about tax cuts. House Republicans originally sought in the range of \$350 billion in cuts over the seven-year period in which they hope to balance the budget. The Senate Finance Committee, however, talked about a cut of about \$170 billion, and then only after it was certain the federal government was on its way to a balanced budget. House Republican freshman Rep. David McIntosh of Indiana, responding to Dole's statement, said he would urge other freshmen to oppose any effort to shrink the tax cut. "I cannot participate in and will strongly oppose a betrayal of our solemn pledge to provide tax relief for all Americans."

To pay for a tax cut for the wealthy out of a pool of resources for Medicare is wrong. — Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle

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A matter of principle: Dole faces accusations of changing his positions for political gain

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important role in steering President Reagan's economic policies through the Senate in the 1980s, he was also at times critical of supply-side economic theory. In the May 1989 *Conservative Digest*, Dole said, "The good news is that a bus full of supply-side economists went off a cliff. The bad news is that there were three empty seats." Dole is now a late convert to supply-side economics. Some national political commentators have drawn a connection to Dole's change in positions with what Bush once referred to as "the vision thing." When asked to articulate why he wants to be president, Dole has appeared to be stuck beyond saying he believes he is the best qualified and most tested among the candidates. In a new introduction to "Bob Dole," a book that was originally published in 1992 under the title, "What It Takes," Dole was asked by author Richard Ben Cramer about the first thing he wanted to do if elected president. "Haven't thought... If I get elected, at my age, you know... I'm not going anywhere. It's not an agenda."

"I'm just gonna serve my country," he was quoted as answering. He recalled conservative commentator Robert Novak's remark that "He freezes when somebody asks him for his vision of America or his agenda for the future." Joseph Unekis, associate professor of political science at Kansas State University, said Dole is in a difficult position within the Republican Party, and has little choice but to move to the right. "He basically now has to appeal to a narrow band of very active Republicans, or otherwise he doesn't have a chance to make a broader appeal," Unekis said. "What he's doing reflects a pragmatic, practical politician who has been in the game for 35 years. Politics is the art of compromise, and so successful politicians, to a large degree, tell people what they want to hear. Certainly, on some major issues, he has to hold to some principles." Mei Kahn, professor of political science at Wichita State University, agreed that Dole cannot afford to appear moderate on issues until he can win the nomination.

"I think Dole revealed some time ago that he is following the advice of Nixon, which is that you run to the right in order to secure the nomination. When you secure the nomination, then you run to the center, where the great bulk of the American people are located. I do think he is creating possible problems in the general election." Taking exception with the view that Dole has moved further right politically is Kim Wells, state chairman of the Dole For President Committee, and a former chairman of the state Republican Party. "I really think it is one of the most overblown clichés of the Dole campaign this time around," Wells said. "I don't think there is any position that he has taken that is at odds with anything he has taken previously. I think the press and his opponents have tried to make some of the positions he has taken this campaign seem like changes, but, except for a couple of issues where he has evolved, I don't think they have changed. Everything is just magnified more when you are a leading candidate for president. Perception is everything

in politics, so his opponents will try to make the most of everything they can, but I don't think anyone who has known Bob Dole will think he is any different than when he was starting out." Dole is hardly alone when it comes to politicians who are perceived by the public to say one thing and then do another. Like Dole, California Gov. Pete Wilson was a strong proponent of affirmative action. Now he has taken a 360 degree turn and is using his position to bolster his appeal with the party's right wing. Clinton is also no stranger to charges that he has staked out positions because they were what some constituents wanted to hear. Candidate Clinton, for instance, supported a middle class tax cut, derided Bush's decision to turn away fleeing Haitians, and called for intervention in the Bosnian war, all positions he reversed after becoming president. If Dole is moving to the political right with the thought he can seamlessly move back toward the center after securing the nomination, he may be making a miscalculation, sug-

gested Burdett Loomis, a professor of political science at the University of Kansas. "What's funny about Dole and the pandering notion is that here's a guy with 35 years in the U.S. Congress, the guy who has established a long, long track record, a fairly conservative but not crazy record that emphasizes some government programs as well as free enterprise. You wonder if anyone — whether his traditional backers or the religious right or independents or Perot supporters — if anyone really believes that Bob Dole has somehow become a militant social conservative. "Dole is looking not to get out-righted," said Loomis. "For Kansas, it makes a lot of people feel uneasy, especially the moderate wing of the Republican Party, seeing their guy who they think should win on the merits going around the country pandering." While Dole may be hoping he can win the nomination and then moderate his views, Loomis said, it's a high-risk strategy. Besides, he said, those on the far-right can see through Dole's intentions.

Lynn Shaw, executive director of the Kansas Democratic Party, said there is more at issue than winning or losing. "I think there's a question here about the courage of one's convictions," Shaw said. "I think it's real clear to everyone that his goal is to be the nominee and whatever it takes he's willing to do. I think it's almost sad that he is at an age when he could be a statesman, and instead I think ambition has taken over."

Dole, Specter rule over Senate

For a time this week, the two senators from the Senate floor.

WASHINGTON — For a few minutes this week the U.S. Senate's business was conducted solely by senators from Russell, Kan. Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter and Kansas Sen. Bob Dole, both Republican presidential candidates from Russell, found themselves alone on the Senate floor about 6 p.m. Wednesday. Specter said he thought this was the first time this has happened in his 15 years of being a senator. "I hope everyone in Russell, Kansas, who has C-SPAN 2 is watching this proceeding," Specter said on the floor Wednesday. "This is a full Russell, Kansas, delegation now on the floor conducting the Senate business." Specter added that if Russell High School does not yet have a course in Senate procedure, he hopes it does "very, very promptly."

said that perhaps he and Dole could nominate Alice Mills to teach the course. Mills is the only remaining teacher who taught both Specter and Dole. Dole also hoped people in Russell were watching. He said while their hometown is small, there are a lot of good people there. "They are friends of both of ours," Dole said. "They are having great difficulties sorting out all this 1996 presidential politics in Russell, Kansas." To that Specter responded, "That is the most encouraging thing I have heard today."

Video shows Dole as American hero

By Scripps Howard News Service WASHINGTON — Bob Dole's presidential campaign Tuesday released its official video, an emotional biography that shows the GOP presidential front-runner rising from near-dead war hero to national leader.

Campaign officials said that 85,000 copies of the video had been made and would be sent to various states to raise money and, the campaign hopes, win over undecided voters. The 13-minute video cost the campaign about \$60,000, plus \$1.26 a tape, for an approximate total cost of \$167,100.

"Down the road we may look into putting it on cable (TV)," said campaign spokeswoman Natalie Kirschner. The biography is titled "Bob Dole: An American Hero" and features Dole and his wife Elizabeth. It begins by recounting how his family was so poor when he was a child that they had to live in the basement of their home and rent out the upstairs to make ends meet. "His story really is an American story, triumph over adversity," says the announcer. Dole spent two years in veterans' hospitals and had nine operations to partially repair wounds he suffered in the last month of World War II. While the video shows an emaciated Dole strapped into a hospital bed, an announcer

says: "No one really thought he would live, but young 2nd Lt. Bob Dole refused to give up. Then, no one ever thought he would walk again." Then Elizabeth Dole, head of the American Red Cross and a former Cabinet member, looks into the camera and says: "Bob was paralyzed for a year. He went away to war a star athlete, 190 pounds of muscle, and came back 120 pounds. Some said he would never get out of bed." Later in the video, Elizabeth Dole recounts how when she took Dole home to meet her family, her future husband sought out her mother and apologized for the fact that his war wounds constituted a liability. "It's a badge of honor," Elizabeth Dole quotes her mother as responding.



Dole

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