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001. list	re: Senate Strategy [Personally Identifiable Information] [Partial] (1 page)	04/02/1996	b(6)

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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EVENT: Senate Strategy
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FIRST NAME

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AM Senate Struggle, Bjt, 850

Dole's Senate Agenda Brimming With Issues That Appeal to Voters

By DAVID ESPO= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Over the next few weeks, Majority Leader Bob Dole will see to it that the Senate debates constitutional amendments for a balanced budget and term limits as well as bills to expand access to health care, curb immigration and erase deficits.

The voters, says the GOP presidential nominee-in-waiting, should understand that Republicans ``are trying to do things that President Clinton may not agree with but we think they are the right things to do for America.''

Not all the bills on his extensive agenda will pass, as Dole knows. And as was the case last week with a bill banning so-called ``partial birth'' abortions, Republicans hope to maneuver Clinton into vetoing some bills as they bid to depict him as the guardian of liberal Democratic policies.

But if Dole intends to use his polished, front-row Senate desk to advance his own candidacy over the next several weeks, Democrats have significant weapons of their own.

``We'll be watching and responding and, in some cases, speaking regardless of what Senator Dole does,''' said Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota.

Democrats staged their first assault last month when they sought a vote on raising the minimum wage. Dole intervened to thwart their plans, while Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., eagerly provided the political subtext:

``On the day that Bob Dole locks up the Republican nomination, he locks out working families who are looking for a very modest increase'' in their paycheck, said the Massachusetts Democrat.

Democrats will seek to attach a minimum wage increase to immigration legislation pending in the Senate this week. In the weeks ahead, they will try to showcase concern for workers' pensions and preserving Social Security and try to force Republicans to support more funding for education.

Senior White House officials have been meeting recently with a select group of Democratic Senate aides to plan a joint response to Dole's strategy. Administration officials have offered to share with Senate Democrats the party's research on Dole's public comments and his extensive voting record.

To demonstrate his ability to pass legislation, Dole will need the help of Speaker Newt Gingrich and the GOP majority in the House. Gingrich recently proclaimed himself Dole's campaign-year ``junior partner.''' But rank-and-file Republicans will have to overcome their own unhappiness of a year ago, when they found Dole's support for the ``Contract With America'' tepid.

Still, Daschle concedes the Senate gives Dole an ``effective sounding board'' as he pursues the White House.

This week, for example, Dole hopes the Senate will pass legislation expanding access to health care, as Republicans seek accomplishment where Clinton failed in 1994.

Dole and Gingrich hope legislation to crack down on terrorism and curb death row appeals will be cleared for Clinton's signature this week.

The following week, a proposal for term limits will be on floor, and campaign finance legislation is expected later in the year. Both have appeal for voters who supported Ross Perot in the past.

Two other constitutional amendments are expected to come to a vote by the end of April that Republicans hope will underscore their image as the party of lower taxes and less spending. One is the balanced budget amendment that failed a year ago; the other is

a measure to require a super-majority of Congress before taxes are raised.

The tentative schedule calls for the budget to be debated in the Senate the first few days of May. Dole said in an interview over the weekend he hopes to fashion a revised balanced budget that provides tax cuts for families but takes less from Medicare and Medicaid than the plan that Clinton vetoed with

fanfare a year ago.

Clinton has twice vetoed GOP welfare bills, and aides say another measure drafted with the support of GOP governors may be on the Senate floor in June.

``I think that Senator Dole will be proving on a week to week basis ... that he is a doer and that we are getting things done,'' said GOP Senate Whip Trent Lott of Mississippi.

Legislation aside, Whitewater fireworks are expected to continue in the Senate.

And Dole has asked four Senate committees to investigate reports that Clinton secretly approved of Iranian arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslims. ``To me there is something that doesn't smell right,'' he said recently.

Whatever legislation gets to the White House, the struggle won't end there.

When Clinton signed line item veto legislation into law last week a measure that passed because of GOP initiative he staged an Oval Office ceremony in which he made no mention of Dole.

From a distance, Dole sought credit for the GOP.

``The American people want us to rein in Washington spending, and Republican leadership is turning that message into action,'' he said in a written statement that made no mention of the president.

**** filed by:APE(--) on 04/15/96 at 14:31EST ****
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CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

Weekly Report

GOP Once Again
Proposes To Play
Budget Brinkmanship
With White House

Congress Tackles
Health Insurance
With Modest Bills

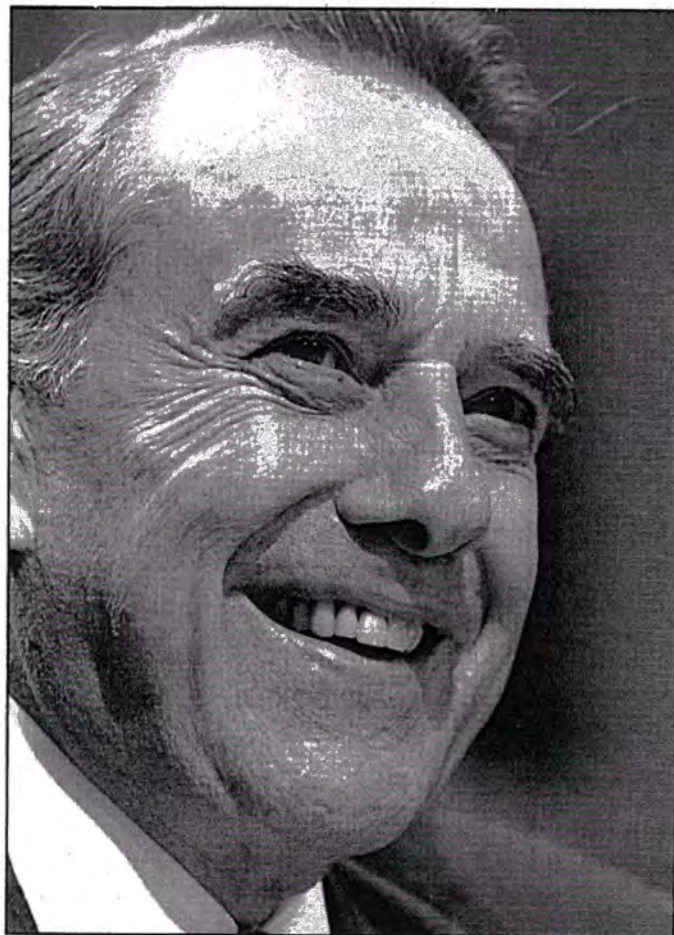
Republicans Blast
Clinton's Plan
For Defense Spending

The Fine Print:
House and Senate
Farm Bills Compared

CQ Roundtable:
Will the House Dance
To Senate's Tune?

The Dole Agenda

Poised To Clinch the GOP Nomination,
Senate Leader Now Must Rally Party



CQ

March 9, 1996 • Volume 54, No. 10 • Pages 593-672

March 18, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS, JOHN HILLEY,
DOUG SOSNIK, and RON KLAIN

SUBJECT: COUNTERING DOLE'S "SENATE FLOOR" STRATEGY

Since clinching the GOP nomination, Senator Dole has indicated that he intends to make the Senate Floor the centerpiece of his campaign strategy until the Convention. While this approach is already being publicly criticized by some Republican strategists (e.g., Phil Gramm, Paul Gigot), Dole seems likely to stick with it, both for financial reasons (it saves money) and psychological ones (it puts him on the turf he is most comfortable). Indeed, last Friday's New York Times -- with its lead regarding Dole's brokering passage of the Line Item Veto -- is an example of how he probably intends to proceed.

Overview

For Dole, this is a strategy that offers both promise and peril.

Dole can potentially use the Senate to show leadership in breaking gridlock, and to establish his moderate credentials in contrast to the radical House Republicans. As we saw in late December, if Dole can engage the President in a cooperative clinch, while Dole's surrogates and backbenchers attack the President, Dole can gain political advantage.

However, the dangers for Dole, too, are great: he assumes responsibility for a diverse and difficult Congressional party, which may put its own political agenda ahead of Dole's (e.g., the recent House GOP action on the Terrorism Bill). And even if Republican Leaders want to deliver for Dole, the House may find itself institutionally incapable of acting in moderation. Most fundamentally, Dole will have elected to conduct his campaign in the single most uncontrollable, unschedulable, unmanagable forum in public life: the U.S. Senate.

The challenge for us is obvious: to seek to turn Dole's own strategy against him, and to make the welcome bosom of the Senate floor as inhospitable to Dole as possible. Indeed, our goal should be to take away Dole's capacity for "offense" in the Senate -- and to force him to invest time and energy into playing "defense" there as well.

As for timing, there is little doubt that the ten-week period from April 15 to July 1st is absolutely critical. Dole's Senate Floor strategy will either lift him significantly in this phase -- or be proven an absolute failure. Thus, whatever we want to do to counter Dole's strategy must be in place before the Senate Easter recess ends, in four weeks.

Objectives

The objectives for our Strategy are straight-forward. In brief, we believe them to be:

- **Insure that no bill is sent to the President unless he wants it sent here.** We want to work with Senator Dole if possible, to produce accomplishments in key areas like the budget, welfare, and health care. But if Dole instead pursues a confrontational approach, we must persuade Senate Democrats to use their filibuster powers to block Dole's ability to force Presidential vetoes -- unless we want the President to make such vetoes. With 40 of 47 Democrats supporting us, we can prevent Dole from forcing unwanted vetoes on the President.
- **Insure that no Dole speech goes un rebutted.** Every speech, every message that Senator Dole tries to launch from the Senate floor should be challenged and rebutted. Whether it is refuting Dole claims of "credit" for "good" things, or Dole attacks on the administration for "bad" things, Dole should not be allowed to turn the Senate floor into his own personal Rose Garden.

- **Insure that no attack on the President or Vice President goes un rebutted.** Similarly, whether from Dole or some other Republican -- House or Senate -- we must make sure that every attack on the President or Vice President gets a rapid and strong response from our allies on Capitol Hill.
- **Force Dole to cast some "bad" votes.** We should employ the Senate's liberal rules -- allowing for unlimited amendments -- to force Senator Dole to cast "bad" votes: against raising the minimum wage, restoring environmental protections, closing tax loopholes on foreign billionaires, and the like. We should consciously pick one or two items each week that we want to force Senator Dole to cast a vote on -- and use the procedural powers of Senate Democrats to force these votes.
- **Force Dole to invest resources into defending himself on the Senate floor:** Finally, in addition to defending ourselves against Dole thrusts on the floor, we should force him to invest time and energy into defending *himself* on that floor. Attacks on Dole's record -- historical and recent, his highly partisan leadership, his track record of moving special interest legislation - - should be regular, requiring Dole to respond.

This strategy depends critically on the exertions of Senate Democrats. ***They must be made to believe that their self-interest is served by implementing our strategy.*** To achieve this, we will doubtlessly have to work with them closely on our message and election strategy -- especially where economic issues are concerned.

Next Steps/Implementation

Proposing all of this is one thing -- making it happen is something else. We would propose the following steps:

1. **Secure internal consensus for this strategy.** This would mean bringing together the senior staff and insuring that they and the outside consultants (Dick Morris, et al.) agree that this makes sense. Moreover, the next two weeks should provide a clearer understanding of the direction that Sen. Dole will be taking in the critical April-June period.

2. **Obtain the approval of the President and the Vice President.** Obviously, this is the next step. This does involve a more conflict-oriented approach to Sen. Dole -- while not ruling out, at all, the possibility of working with him if he wishes to work with us. The President and Vice President would have to be comfortable with such an approach.
3. **Hold a meeting with the key principals from the Hill.** The focus would largely be Senate side, with leadership from Sens. Daschle, Dodd, and Dorgan (Daschle's floor lieutenant), and hopefully the participation of skillful floor combatants such as Breaux, Mikulski, Boxer, Sarbanes, and Bumpers. But we should also get key House Democrats involved as well.
4. **Insure the support of the Senate class of 1996 by talking with their consultants.** Having these Senators on board for this "support the President" strategy can be fostered by meeting with their campaign consultants, and persuading them that what is good for the President is good for their clients.
5. **Establish a staff working mechanism for day-to-day coordination.** Once all key participants have approved this approach, we would need a daily Hill-White House staff mechanism to insure that it is being fully implemented. This would probably entail a morning joint meeting several days a week, and a joint conference call on the other days.

We recommend that you convene a meeting with the key senior staff and strategy consultants to build support for this plan, before it is taken to the President and Vice President.

742-9696
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Experts: What Dole learned in primaries can strengthen his campaign
Eds: With sidebar DOLE-TIPS. Originally moved Wednesday.

By JON FRANDSEN

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON Now that the GOP presidential nomination is firmly in hand, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole can look back at the gantlet he ran in February and know exactly what Nietzsche meant when he wrote: "That which does not kill me makes me stronger."

When Dole was being pummeled in the early primaries, Democrats were chortling and journalists predicting the wounds would make him vulnerable in the fall against President Clinton.

But having survived, Dole has an opportunity not often granted in the unforgiving world of politics learning from your mistakes in the same campaign.

"He still has to address them, but (the primaries) gave him a strong picture of reality and what his weaknesses are. He needs to be aware of them because he won't have (Pat) Buchanan. He'll have Clinton," said Bill Schneider, political analyst with the American Enterprise Institute.

"Perhaps the most important lesson was, 'If you don't define yourself, someone else will,'" said Hugh Winebrenner, professor of public administration at Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa.

"Mr. Buchanan, in particular, and Mr. (Steve) Forbes gave their views of what he stood for. And they were not very charitable. He faces the same problems with President Clinton if he doesn't get about the business of telling the American people about what he stands for," Winebrenner said.

"He needs an agenda. I think he did learn that. He should have learned that Buchanan called to his attention a whole lot of issues out there that people are concerned about that he has to address," Schneider said.

One problem that emerged during the primary campaign his age or the suggestion he's generationally out of tune with the country is likely to stick with Dole, several people warned.

"The thing that might have had a lasting effect ... the one that might best be exploited, is (former Tennessee Gov.) Lamar Alexander's insistence that Dole is too old," said former Rep. Mickey Edwards, R-Okla., who now teaches at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

"Exit polls showed it was an issue," Winebrenner said. "He has to guard against appearing uncertain, forgetful. ... All of us do those things, but it can make someone look older."

Schneider said Dole showed in the primaries he is an adept coalition-builder who won the GOP nomination by forming an "anti-Buchanan coalition. He was able to unite the party around the middle when no one else could. He demonstrated a real skill and now he has to do that with President Clinton."

However, Schneider and others said there are not enough anti-Clinton votes to simply run against the president. That is why Dole would be foolish to not capitalize on the economic issues raised early in the year.

"Steve Forbes and Pat Buchanan may have done a service to our party," said GOP consultant Roger Stone. "They have determined for us that the current economic recovery is very fragile. Clinton will have to run on his record and say, 'This is a great recovery,' but the voters clearly don't feel that way."

GOP consultant Kellyanne Fitzpatrick has just the message for anxious voters, one that Dole has started to enunciate but not loudly and frequently enough, in her view.

"He cannot run this year as a standard-bearer for the modern Republican movement ... without being pro-growth and anti-tax," Fitzpatrick said. "He has to promise the middle class a significant tax cut in the first 100 days."

However, Fitzpatrick and others urged Dole to keep stressing his position

as a party leader and a Washington insider as long as he has an agenda to go with his resume.

``Develop a campaign strategy on the intangible issues: leadership, vision, character, integrity. People care about these intangible attributes. He is the man who can say, 'Trust me,' '' she said.

``He has to really draw the contrast between him and Clinton and to show himself as a world-class leader,' ' Harvard's Edwards said. ``The majority leader of the Senate is a hell of a fine platform to do that from.''

Observers tend to agree that Dole can most effectively use his power by cooperating with Clinton and the Democrats where he can, but underscore differences with them by pushing legislation that Clinton will veto.

``He needs to marshal through legislation, be the conduit between (Speaker) Newt Gingrich's try-everything House and Bill Clinton's do-nothing White House,' ' Fitzpatrick said.

Dole will need help. Clinton and the Democrats will try to paint him and the Republicans, especially the self-proclaimed revolutionaries in the House, as extremists.

``That's the challenge for any Republican in this day and age when the party is being driven so far to the right. The American voter is for the most part a centrist voter,' ' Winebrenner said.

So far this year after a budget showdown with Clinton that backfired on the Republicans Dole ``is trying to show responsible leadership, working out an agreement to keep the government open, and doing it in a way that makes the Republicans look reasonable,' ' Edwards said.

``Every indication is that Newt is going to help him,' ' he added. The House Republicans ``have decided they want to win this presidential election. The revolution cannot survive another four years of Clinton vetoes.''

**** filed by:GN-F(--) on 03/30/96 at 14:03EST ****
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BC-VETO-ANALYSIS:TB national

Election could hinge on Clinton's veto moves rest of year

By William Neikirk

Chicago Tribune

(KRT)

WASHINGTON The presidential race could boil down to the veto.

President Clinton is basing much of his campaign not so much on what he would do if re-elected, but what he would block from a Republican-controlled Congress that he paints as extreme.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., is basing much of his campaign on how he would not stand in the way of a conservative GOP agenda that includes a balanced budget, smaller government and lighter regulation.

"We have two moderates running for president, but you would have two entirely different administrations depending on the outcome," said Stephen Skowronek, a political science professor at Yale University.

"I think Dole would be hard-pressed to veto the stuff coming out of the Republican Congress," he added. "Clinton would veto much of it. You would get a Republican 'Great Society' of legislation."

The two candidates may seem to be close on many issues, from balancing the budget to reforming welfare. The difference, though, is that a Dole administration would wind up with a much more conservative agenda because Congress tilts more sharply to the right than he does.

Dole signaled his intention to depict Clinton as an obstructionist in a speech Thursday to Republican members of Congress. He called the GOP the "reform party."

"The trouble with Clinton (is) he got mixed up," the senator said. "He signed the bad bills and vetoed the good bills. But that won't happen in my administration. I'll sign the good bills and veto the bad bills, and there won't be any (bad bills)."

Though Dole is a moderate compared with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., and many GOP members elected in recent years, the president is poised to label him a tool of the far right when the campaign gets under way.

The public could get a preview of what might happen in a second Clinton presidency during the next few months, when the president is expected to exercise his veto frequently.

The Clinton-Dole fight over the legislative agenda has been called the "Pennsylvania Avenue campaign," with the White House at one end of the street and the U.S. Capitol at the other.

Democratic political consultant David Doak said the political resurgence of Clinton since the GOP gained control of Congress in 1994 has been based on his criticism of Republican proposals such as restraining growth in Medicare and Medicaid.

It not only has helped define him with voters, Doak said, but also has won him support among suburban middle-class voters who hold the key to the election this year.

Although Clinton has his own legislative agenda that he will push in the campaign, the fact that the GOP has a solid grip on both houses of Congress will make his proposals less important than his promises to veto Republican proposals.

The danger for Clinton is that his campaign will have more of a negative tone than his successful race in 1992. Doak said, however, that "in our society, stopping the excesses have become more important. Most people have turned against Washington."

By contrast, Dole said in his speech that "we need to focus on all the positive things that we do as a party. Who can argue about giving tax cuts for families with children? Who can argue about welfare reform or balancing the budget, which would lower interest rates about 2 percentage points?"

The election is likely to turn on the question of whether Americans want to continue the kind of divided government they've elected for much of the

post-World War II period or are willing to let one party take charge.

The jury is still out on that question, although recent polls putting Clinton ahead of Dole indicate that divided-government sentiment remains strong.

The GOP during the next few months is expected to try to demonstrate what continuing divided government would look like in a Clinton second term. It is expected to send the president many bills he will be inclined to veto.

One such measure is a bill that would ban late-term abortions unless the life of the mother is endangered. Clinton plans to veto the bill in the next several days, arguing that it should permit such abortions to protect the health as well as the life of the mother.

Another bill the president has threatened to strike down would put limits on product liability claims. Congress approved it Friday. He also opposes provisions in a health-care overhaul bill and is still in conflict with conservatives in Congress over welfare reform and the budget.

The White House is urging Dole to spurn conservatives in his party and push legislation that Clinton can sign. Press Secretary Michael McCurry noted that Gingrich had declared Dole ``undisputed legislative champ on Capitol Hill. That's good news for us, because it means we can get some work done.''

But making Clinton look good is not seen as in the Republicans' self-interest in an election year.

Who wins the war of the vetoes will depend on who wins the rhetorical battle with the American people.

The president won the first round during the fight over the budget, but the next round will not be as easy.

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AM-FL- Dole Vacation,390

Dole Tries for a Quiet Vacation In Florida

By ANDREW BLASKO= Associated Press Writer=

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. (AP) Sen. Bob Dole wants to rest here, just as he has regularly for 14 years. But because he is now the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, he will have to work harder this year to have a quiet, ``very inactive'' spring vacation.

Now teams of Secret Service agents follow him everywhere. A small pool of reporters also tags along. Throw in a few campaign aides, advance people and consultants and a quiet walk on the beach can turn into a small parade. A quick trip to the drug store might need a multicar caravan escort. Dining out will require not only reservations, but probably a security check.

Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, arrived at their vacation home here late Friday night. They plan to stay until April 9, when they are scheduled to fly to Salisbury, N.C., to visit Mrs. Dole's mother. They will then head back to Washington.

But for all the logistical problems a public appearance can cause, Dole's arrival here was low-key.

He flew down in the ``Leader's Ship,' ' the campaign's custom Boeing 727 that has his name on it in big blue letters. The campaign is already planning to put the jet into mothballs, and will opt for some cheaper form of air transportation in the coming months. A few campaign aides were on board, but not as many as a few weeks ago. Even members of the press covering Dole's trip were outnumbered by Secret Service agents by a large margin.

And when Dole stepped off the plane, there were no crowds chanting and cheering. No banners or waving signs. Just a few curious onlookers peering out of tinted airport windows to check out the man who could be the next president.

Dole quickly waved to the cameras, then got into a chauffeured car with his wife and sped off.

``This is going to be a very inactive vacation,' ' one aide said.

Likely to be on the agenda: reading, visiting friends and enjoying the sunshine on the condo's balcony that overlooks the Atlantic.

``It's rest and relaxation,' ' Dole said before entering the Seaview Hotel, where he has owned an apartment since 1982.

**** filed by:APE-(FL) on 03/30/96 at 15:25EST ****

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Schedule

AM-IN- Dole Speech, 215

Dole To Address State GOP Dinner in April

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) Senator Bob Dole will speak at the Indiana Republican State Committee's spring dinner next month, GOP State Chairman Mike McDaniel announced today.

Dole, the Republican presidential nominee, is scheduled to address the committee's annual spring dinner on Saturday, April 27, at the Indiana Convention Center in Indianapolis, McDaniel said.

Indiana Senator Dick Lugar, who had been competing against Dole in the presidential race until he withdrew on March 6, will introduce Dole at the dinner, McDaniel said.

"We think that this sends a pretty powerful message to Hoosier Republicans that it's time to get behind our nominee and focus on beating Bill Clinton," McDaniel said.

McDaniel said that Dole's campaign was planning on doing an appearance in Indiana before the primary though he probably won't be back after Hoosiers go to the polls on May 7.

"We feel pretty strong about his chances here," McDaniel said.

Last year's GOP spring dinner, delayed until July, featured Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich and drew 2,100 people, McDaniel said. Though Dole is coming to Indiana on short notice, McDaniel said he expects a crowd of at least 1,500 for the Kansas senator.

Tickets for the event will be \$125 per person.

**** filed by:APW-(IN) on 03/30/96 at 17:06EST ****

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Copyright 1996 The Dallas Morning News

Dole seeks to unify Republicans with attack on Clinton

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, March 29, 1996, Friday, HOME FINAL EDITION
NEWS; Pg. 11A; 476 words
New York Times News Service
WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON - Sen. Bob Dole gathered friends and former enemies for a unifying assault on President Clinton and reminder that he is now the presidential candidate of all Republicans. Or, as he put it, "a party animal."

Democrats said later at a Capitol news conference that Mr. Dole and other Republicans were the sworn enemies of working people.

The events were campaigns in a can, condensed versions of the arguments the two parties are likely to lob in the long presidential and congressional races to come.

Before congressional Republicans crowded into a majestic Senate hearing room, Mr. Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich led a pep rally for the party cause after the winter's bruising primary-election battles.

Mr. Gingrich stood before House members, many of whom have expressed mistrust of Mr. Dole's supposed moderation and doubts about his age, and worked to deflate those concerns without ever mentioning them.

The Georgia congressman said the two men had been "absolutely full partners with each other" since Republicans took control of Congress last year. He expressed amazement at Mr. Dole's energy, saying it is "unimaginable how hard he works" and marveling at how he is always "fresher than anybody else in the room" and "able to keep moving."

Mr. Dole embraced past, present and perhaps future political rivals - Sens. Dick Lugar of Indiana and Phil Gramm of Texas; political commentator Pat Buchanan; Ross Perot, organizer of the new Reform Party - and laid claim to all their followers.

"This is a family, and I'm a party animal," Mr. Dole said. "Take a look at the things that Ross Perot listed in 1992, and take a look at what we've done with the Contract With America, in addition to the other things, and you've got the reform party - the Republican Party. We have been the party of change. We will be the party of change."

He said there is a "fundamental difference" between Republicans and Democrats.

"The list goes on and on and on," he said. "It's not about more taxes and more regulation and more spending. That's the Clinton recipe for a better America. And we know it doesn't work."

He said Republicans would pass a burst of legislation this year, so much so that the Republican Congress will be remembered as the "do-too-much Congress."

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota and House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt of Missouri said late that the Republicans' talk was so much baloney.

"The do-nothing Congress is here," Mr. Daschle said.

Mr. Gephardt said: "We've met and voted only 14 days. So when we talk about do-nothing, the fact is we have done nothing."

Mr. Daschle said the Republicans' new ideas are really moldy, outdated ideas dressed up in designer language. "You strip away those designer clothes," he said, "and you get Herbert Hoover in a leisure suit."
Graphic: PHOTO(S): Bob Dole.

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Copyright 1996 The San Diego Union-Tribune

Dole pins his hopes on burst of legislation He looks to Congress to aid his campaign

The San Diego Union-Tribune, March 29, 1996, Friday
NEWS; Ed. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8; Pg. A-11; 627 words
STEPHEN GREEN Copley News Service
WASHINGTON

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole launched a new phase of his presidential campaign yesterday, urging congressional Republicans to unite behind a legislative agenda that will serve as his political message between now and the GOP National Convention in San Diego.

But within minutes, Democratic leaders laid out their own agenda and suggested it will blunt Dole's attempt to use the GOP majority in Congress to boost his campaign.

"There's no doubt in my mind, if we can stick to our message and let Americans know precisely where we will take them as we go into the next century, we're going to be very successful," Dole told a joint meeting of House and Senate GOP members in the Senate Caucus Room.

Dole's strategy, aimed at President Clinton, opens a chapter of American political history as he becomes the first presidential nominee to serve as Senate majority leader.

With the Kansan having won enough delegates to assure him the nomination, the gathering in the Senate Caucus Room took on the trappings of a political rally. Standing ovations greeted both the Senate leader and House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., who introduced Dole as "the nominee of this party."

Veteran Republican strategist Eddie Mahe said in an interview that Dole will be the first nonincumbent nominee to have a "bully pulpit" comparable to that of a sitting president.

"The East Front of the Capitol will become the equivalent of the Rose Garden of the White House," Mahe predicted.

Dole said he intends to work with Gingrich on a Republican legislative agenda that will demonstrate "a fundamental difference in our two parties . . . starting with a balanced budget . . . tax cuts, family welfare reform."

The three measures already have been vetoed by Clinton, who was depicted by Dole as "mixed up. . . . He signed the bad bills and vetoed the good bills -- but that won't happen in my administration."

Dole will use the next few months to push a congressional agenda that will differentiate him from Clinton and work to the GOP's advantage, aides said.

With his campaign funds largely depleted, Dole has an incentive to stick close to Capitol Hill. However, he is likely to make speeches around the country on behalf of Republican candidates, who would pay his expenses.

Declaring that Republicans "need to focus on all the positive things that we do as a party," Dole added: "Who can argue with giving tax cuts for families with children? Who can argue about welfare reform or balancing the budget, which would lower interest rates about 2 percentage points?"

Democratic congressional leaders scoffed at the Dole-Gingrich game plan.

House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, D-Mo., said the GOP strategy will test whether Dole "can rein in the extreme right-wing element of his party. I don't think he can."

He and Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle, D-S.D., said the Democrats' agenda includes an increase in the minimum wage and pension reform -- issues they said would deal with Americans' "economic insecurities."

Daschle said the Republicans will not be helped by their own agenda, adding that the 104th Congress has achieved little.

The number of bills to clear Congress last year was the lowest in recent history, Daschle said, and most of the items from the House GOP's "Contract With America" remain stalled. The contract was the platform most Republican House candidates ran on two years ago.

Gingrich, however, said "this may well be one of the most productive months in the history of Congress." He cited action on such measures as "regulatory reform, death penalty and anti-terrorism, illegal immigration reform, product liability reform, line-item veto, senior citizens earning limit and the farm bill."

Graphic: 1 PHOTO; Bob Dole

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KING OF HILL DOLE COURTS RISKS OVER TOUGH ISSUES

Sacramento Bee, March 31, 1996, METRO FINAL
MAIN NEWS; Pg. A1; 1640 words
Lawrence M. O'Rourke, Bee Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON

Bob Dole's plan to use his perch as king of Capitol Hill to campaign for president is running into problems.

In the short time since he wrapped up the Republican nomination, fellow congressional Republicans have put Dole on the defensive on assault weapons, discharge of military service members infected with HIV, health care and the federal budget.

Several of these GOP initiatives, largely the work of conservative House Republicans, threaten to backfire in President Clinton's favor.

And from the other side of the aisle, Democrats are forcing Dole's hand with their own agenda, including an increase in the minimum wage that the Senate passed over Dole's objections before the bill died in the House. They also forced Dole to withdraw from floor debate a wilderness bill favored by Utah Republicans.

Democrats also aim to hook Dole on high-profile issues including tougher anti-terrorism procedures, illegal immigration and cops on the street.

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., has served notice that Democrats won't let any legislation pass that serves Dole's interests over Clinton's. "We'll use delaying tactics if necessary just as Republicans delayed the president's bills before the 1994 election," Daschle said.

From the outset, Dole calculated that he could use his post as Senate majority leader to set this year's Capitol Hill agenda, draw sharp distinctions between himself and Clinton, and shove the president into a series of awkward vetoes.

Dole turned aside suggestions that he resign as majority leader and spend most of the year on the campaign trail, attacking Clinton and Democrats as tax-and-spend, inside-the Beltway Washington liberals.

Instead, Dole operates inside the Beltway himself, brokering disputes among Republicans, and then between the GOP majority and the White House. That exposes Dole to allegations he is too much a part of the Washington crowd. Texas billionaire Ross Perot is promoting that line as he ponders an independent campaign for the White House.

"The senator will show that he is a conservative who can get things done," said a GOP campaign strategist defending Dole's stay-in-Washington plan. The strategist pointed to Dole's success in cutting a deal with Clinton over the line-item veto and pushing it through Congress this week. Dole's fingerprints are also all over compromises on the farm and debt-limit bill.

But the strategy so far has not worked as well as Dole hoped, and there's little on the horizon to suggest that he can turn it around to his advantage.

"I see a basic flaw in Dole's legislative strategy," said Stephen Hess, political scholar at the Brookings Institution. "There are roadblocks every place you look. The odds are against anything happening in a legislative strategy."

While the president pursues a Rose Garden strategy, with firm control of the executive branch, Dole is a captive of his most immediate constituents, Republican senators and House members who have independent bases and may not always be willing to adjust to Dole's campaign agenda.

A case in point: House Republicans want to roll back the 1994 law that bans manufacture and sale of assault weapons. But repeal doesn't seem to have a future in the Senate.

For one thing, Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., a principal sponsor of the ban law, has vowed to conduct "the mother of all filibusters" to keep it. And Dole doesn't have the votes to break a filibuster.

If repeal ever came to a Senate vote, the embarrassing result would hurt Dole's reputation as legislative mastermind who gets things done.

So the expectation is that Dole will not call up the assault weapons bill for a vote. But in a sense he already has been hurt. The National Rifle Association has a 2-year-old letter from Dole promising to do all he can to repeal the ban.

Another test for Dole: He wants to pass a medical insurance bill that would allow workers to keep their coverage after they switch jobs and would protect ill claimants against exclusion because of prior existing conditions.

The bill bears the names of Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, who like Dole is a Republican from Kansas, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Senate's best known liberal. It looks like a sure bet to pass the Senate.

It could have been an ideal vehicle for Dole to show that the Senate under his leadership could produce a health care bill where Clinton could not. But House Republicans, before approving their version of the bill Thursday night, tacked on provisions favored by insurance firms and the American Medical Association that could jeopardize Senate passage and draw a Clinton veto.

"Some Republicans think they can trip up Clinton by forcing him to veto a lot of bills," said Hess of the Brookings Institution. "But the president can explain why he vetoed them and American voters can see right through political tactics intended to embarrass Clinton. Dole's been around long enough to know that he can't win by pushing phony legislation."

There are other instances -- including welfare reform and taxes -- in which Dole might be trapped between the conservative wishes of the House GOP and the more moderate instincts of the Senate.

"Dole wants to set the Republican agenda as the backdrop for the campaign. But the question is whether House freshmen Republicans will let him," said Stuart Rothenberg, a Washington political analyst. "We're seeing signs that the House freshmen may be willing to step back and let Dole show that he's in charge. But it's not yet certain if that will prevail."

Dole is at risk of being trapped in a crossfire between the the conservative GOP-controlled House and the moderate GOP-controlled Senate.

It is the same gap he tried to bridge during the Republican primary battle that effectively ended when he won the California primary on March 26.

During the primaries, Dole walked away from GOP ideological battles by describing himself as a conservative who could get things done.

But if he stays in Washington for the next few months, and fails to get things done, he risks undermining his own campaign.

Capitol Hill, Dole is beginning to find out, is no Rose Garden.

Graphic: Bob Dole talks with Rep. John Boehner, R-Ohio, left, and Sen. Thad Cochran, R-Miss., last week about the Republican legislative agenda.

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Copyright 1996 The Kansas City Star Co.

For Dole, a history of defeat provided a legend for success; Failed presidential bids gave him vital lessons in beating each foe.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR, March 31, 1996 Sunday METROPOLITAN EDITION
NATIONAL/WORLD; Pg. A1; 2026 words
JAKE THOMPSON, Washington Correspondent
WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON-Holed up in a New Hampshire hotel suite with his wife and political allies pacing about, Sen. Bob Dole cocked an ear to Dave Carney.

Exit polls hinted of disaster: Dole might fall to third place in the crucial presidential primary that February night.

Carney, Dole's bear-sized state coordinator, slouched in a corner chair, telephone propped on his belly. He pounded the keys, speed-calling his people statewide for actual vote tallies.

"This isn't over yet," he kept saying.

It certainly wasn't.

Not like it was in February 1988 or 1980, when Dole's dreams of becoming president blew up in the nation's first primary. This night was different. In fact this entire campaign was different from those two failed efforts.

For one thing, Dole - the highly visible Senate majority leader from Kansas - was much better known than he had been the last time he ran for president. And his rivals were not. In 1988, Dole was up against George Bush, the vice president of a very popular president.

But more important, Dole learned a few vital lessons from his failures, and he put those lessons to work this time. First, he created Team Dole, an organization of professional political operatives like Dave Carney. And then he disciplined himself to follow their plan, no matter what happened.

"We had a strategy and plan and (the team) stuck to it until the very end," insisted Bill Lacy, Dole's former deputy campaign chairman.

On Tuesday, Bob Dole, 72, claimed the Republican presidential nomination for himself. It took a little more than a year to knock out his top rivals, one by one, in a campaign that was far from easy.

But each phase made the field a little smaller and Dole's chances for achieving his dream a little stronger.

Two notable moments of the campaign arrived early and quietly.

On Jan. 25, 1995, Dole filled two top posts: as deputy campaign chairman, Lacy, 40, a trusted architect of Dole's 1988 presidential campaign; as campaign manager, Scott Reed, 34, who steered the Republican National Committee's takeover of the House and Senate in 1994.

The other moment occurred in February 1995. Dole called Mari Maseng Will into his office to work on "the Message Thing."

In 1988, Dole's message was his record and skimpy theme: "He's one of us." Will and others forever pitched meatier stuff at Dole, but he never caught on.

"It was like ships passing in the night," Will recently recalled.

But this time, the two came up with Dole's "one more mission" and an idea to return power to states, rein in the government and reassert America's world leadership. Then Dole dutifully, if not always enthusiastically, hit those themes for an entire year.

"He made a decision he would be disciplined," said Will, wife of conservative columnist George Will.

The new discipline showed in other ways.

"He kept he kept his calm, he did his job as a candidate," said Lacy, who quit after Dole's Delaware primary loss prompted Reed to demote him. "(Dole) listened to people, listened to their advice and this time was in a mind to do that."

Immediately, Reed and Lacy went after the nation's 31 Republican governors for endorsements.

"We were going to look to the new base of the Republican party, the governors, as our backbone," a senior Dole aide said. "That's when we began to make a concerted effort to reach out to the governors and put together a plan where we were going to show momentum throughout 1995 every couple weeks with announcements of endorsements and build up the air of inevitability, which was our strategy in 1995."

Today, 27 Republican governors have joined Team Dole.

Texas Sen. Phil Gramm quickly emerged as the first threat to Dole's bid, so he just as quickly became a target of Team Dole.

The first shot rang out May 31, when Dole flew into Hollywood with a speech Will had written and denounced the entertainment industry as shameless purveyors of sex and violence. Dole demanded more conservative, family-oriented entertainment.

The goal was for Dole to appeal to social and moral conservatives without alienating moderates. In the end, the tactic would take support from Gramm.

Dole and Gramm probably would split the economic conservatives, believed Gramm campaign manager Charles Black, but the one who picked off the most social conservatives would win.

But Gramm fought back, and on Aug. 19 he handed Dole his first campaign crisis.

Gramm unexpectedly tied with Dole in an Iowa straw poll, a rigged event whose results the national press interpreted as seriously damaging to Dole.

The next big political event was scheduled in the fall, a Florida straw poll dubbed "Presidency III."

Team Dole rode into Florida with a strategy that was a little sweet and a little sour. Volunteers courted straw poll voters with expensive chocolates and fancy soaps. They also spent hours on the phone tearing down Gramm, former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, publisher Steve Forbes and commentator Pat Buchanan.

Dole won that event with 33 percent of the vote, seven points ahead of Gramm.

The next two months, though, brought budget deadlock and government shutdown. Dole was stuck in Washington while his opponents were able to campaign in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Even then, Dole refused to panic.

"How am I doing?" Dole asked former Kansas Rep. Robert Ellsworth, a longtime friend, one day in January.

"Doing well," Ellsworth said, "but there's a lot of bear traps ahead."

"Oh," Dole said, eyebrows raising, "big ones."

"But we're pretty well on track."

One of those bear traps popped up in the form of a millionaire magazine publisher. Its teeth? The flat tax.

Suddenly, Steve Forbes, with his anti-Washington rhetoric and massive TV advertising, was gaining on Dole.

After running for a year against Gramm, Team Dole swung around to confront its new chief opponent.

Lacy and Reed had hoped someone else would do the dirty work and go after Forbes in stump speeches and, especially, advertising. But Alexander, Buchanan and the rest remained quiet.

So, Dole launched his first attack ad of the campaign on Jan. 12, portraying Forbes as "untested" with "risky ideas."

The strategy, said Lacy, was to prompt the others to go after Forbes, which they did the next day at a debate in Des Moines.

However, polls showed people did not object to "risky ideas" and in fact saw them as bold, fresh and creative. The phrase hit the cutting room floor.

Meanwhile, Phil Gramm was making a strong pitch in Louisiana for its Feb. 6 caucus. In deference to Iowa's reputation for being the first major vote, Dole didn't campaign in Louisiana. But his campaign urged Dole backers to vote for Buchanan, who then managed to deliver a serious jolt to Gramm by winning the caucus vote. Social conservatives then rushed to Buchanan in Iowa.

"It really was Buchanan who cut off Gramm," said Black, Gramm's campaign chairman.

Throughout the campaign, Team Dole quietly tried to cut off everyone. They hired a telemarketing firm, Campaign Tel Ltd., housed in an Illinois shopping center, to call thousands of Republicans in Alaska, Iowa, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Arizona, New York and South Carolina.

Using scripts written from Dole ads, the callers criticized his rivals, a tactic called "push polling." Dole has paid more than \$1 million to Campaign Tel, although some of its work included get-out-the-vote calls and crowd building.

In Iowa, Campaign Tel callers went after Forbes, portraying him as untested and a supporter of abortion rights.

"Steve used ads that focused on Dole's record. Dole's ads against Steve were really character assault," said Forbes' campaign spokeswoman Gretchen Morgenson.

On Feb. 12, Dole eked out a win in the Iowa caucuses, 26 percent to Buchanan's 23 percent. Trailing was Alexander with 17 percent, Forbes with 10 percent and Gramm with 9 percent.

Gramm soon quit. Forbes would never recover.

Team Dole turned most of its attention to Alexander, the likeable, plaid-shirted former education secretary, while keeping Buchanan and Forbes under fire.

They took aim with radio and TV ads labeling Alexander as a liberal on taxes, crime and spending. The ads ran through the weekend before New Hampshire's primary, and Alexander's team had little time to respond.

"It was not true, but it was effective," sighed Tom Rath, a senior adviser to Alexander.

The ads cut one to three points off Alexander's support, Rath said, and the former governor never recovered.

Meanwhile, Campaign Tel called New Hampshire Republicans to criticize all of Dole's rivals, focusing away from

Manchester, where hundreds of journalists were camped.

But the public airwaves offered no positive pitch from Dole himself. Dole's team tested purely positive ads, some cut from a longer Reaganesque campaign video biography created by Stuart Stevens, Dole's media guru.

They found Forbes' advertising blitz in New Hampshire had already defined Dole, leaving him with no credibility.

So, Team Dole put New Hampshire's popular Gov. Steve Merrill into two of its ads.

In one, the governor contended Forbes' flat tax plan would raise taxes on middle-income New Hampshire residents. Morgenson called that a lie, saying the ad did not take into account an exemption Forbes offered for families earning less than \$ 36,000.

In the other, Merrill labeled Buchanan unelectable and Alexander too liberal and asserted that only Bob Dole could provide "strong conservative leadership."

On Feb. 20, Buchanan won, but not decisively. Alexander placed third again, getting no bounce, and Forbes faded further with fourth place.

After the New Hampshire primary, aides saw a fresh fierceness in Dole's eyes.

"He recognized, 'OK, we're going to have to go out and fight for this,'" a senior Dole aide recently recalled. "And that was good."

The next morning, Dole flew to North Dakota and South Dakota, where he painted Buchanan as "extreme" and declared himself in a fight for the "heart and soul of the Republican party."

But second-place finishes in Delaware and Arizona in the next week stung Team Dole. Reed demoted Lacy and fired Lacy's handpicked pollster for predictions that were too rosy, charges they dispute.

Then the campaign headed to South Carolina for its March 2 primary. There they had friends in former Gov. Carroll Campbell and current Gov. David Beasley, who had endorsed Dole months earlier and headed a 25-year-old statewide GOP network.

At their prompting, Dole talked about the benefits of trade, jobs and the economy using South Carolina facts and figures. He called Buchanan a danger for wanting to build a wall around America and block trade.

On March 2, Dole clobbered Buchanan by 16 points, a margin that again made his nomination inevitable. Buchanan was no longer a threat. "Bob Dole beat Pat Buchanan not on the battle of ideas but by running a negative campaign attack against Mr. Buchanan and his supporters," said K.B. Forbes, a spokesman for Buchanan.

The contest now turned to states where no one but Dole had an organization on the ground. The compressed schedule kicked in and Dole rolled to 27 primary triumphs and grabbed the nomination.

But Morgenson, who ran Steve Forbes' campaign, said perhaps the outcome was ordained anyway.

"An awful lot of Dole's success was because he was a household name," she said. "And with all the primaries lumped into a few days, it made it very difficult for an outsider like Steve - or anyone else - to do well."

Graphic: Photo, Sen. Bob Dole; Graphic, Ups and downs on the road to the nomination; The Star

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1996

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your supportive remarks on the Senate floor regarding the Administration's efforts to assist the livestock industry. The executive directives ordered following our White House discussions should contribute to livestock market stabilization. I hope that we will continue to seek broad bipartisan solutions to the problems facing American cattle ranchers during this difficult time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized, cursive script.

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
Democratic Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 30, 1996

Dear David:

Thank you for your recent remarks on the Senate floor regarding the Administration's environmental record and the need to balance the budget in order to strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund.

I am very proud of this Administration's record on protecting the environment and believe that any initiative aimed at reversing the gains achieved over the last twenty-five years should not be considered. In addition, I agree that we should not jeopardize the trust of our senior citizens for purposes of political expediency. There is no question that claims will continue to be paid. This, however, does not obviate the need to protect the Medicare Trust Fund.

I look forward to continuing our work together on such issues of mutual concern.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill", is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable David Pryor
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 1996

Dear Pat:

Thank you for your kind words on the Senate floor regarding the Federal judiciary and your continued support during Judiciary Committee proceedings. Throughout my Administration, we have worked to nominate the best possible judicial candidates, and will continue to do so. I agree that the integrity of a rigorous, unbiased confirmation process should not be compromised for purposes of political expediency.

I look forward to working with you in an effort to further our shared goals.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear John:

Thank you for your supportive remarks on the Senate floor regarding my Administration's welfare reform initiatives. I agree that my recent Executive actions requiring teen mothers on welfare to attend school or remain at home under adult supervision will encourage personal responsibility and reinforce the importance of education. Those who fail to comply will lose benefits. I believe that true welfare reform is possible only if we encourage responsible behavior in an effort to end the trend of dependency.

I look forward to working with you on this and other issues in an effort to achieve our mutual goals.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John B. Breaux
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

GOING TO OVAL W/
REMARKS ATTACHED

Dear Joe:

Thank you for your remarks on the Senate floor regarding the Congressional investigation of arms going to Bosnia from Iran in 1994. I hope your colleagues will take a moment to read what is one of the clearest statements of that situation.

In addition I appreciate your continued support of our efforts to achieve stability in the Balkans. We need people of determination like you to sustain our efforts.

Thank you again for your help and support.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

GOING TO OVAL W/
REMARKS ATTACHED