

# Bob Dole

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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*I'm enclosing some  
information that may  
be of interest to you.  
We'll keep in touch,*

*Bob Dole*



# Los Angeles Times

## *If You Dance With Kadafi on Chemical Arms, Kiss the American Market Goodby*

By BOB DOLE

Every day, step by step, Libya's lunatic leader, Moammar Kadafi, comes closer and closer to producing chemical weapons and perfecting the means to deliver them over long distances. If he gets there—and he might well, not in years but in months—we've got a new and deadly ball game in the Middle East.

And Kadafi is not the only problem. Iraq not only has but has used chemical weapons in its war with Iran. Iran and Syria are hellbent on developing their own chemical weapons capability. And other Third World nations are moving in the same direction.

The evil genie is already out of the bottle. There may still be time to get him back in there, but only if we act now.

We've got the right overall policy. Our aim is to eliminate chemical weapons entirely. In fact, we've been reducing our own stockpiles of chemical weapons for years. The Soviets have now said they will start destroying theirs, too. I hope so. But let's make sure this offer is not just a sham, designed to get us to halt production of the newer, safer binary chemical weapons that we have developed to help offset the massive Soviet stockpiles and production lines. We have to make sure the world—allies and adversaries alike—understand this bottom line: The United States is prepared to agree to the destruction of all of our chemical weapons when the Soviets are ready to sign a binding, worldwide, verifiable agreement to ban all such weapons.

But even as we try to negotiate this global ban, more and more nations seek to acquire chemical weapons. We're trying to stop them by pushing the adoption of a major international agreement to control the export of technology and equipment. We made some progress on

that score recently at the Paris conference on chemical weapons. That must remain a top priority. But we also have to face facts: We're not going to have a good agreement for many months, perhaps years.

We can't just sit back and wait for that day. We have to act now, with every bit of leverage we have. If Kadafi takes that last step and starts producing chemical weapons, we should make clear our determination to do whatever is necessary to deny him the opportunity to use his deadly new toys.

And we have to do one other thing. According to many reports, Japanese and West European firms, in a sickening pursuit of the almighty dollar, or yen, or deutsche mark, are helping Kadafi and his crowd produce chemical weapons or develop the means to deliver them. No firm that knowingly engages in that kind of reckless activity deserves the right to profit from the American market. That's why Sens. Jake Garn, John Heinz and others from both parties have joined me in introducing legislation that states this sound and simple proposition: If you deal with the likes of Kadafi on chemical weapons, you can kiss the American market goodby.

Specifically, the bill requires the President to investigate and report on any firms engaged in such activity, and then bans all such firms from selling their products in America or contracting with our government anywhere in the world for many years.

Do we have the right to take such action? You bet we do. Our security interests, our allies and friends, the lives of American citizens, they're all at stake. Do we need to take such action? We have to. If we don't, who will? And finally, do we need to act now? We had better. Because one of these tomorrows, it may be too late.

*Bob Dole is the Senate minority leader.*



# The Washington Post

Bob Dole

## We Do Want Campaign Reform

Senate Republicans are back again this year hoping to break through the Democrats' stone wall to pass real and meaningful campaign finance reform.

What's that? *Republicans* want campaign reform and *Democrats* are blocking it?

Considering the two years of distorted media coverage of this issue—and the Democrats' own clever strategy—it is understandable that some Americans might have been misled into believing Democrats are the only ones concerned about campaign spending. But they aren't. We Republicans are serious about reform, and we are determined to bring grass-roots politics back to the campaign scene.

The truth is that Republicans helped get the reform ball rolling back in the 99th Congress, and we continued that fight through the 100th. Yet despite the avalanche of political action committee dollars pouring into incumbents' campaign coffers, despite the almost perfect reelection rate for congressional incumbents, the tons of back-door contributions rolling in from big labor and other special interests for both parties and the alarming national decline in voter interest—despite all this, true campaign reform is still on hold.

Last year the Democratic majority in the Senate never gave our campaign reform bill a fair hearing in committee or on the floor of the Senate. It did, however, give us eight take-it-or-leave-it opportunities to vote for *their* bill—the one that asks the taxpayers to help pick up the tab for House and Senate campaigns. We said no eight times.

Still, the media hung the "blocking reform" headline on us. "Reform" does have a nice ring to it, but it would be a good idea to read the fine print before deciding what is being reformed in this case and what is being protected. The fact is that the Democratic legislation boils down to an incumbency protection plan. Democrats are the majority on Capitol Hill, and they aim to keep it that way.

Consider that under the current system, incumbents enjoy some huge advantages over challengers, not the least of which are a paid professional staff, instant access to the media, impressive fund-raising potential and the franking privilege, which got an incredible \$180-million-dollar shot in the arm from Senate Democrats last year.

A recent Common Cause study of the 1988 congressional races showed that incumbents also enjoyed a lavish 7-to-1 edge in PAC contributions. Republicans learned the hard way in 1988 that PAC directors shovel their dough to incumbents, regardless of a member's party, ideology or voting record.

Is it any wonder, then, that incumbents racked up an impressive 98.5 percent reelection rate last year? The

Democrats' campaign spending plan would leave this comfortable situation virtually intact.

PACs were designed to give individuals the opportunity to participate in the political process. We believe that individual PAC contributors should have some control over where their dollars are going. With new legislation, we can give them the option of earmarking their contributions for specific candidates or parties.

Republicans and Democrats are rightly concerned about soaring campaign spending, but the Democrats' call for spending limits would be just one more attractive benefit in the incumbency protection plan. With limits in place, a challenger has almost no chance of offsetting the incumbents' advantages. If challengers can't buy the TV time they need, they are in deep trouble. In areas where Republicans are outregistered four or five to one—in the South, for example—our candidates might as well pack it in.

Sens. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) have joined me in a new attempt to address some of these campaign problems. The key is shifting the influence away from the special interests.

We take them on by slashing PAC contributions from \$5,000 to \$1,000 per candidate per election; by closing the "millionaire's loophole," which helps a wealthy individual to buy himself a congressional seat, and by demanding full disclosure of "soft money" contributions: those high-dollar "get-out-the-vote" schemes that labor uses to boost its candidates.

Our plan encourages more grass-roots participation by boosting individual contributions to \$2,000 per candidate per election and by raising the cap for party contributions to its own candidates. Heftier donations from the party could help give challengers, struggling to build a credible campaign, a nest egg free of special interests and obligations.

During the past eight years, TV advertising costs have tripled; they are now eating up about 60 percent of an average campaign's total resources. If you are looking for the campaign money vacuum, this is it. That's why we want to give presidential and congressional candidates access to discount TV time 45 days before a primary and 60 days before a general election.

Let's be clear: Republicans are ready for campaign reform—but not of the kind that would make us a permanent minority.

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*The writer, a Republican senator from Kansas, is Senate minority leader.*



# The New York Times

## No Vengeance Against Wright

By Bob Dole

WASHINGTON  
Dick Cheney, whose nomination will sail through the Senate in about an hour, is just what we need at the Pentagon. He is an experienced, tough professional who won't be intimidated by defense contractors, Congress or the Soviets.

Come to think of it, so was John Tower. But he's heading back to Texas.

The Tower battle is over. Nevertheless, it has given Congress, the White House and the media plenty to think about and more than enough to second guess.

In fact, a few moments after the Senate rejected the Tower nomination, I was asked on the CBS Evening News if the episode was "going into

*Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, is the Senate minority leader.*

the memory banks." I said yes.

Some clarification is in order.

Does this mean Republicans are readying a counterattack? Are we out for revenge? Absolutely not. That's not what the Senate is about. We've had plenty of pitched battles before, but we always move on.

Let's face it, though. The debate was intense, emotional, exhausting and partisan. As the Republican leader, I was determined to set the record straight. With the help of many other senators, the Administration — and John Tower and his courageous family — some progress was made despite the leaks, character assaults and nightly news nuggets.

For example, phone calls and letters to my Kansas and Washington offices early on were almost unanimously against Mr. Tower. Once he went public to answer his critics and to make a dramatic pledge about his alleged drinking habits — and as the Senate debate proceeded — public opinion swung in his favor. I am still receiving dozens of letters complain-

ing about how unfairly John Tower was treated.

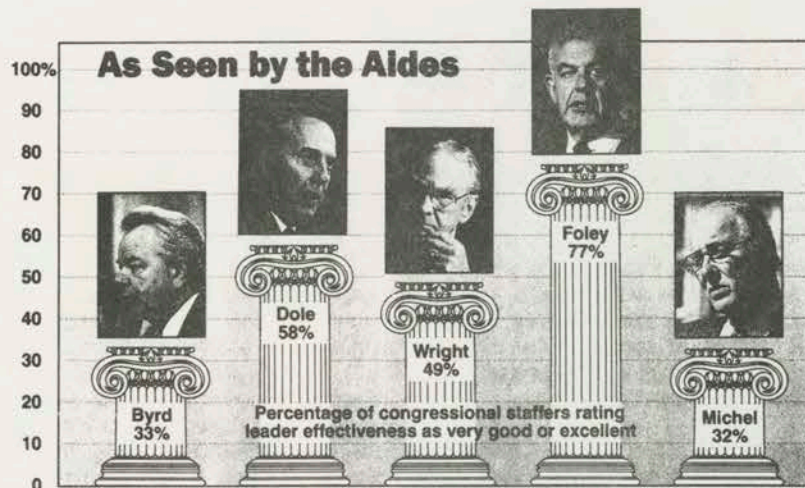
Of course, all the letters in the world are no match for an F.B.I. file of nameless accusers and malicious gossip, a reported "secret file" shown to wavering senators or a nomination process gone haywire.

But the battle is over.

However, there is one spin coming out of the Tower ordeal that should be corrected. The Tower affair should have no bearing on the investigation of Jim Wright, the House majority leader. John Tower should not become some kind of rallying cry for a wave of vengeance on the House side. It is a different ball game, different players and a most different case. Speaker Wright should not be prejudged or forced to measure up to some artificial standard. He has every right to expect fairness from his colleagues, regardless of their party.

Let's cool all this talk of vengeance. As I know John Tower would be the first to say, let justice prevail. □

## Dole, Foley Rated Two Most Effective



Majority Leader Thomas S. Foley was rated the most effective House leader of 1988 in a recent survey of top congressional aides, while Minority Leader Robert Dole was deemed the most effective Senate leader. Senior staff also rated Dole of Kansas and Foley of Washington as the most respected members of their chambers.

Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, then the Senate majority leader, was second to Dole in effectiveness last year; new Majority Leader George J. Mitchell of Maine was second to Dole in the most respected category. House Speaker Jim Wright of Texas, for the second year in a row, came immediately after Foley in respect and effectiveness.

For the survey, conducted annually by public relations and lobbying firm Fleishman-Hillard Inc., top aides in 372 of the 535 congressional offices were polled on a variety of questions. The aides rated the staff of the tax writing Senate Finance and House Ways and Means committees as the most effective committee staffs. Says Tom Buckmaster, a senior vice president at Fleishman-Hillard: "What we're seeing is that the senior staff on Capitol Hill continue to see their role grow in importance and influence." The firm began the study four years ago "to take a clear-eyed look at the guys who really make the process go and get a pretty sound assessment of where their heads were."





# Dole fights hard for Bush's man

## In Tower's defense

Excerpts from Sen. Bob Dole's last-ditch effort to win John Tower's nomination:

### FAIRNESS OF CHARGES

"John Tower doesn't know today the extent of the charges, and even a common criminal is entitled to know the real nature of the charges against him."

### FAIRNESS OF OPPONENTS

"I just heard a senator on the floor say (Tower) hasn't proved (himself) beyond a reasonable doubt. I didn't know we had a criminal trial going on here."

### TOWER'S ALOOFNESS

"I was never close to John Tower; not many people were. That may be one of the problems."

### TOWER AND OTHER SENATORS

"There are members of this body who have not seen John Tower except on television, never shaken his hand, never looked him in the eye, never heard him speak, never saw him in person."



USA TODAY photo via C-SPAN

**ON SENATE FLOOR:** Dole during debate on Wednesday

By Bob Minzesheimer  
USA TODAY

Sen. Bob Dole, who fought President Bush for the Republican nomination last year, is battling to the bitter end on behalf of John Tower, Bush's choice for Defense secretary.

"We don't have the votes," Dole, the minority leader from Kansas, conceded to the Senate Wednesday night.

But Dole refused to give up in his first test as Bush's point man in the Senate.

First, he wanted to let Tower answer questions on the Senate floor. Then, Dole asked for a six-month trial period for Tower to prove he can stop drinking — a suggestion likely to be rejected today.

"I know the numbers in this body, 55-45" (Democrats to Republicans) and that only three Democrats will vote for Tower, Dole said, but he pressed on.

"I've been around for a while in politics," he said. "I've seen people fail, I've seen people make mistakes. I've even

seen people with drinking problems. . . . Most people, Republicans and Democrats alike, are willing to give anyone that chance."

A year ago, Dole's presidential bid struggled for a month after devastating Southern losses. On national TV, he demanded that Bush "stop lying about my record."

Now Dole seems to be relishing the Tower battle, demanding, "Where's the fairness? Who's going to be next?"

Forty years ago Dole underwent six operations for World War II wounds. Dole has said that experience — and a right arm that was left virtually useless — shaped him as a person and politician.

Three years ago, before Republicans lost the Senate, Dole, in the midst of a tense debate, snapped, "I didn't become majority leader to lose."

As minority leader, he's had to, but not without a fight.



# THE KANSAS CITY STAR.

## Chalk one up for Dole in Tower battle

By Andrew C. Miller

The Star's Washington correspondent

**W**ashington—Sen. Bob Dole could not win confirmation for John Tower last week, but he emerged a big winner in the George Bush loyalty sweepstakes.

A year ago, President Bush and Dole were bitter foes as they scrapped for the Republican presidential nomination.

Now many veteran Republicans say Dole's hard work as the party's Senate leader on the Tower nomination went a long way toward healing rifts with Bush.

"If there are any winners in this terrible episode, Bob Dole is one of the few," said Republican Sen. Jack Danforth of Missouri, who backed Tower for secretary of defense.

At a time when Dole's strength was being measured carefully by fellow legislators, he took the lead and allowed Bush to keep his own distance from the uglier elements of the Tower fight, veteran Republicans said.

"Dole fought the battle for the administration," Danforth said. "I think that was very good in connection with the relations between the White House and Bob Dole."

Tom Korologos, a longtime Republi-

can lobbyist with ties to Dole, said it helped that Dole and Bush faced a common enemy so early in Bush's term.

"It took a thing like this to drive the two together," said Korologos, who helped the White House lobby this year for two other Cabinet nominees.

With the odds stacked against him, Dole was creative in trying to get Tower confirmed. "It was vintage Dole," Korologos said.

Dole accused the Democrats, who control the Senate 55-45, first of launching the partisan tone. Then he

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suggested that Tower take questions in the Senate. When the Democrats balked, he proposed that Tower take the job on a six-month probationary period.

Those tactics failed and the confirmation vote went 47-53 against Tower.

To some, such as Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, the saga's tone might have been too partisan. But Kassebaum, the lone Republican who opposed Tower, said there will probably be conciliation with Democrats, not more fights.

Danforth agrees: "The tendency is, after any kind of blowup like this, (that) the skies brighten and the sun comes out and it becomes crystal clear for a while."

The Tower confirmation battle occurred during a period of transition for Dole.

Many were watching his actions to determine whether his heart was in the minority leader's job after losing what might have been his last chance at running for president.

Others were watching how Dole would compare to the Democrats' new leader, Sen. George Mitchell of Maine.

The biggest question of all, after the harsh words of last year's campaign, was whether Dole could work well with Bush—or with Bush's top advisers, who included many campaign veterans. At the White House, Dole "was always suspect after the election," Korologos said.

Danforth said Dole's dogged, energetic work to get Tower confirmed "made it clear to all of the Bush loyalists in the administration... that Bob Dole is a

person who is very helpful and is very, very good."

Norman Ornstein, a political scientist with the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, said Dole reaped other dividends.

Dole allowed Bush to stay "above the fray" while Dole promised to take the fight "into the mud-wrestling room," Ornstein said. When Tower lost, Bush's relationships with key Democrats were not sullied, Ornstein said.

"That leaves George Bush extremely grateful to Bob Dole," Ornstein said.

"He (Dole) knew he'd pay a little bit of a price for it in terms of relations with Democrats and relations inside the Senate. But it serves his interest very much in this early battle to have the strong and clear sense that he is an important and necessary and desirable force for the White House."

The Senate battle was captured in a tough exchange last week between Dole and Democratic Sen. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, two senators who have crossed each other's path before.

As the two fought over remarks Dole had made on a television talk show, Hollings complained angrily that Dole had maligned him by accusing him of having made a "vicious" attack on Tower.

"You called him an alcohol abuser," Dole snapped on the Senate floor.

"I did," Hollings retorted. "That's the record."

Dole insisted that the record did not justify the charge: "Where's the fairness in all this? Maybe next time it'll be a Democrat."

Kassebaum said exchanges like those probably would not hurt Dole's ability to work with Democrats. But she suggested that sometimes the Republicans—including Dole—let the debate get too partisan too quickly.

"Clearly he made it a very partisan vote," she said. "That was something that was early on addressed by him, which didn't allow the Democrats much wiggle room."

She acknowledged, however, that the debate had assumed a partisan tone earlier when the Senate Armed Services Committee recommended against Tower's confirmation on a party-line vote. The key vote against Tower was cast by Sen. Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat and committee chairman.

"You can say that by the time Senator Nunn voted, maybe the die was cast," she said. But partisan statements raised the stakes so much that it made it difficult for Democrats to vote for Tower, she said.

Ornstein said Dole's rhetoric probably will not poison his work with Democrats.

He recalls debates in 1970 between Dole and Sen. George McGovern over the Vietnam War. "Those comments made this stuff look like exaggerated courtesy," Ornstein said.

But it didn't stop Dole from working with McGovern on food stamp legislation, Ornstein said.

"The one thing I've noticed about Dole over the years is that he doesn't hold these grudges," Ornstein said. "He'll get as tough as anybody can possibly get. But he's the ultimate pragmatist when it comes to working out coalitions."



# THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

## Line-item veto

Dole maintains the President  
already holds the authority

President Bush, like President Reagan before him, intends to press for the line-item veto, which would allow him to veto objectionable items in congressional appropriations bills without the frequently unacceptable alternative of vetoing the entire bill. But Mr. Bush will pursue that goal without the support of one of his key Capitol Hill lieutenants, Sen. Bob Dole, Senate minority leader.

Senator Dole has sponsored legislation to authorize a presidential line-item veto every year since 1977. But he's not doing so this year because he argues that the president already has the line-item veto.

No one has ever quarreled with a president's right to veto an entire bill. The Constitution declares that "every bill" passed by Congress must go to the president for his approval or rejection.

But constitutional scholars have

pointed out that the Constitution says in another paragraph that "every order, resolution and vote" of Congress must also be presented to the president for his approval or veto.

By drawing a distinction between "bills" and "orders, resolutions and votes," the argument runs, the Constitution was saying that the president could single out for veto specific items of a congressional enactment without vetoing the whole bill.

The distinction is crucial in the light of Congress habit of incorporating questionable spending proposals in legislation that no president can afford to veto.

It is far from certain that the line-item veto would save as much money as President Reagan suspected. But there's no doubting the savings would be hefty.

All that remains is for President Bush to test the Constitution.



## MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

### Dole's valuable idea

HOW CAN George Bush avoid repeating Ronald Reagan's failure to curb congressional spending excesses? A bold but practical suggestion comes from Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan.: Start exercising the line-item veto rather than just talking about it.

As a proposal, the line-item veto is already familiar. The idea is that the president should have the power to strike out individual items in a spending bill, rather than be forced to accept or reject the entire bill as a package. Reagan likes this idea so much that he is still campaigning for it even in retirement. Unquestionably, it would help restore the balance between spending and restraint that Congress disrupted in its 1974 budget "reforms."

One problem: Congress is not likely to enact legislation that would diminish its own powers. But fortunately, says Dole, "such legislation could well be unnecessary, because the Constitution already grants the president line-item veto power."

Dole cites Article I, Section 7, Clause 3: "Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be

repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill."

This language clearly gives a president the same power to veto an "order, resolution or vote" as to veto a "bill." No president has ever exercised this power, but Dole thinks that it includes the option to target specific spending items, since they usually result from separate votes.

The Constitution's framers would probably agree. Back when congressional leaders included James Madison and other authors of our basic law, they appropriated funds in general terms such as "Navy" — letting the executive branch decide the specifics. Today's "omnibus" bills, combining thousands of items in one huge package, were unheard of.

The 1987 "continuing resolution," for example, was 1,194 pages long. It included such favors to special interests as an amendment barring the Corps of Engineers from selling any of its three executive aircraft. President Reagan said that he would have vetoed \$4.3 billion worth of its provisions if he had had the power to do so.

Dole now says that the chief executive already did have that power. The Supreme Court may or may not agree; the only way to find out is for a president to trigger a court case by vetoing a line item. Bush should do just that.