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**Welfare/Drug Testing**

# Bob Dole, GOP-builder

By James P. Lucier Jr.

Long ago there was a time when Harry Truman could call the Republicans a "me too" party and win a presidential election largely on the basis of this taunt. But now it is the Democrats who have been relegated to "me too" status, and the Republicans who are poised to gain control of the White House in addition to their steady hold on both Houses of Congress, two-thirds of all governorships, and a majority of seats in state legislatures across the nation.

Clearly, something has changed. And as Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole leaves the Senate today to campaign for the presidency as Citizen Dole, it is he above all others who deserves the credit for this historic transformation. The 1950s party of Midwestern farmers and the "Main Street" business interests of small town America has grown vastly larger, more powerful and more complex as the "Leave Us Alone" coalition of the 1990s—a broadly inclusive alliance of all those opposed to higher taxes and intrusive government with a positive vision of growth, prosperity, community institutions and private initiative. The 1990s Republican coalition is now arguably the natural, permanent governing coalition of the United States.

Conservatives should welcome and urgently strive for Mr. Dole's election to the presidency as the next logical step in a political career that parallels the growth of the modern conservative movement and the institutional GOP. With each step forward by Mr. Dole, the movement and party have advanced as well. The power and sophistication of today's conservative movement and Republican clout at the ballot box owe much to Mr. Dole's leadership along the way.

In 1960, Bob Dole was elected to Congress as a freshman classmate of Ohio Republican John Ashbrook, a co-

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founder of the American Conservative Union. Where Mr. Ashbrook chose to work on ideas, Mr. Dole chose to work on institutions, particularly those of the GOP—but he chose to build party institutions by working with the ideas of John Ashbrook and others. In the same year, Barry Goldwater called for "a choice, not an echo" in Republican politics. By 1964, Phyllis Schlafly had turned Mr. Goldwater's slogan into a best-selling, book-length manifesto, Mr. Goldwater was a candidate for President, and Mr. Dole was among the first and most committed Republican elected officials who took to the road campaigning for the Arizona senator.

Rep. Dole became Sen. Dole in the 1968 election that swept Richard Nixon to power. Then from 1971 to 1973, Mr. Dole served as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, laying the groundwork for the 1972 Nixon landslide that confirmed the GOP as the nation's Presidential Party and which first turned the South and West into Republican strongholds at the presidential level. Also in 1972, Republican control of governorships and state legislatures was near an all-time high, not to be surpassed for 20 years after the devastating setback of 1974.

Renewal came in the late 1970s as the pro-life and pro-family movements, religious conservatives and anti-tax activists began to organize vocal constituencies. Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980, and Mr. Dole was the Senate Finance Committee Chairman who secured passage of Mr. Reagan's tax cuts in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. On the one hand, Mr. Dole worked tirelessly to advance Republican candidates. Yet on the other, he increasingly took on the role of advancing Republican and conservative ideas through legislation.

For instance, in 1981, Mr. Dole founded his path-breaking political action committee, Campaign America, which quickly moved to fund candidates at the state as well as federal levels. Campaign America strongly supported such candidates as George Allen and Mike Farris for governor and lieutenant governor in Virginia in 1993. In 1994, his

was the first PAC to support Ollie North in his race for the Senate in Virginia and was coincidentally second only to the Teamsters Union PAC in total contributions. But whereas the Teamsters supported incumbents, Mr. Dole helped bring new voices into the GOP.

More significantly, though, beginning as Senate majority leader in 1985, continuing as Republican Leader from 1987 to 1994, and as majority leader again from 1994 to today, Mr. Dole played a critical formative role as integrator and architect of the emerging "Leave Us Alone" Coalition. During the Bush and Clinton administrations, as taxes and regulation slowly took their toll on the economic prospects of ordinary citizens, group after group with distinct identities emerged from what had been the Republican and "Reagan Democrat" coalitions of the 1980s. Among them were home schoolers, term-limits supporters, gun owners, property rights advocates and newly radicalized, anti-government small business owners, a great and increasing proportion of whom were women.

Significantly, as each new element of the coalition came to the fore and began to articulate a policy vision, Mr. Dole helped give the vision concrete expression in legislative language that 80 percent to 90 percent of all Republicans would routinely support as a matter of course when whenever it came up in the future.

Confounding all predictions, Mr. Dole successfully passed tax cuts, regulatory relief, a balanced budget, a ban on unfunded mandates, and most other Contract with America pledges through the Senate. What Bill Gates and Microsoft did for the IBM personal computer, Mr. Dole did for Republican policies: he created a vast library of tested, debated, drafted, and previously passed legislation that could be enacted like a ready-to-go software application as soon as a Republican president was there to throw the switch.

Mr. Dole's work as majority leader is done—complete and triumphant. He has spelled out his vision for America's future in far more detail than Ronald Reagan ever did—and what's more, he has the bills ready to go and already endorsed by the party at large. Winning the White House is the one thing left to do.

# Welfare, drugs and politics

By Shannen Coffin

The debate over welfare reform heated up recently when Bob Dole and Bill Clinton each forayed into Wisconsin to tout their proposals for overhauling a broken system. Sen. Dole's proposal included a bold new initiative to clear the welfare rolls of drug addicts, while President Clinton's response to that plan highlighted the hollow "me-too" approach that his campaign response team has made the focus of its strategy.

In his Wisconsin address, Bob Dole highlighted the growing problem of taxpayer funding of deadbeats' drug habits via welfare payments. Studies demonstrate that an estimated 10 percent of all babies born in America are exposed to cocaine or crack in the womb. A 1994 Study by Columbia University concluded that more than one million welfare mothers abuse or are addicted to drugs or alcohol, including 37 percent of those between the ages of 18 and 24. Mothers receiving AFDC assistance are about three times more likely to abuse or be addicted to drugs and alcohol than mothers not receiving AFDC. And the burden imposed on taxpayers by substance abuse is outlandish. Researchers estimate that annual Medicaid expenditures attributable to hospital care related to substance abuse exceed \$7.4 billion.

Given these disturbing figures, the federal government has a considerable interest in ensuring that public assistance does not go to finance the drug trade. Bob Dole proposed to attack this problem by reforming federal legislation to allow states to test welfare recipients for drug use, to provide treatment to those who test positive, and to cut off benefits for those who test positive repeatedly. It was a daring proposal to give states authority to confront a widespread abuse of public funds and to reduce the demand for drugs among the poor.

What did Bill Clinton and company say in response? Not surprisingly, the response of Mr. Clinton's press secretary Michael McCurry was, "We've already proposed that." Mr. McCurry claimed that such a drug testing proposal was included in President Clinton's 1996 Welfare Reform Proposal. As a result, newspapers across the country reported that Bob Dole's bold new initiative was old news.

But hold on. President Clinton has never, in

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fact, proposed drug testing for welfare recipients, and his record on mandatory drug testing belies Mr. McCurry's claim. Clinton's welfare proposal contains no reference to drug testing, and its only response to drug use by welfare recipients is that it allows states to provide voluntary treatment for welfare recipients. That's hardly the same, Mr. McCurry. When South Carolina Governor David Beasley asked the Clinton administration to allow him to cut off welfare benefits to those who have tested positive for drugs on multiple occasions while receiving benefits, Mr. Clinton denied the request. Mr. Clinton stands opposed to real sanctions for positive drug tests by individuals on the public rolls.

A more vivid example of Mr. Clinton's inexcusable record on drug testing and welfare comes from South Carolina as well. Several years ago, in a revolutionary program to address the prenatal child abuse that arises when pregnant mothers use drugs, South Carolina's Attorney General Charles Condon, then a local prosecutor, cooperated with a local public hospital to address the problem. In his program, Mr. Condon presented all pregnant mothers who tested positive for cocaine use with a choice: either seek drug treatment or face arrest. His program was remarkably successful: positive drug tests dropped from 24 per month to five or six. Undoubtedly, many infants' (and perhaps mothers') lives were saved due to this program of testing, treatment and sanctions.

Despite this success, the Clinton administration shut the program down. A swarm of federal officials came to Charleston alleging discrimination and accusing the hospital of violating the "privacy rights" of the addicted mothers. The Clinton administration threatened to cut off millions of dollars of federal assistance if the program continued. Desperate to keep the federal funds to survive, the local hospital reluctantly complied.

So now the Clinton administration responds to Mr. Dole's proposal to test welfare recipients by saying, "Been there, done that." But it's simply not true.

The White House should admit its record on the issues to the American public. "Me too" politics is excusable when you have the record to back it up, but Mr. Clinton cannot have it both ways. The public has a right to judge the presidential candidates on their records, not on their words. For the White House to assume that it can have its cake and eat it too is an insult to the intelligence of the American public.

# Cleopatra was my grandmother

Oh, it was a splendid evening at the Comedie Francaise. I was sitting side by side with France's Culture Minister Andre Malraux, not too far from the royal box, occupied by the regal presence of Gen. de Gaulle, and next to him his brand new buddy, the Chinese ambassador. For in 1964 France had decided to break ranks and grant diplomatic recognition in the middle of China's murderous Cultural Revolution (30 million dead) to those great human benefactors of People's China. It was a splendid evening.

But why were we celebrating this splendid event in the Comedie Francaise? Because, and this is what made the occasion doubly historic, Voltaire had in 1755 written a play about China, something about the love life of Genghis Khan. It wasn't just a play, you understand, it was a revoltingly bad play. But we all sat, clapped, cheered in honor of his

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Excellency, I suppose, and went home stunned.

Now the curious thing about the French Enlightenment, immense as is its legacy to modern thought, is that on foreign civilizations it just made stuff up. There was a particular buzz during the Enlightenment for what the French called *chinoiserie* — the French knowing about China next to nothing. But an even more incandescent fashion of the period was for ancient Egypt,

about which the French knew less than nothing. The Rosetta Stone having yet to be found or deciphered, no one anywhere could read hieroglyphics, and Ancient Egypt was a blank slate, a slate on which the French wasted no time imposing their fancies.

But the man who had the most



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compelling fancies about ancient Egypt — which earned him vast fame for a century, and whose fanciful notions are in a way with us yet — was no hack writer but a professor at the College de France, Abbe Jean Terrasson. In 1731 he published an imaginative "Sethos: A History of Biography Based on Unpublished Memoirs of Ancient Egypt."

How an 18th century scholar could have memoirs from a language that hadn't been decrypted yet is puzzling, but Sethos, Terrasson's protagonist, is initiated into the ancient Egyptian mysteries within the confines of a Memphis pyramid (Terrasson seemed to think pyramids were hollow). Sethos, inside the pyramid, witnesses a subterranean city in which Egyptian priests lived and acquired their vast knowledge (Terrasson didn't know the pyramids were tombs). Our hero also discovers what was most remarkable, that the Greeks had stolen all their culture and learning from Egypt. An Egyptian in the book tells him.

A dazzling period in Europe fol-

lowed during which Masonic mysticism and "Egyptian" ideas and history captured the imaginations of Goethe, Schiller, Herder and hundreds of others. And in 1783 Vienna's "Lodge of Doing Good" initiated one of its most enthusiastic members, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, whose "The Magic Flute" is a musical setting to what he imagined to be Masonic mysticism.

But "Sethos," Terrasson's book, had such influence for 100 years that it was widely believed by Europeans that Egypt, not Greece, was the mother of European civilization. Which is where the Masons got their "Egyptian Mystery System," a symbol of which — a pyramid whose detached top is an eye surrounded by brilliant rays — became the Great Seal of the United States. Millions of American schoolchildren have pondered this puzzling symbol on our dollar bill for generations, not having George Washington, one of many Masons among our Founding Fathers, to explain to them that in Masonic mysticism an eye in a triangle radiating light stands for the Grand Architect of the Masonic

Universe. But Terrasson (now quite forgotten) and the Masons (still with us in their less mystical mode) are responsible for having provided the wacky link between Ancient Egypt and the modern world.

With a hiatus of two centuries — from the publication of "Sethos" in 1731 to pseudoscholar George James and his "Stolen Legacy" in 1954 — for purposes of clarification, we finally get the full-blown version.

Those lowdown Greeks (Plato, Aristotle, etc.) just plain stole from black Africans their great civilization. James, a black American, explains that Aristotle had come to Egypt with Alexander the Great and stolen Greek philosophy from the great Library of Alexandria, which was not yet built. In fact, at the time of the alleged theft, Alexandria itself had not been founded and both Aristotle and Alexander were dead. This is a neat trick, stealing from buildings that haven't been built yet, and will give you a brief but accurate guide to Afrocentric scholarship.

For Mary Lefkowitz's magnificent "Not Out of Africa: How Afrocen-

trism Became an excuse to teach Myth as History" is in the news again, Miss Lefkowitz having recently made a brilliant presentation in exquisitely measured terms of her ideas in Washington at Linda Chavez's Center for Equal Opportunity. A professor of Greek and Latin at Wellesley, Miss Lefkowitz has again taken to contesting the evidence of Afrocentrists, who act, not as scholars in pursuit of truth, but as noisy partisans at a political rally. The most disturbing thing in all this is that American universities today seem to judge that when it comes to history, inaccuracies of the most grotesque sort are less important than what the lecturer feels strongly are the pressing social issues of the day.

And among the most pressing social goals, you see, is to give everyone self-esteem. This has been the great battle cry for almost half a century now and aside from instilling in them a fatuous, angry arrogance, it seems to have done students no good at all in either academic or any other kind of work. In fact, recent studies have shown the opposite. If Cleopatra was my grandmother, why should I have to work? Queen Elizabeth was black, too. Another student told me.

