

Dole's Closed Foundation Plans to Refund Millions

List Shows Wealthy Backers of 'Better America'

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By R.H. Melton
Washington Post Staff Writer

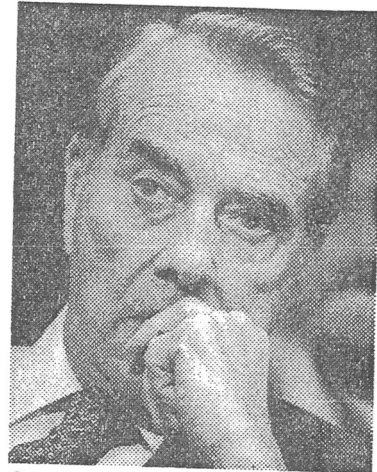
A conservative think tank founded two years ago by Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) to assist his political aspirations will return what's left of the more than \$4.6 million it collected from major U.S. companies and wealthy individuals, a senior officer of the organization said yesterday.

The 86 donors to the Better America Foundation constitute a virtual Who's Who of corporate

■ *Republican hopefuls' rhetoric is getting more personal. Page A12*

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

Neal S. McCoy, one of four directors of the foundation, said yesterday in response to questions that in addition to returning



Sen. Dole's think tank got more than \$4.6 million from 86 donors.

roughly \$2.5 million, Better America will publicly release the donor list and give a full accounting of the organization's spending since it was founded in early 1993.

"We didn't want it to obscure See DOLE, A12, Col. 1

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issues in the campaign," McCoy said. As a tax-exempt foundation, Better America had operated outside the campaign finance laws regulating federal elections. Dole, the GOP's leading presidential candidate, shut down the organization two weeks ago after Democrats and others complained that he was using it for activities promoting himself, including a fund-raising brochure with his picture, a poll asking voters which issues mattered to them, and a television commercial in which he starred.

The list and interviews yesterday with several of the contributors offer a glimpse into fund-raising on a national scale, which Dole has also

Dole shut down the organization after complaints that the GOP presidential front-runner was using it for self-promotion.

done for his Campaign America political action committee and another foundation in his name to help disabled persons.

While legally separate, the Dole entities form an interlocking network that has raised millions of dollars over the years, often from the same U.S. and multinational corporations. In the case of Better America, the money was raised without the restrictions that normally apply to political organizations and campaigns. There were no limits on the size of the gifts, no donor was disclosed to the Federal Election Commission and corporations were not banned from giving, as they are in the case of presidential candidates.

Better America did report its total income to the Internal Revenue Service, \$235,000 in 1993 and \$4 million last year. But with donors and contributions still shrouded by law, critics recently intensified their attacks on the foundation and Dole pulled the plug.

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

Most were unaware that Dole had

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RONALD O. PERELMAN

... biggest contributor at \$250,000

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

"I wanted to help the party and to help him, and that's what he suggested I do," said Virgil Lair, who owns nine banks in Kansas and first helped Dole when he ran for Congress in 1960. Lair's wife, Mary Alice, is a member of the Republican National Committee.

Andrew Littlefair, vice president of public affairs for Mesa Inc., said that when Dole staff solicited a contribution, "they were pretty straightforward. Better America was going to promote Republican principles, bread-and-butter stuff. It was different from his PAC."

But another giver, Don Angell, a Charlotte, N.C., businessman, said Better America's fundamental purpose was to help Dole.

"I knew it probably would be closed when he announced for president," said Angell, who has interests in insurance, finance and health care. "That was something where you can give large amounts. Now we're hung up on \$1,000," the limit on individual giving per election to federal candidates.

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

"We don't consider ourselves Republican or Democrat," said Fink, adding that when he met with Better America executive director Jim Whit-

tinghill, he "pitched me on a balanced budget-fiscal responsibility-free trade message."

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

James A. Ortenzio, a cattle magnate based in New York City who has known Dole for more than a decade, said his personal gift of \$25,000 was inspired at least in part by the Kansas's record.

"I'm just a person who responds to Bob Dole," said Ortenzio, who has a keen interest in international trade issues. "He's solid, dependable. In times of flux, he's an anchor."

Similarly, Theodore J. Forstmann, a Fifth Avenue investor worth an estimated \$400 million, said he thought Dole was "a real American hero."

Better America's "main mission [was] to support Republican candidates around the country and I'm definitely in favor of that," said Forstmann, who had a private meeting with Dole here on Monday, talking about "everything from taxes to Bosnia, all kinds of stuff."

Kevin Elliott, an aide to Yong C. Kim, the president of a marine industrial services company in Oakland, said Kim was "supportive of both his candidacy and his foundation."

"His hope was that the Better America Foundation would give Senator Dole the opportunity to get out a talk about some of the issues facing the country," Elliott said.

Chuck Ruthe, president of a company that runs nine casinos in Las Vegas, said he gave \$25,000 and pledged another \$25,000 because "Bob Dole and his efforts represent the views of

business, more than the current administration."

"I'm sure it helps him," Ruthe said. "He already has a lot of money. It's certainly going to help."

The list of contributors noted that former Nevada senator Paul Laxalt, now a lobbyist in Washington, had "helped raise money" for Better America.

Nearly one out of every seven dollars to Better America came from Denver, the home of billionaire Philip F. Anschutz, a longtime Dole supporter who gave \$100,000 to the foundation. The Denver-based donors gave \$620,000 out of the total of \$4,609,400. The donor list also included additional pledges by nine individuals and corporations totaling \$725,000.

Better America reported to the IRS that it had \$2.6 million on hand at the end of 1994.

BUILDING A FOUNDATIONFINANCIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE BETTER AMERICA FOUNDATION
(CONTRIBUTORS MAY BE EITHER CORPORATE OR INDIVIDUAL)

Name	Position, company	City	Amount
Robert E. Allen	Chairman and CEO, AT&T	New York	\$100,000
Daniel P. Amos	President and CEO, AFLAC Inc.	Columbus, Ga.	\$50,000
V.N. Anderson	President-US Operations, Searle	Skokie, Ill.	\$100,000
Dwayne Andreas	Chairman, Archer Daniels Midland Co.	Decatur, Ill.	\$50,000
Don Angell	Angell Group Inc.	Charlotte, N.C.	\$10,000
Philip F. Anschutz	Chairman, The Anschutz Corp.	Denver	\$100,000
Stephen D. Bechtel Jr.	Chairman Emeritus, Bechtel Group Inc.	San Francisco	\$25,000
Lars Bildman	President and CEO, Astra USA Inc.	Westborough, Mass.	\$10,000
Bjorn K. Borgen	President, Founders Asset Management Inc.	Denver	\$50,000
Dean Buntrock	Chairman and CEO, WMX Technologies Inc.	Oak Brook, Ill.	\$100,000
Duane L. Burnham	Chairman and CEO, Abbott Laboratories	Abbott Park, Ill.	\$25,000
Wayne Calloway	Chairman and CEO, PepsiCo. Inc.	Purchase, N.Y.	\$10,000
Lewis W. Coleman	Vice Chairman and CFO, BankAmerica Corp.	San Francisco	\$100,000
Herbert F. Collins	Chairman, Boston Capital Partners	Boston	\$25,000
Lodwick M. Cook	Chairman, ARCO	Los Angeles	\$50,000
Peter Coors	Vice Chairman, CEO and Treasurer, Coors Brewing Co.	Golden, Colo.	\$25,000
Bruce L. Crockett	President and CEO, COMSAT Corp.	Bethesda	\$25,000
William Daniels		Denver	\$50,000
Cortlandt S. Dietler	Associated Natural Gas	Denver	\$10,000
Theodore J. Forstmann	Forstmann Little & Co.	New York	\$50,000
Ernest Gallo (1993)	Chairman, E&J Gallo Winery	Modesto, Calif.	\$100,000
Charles Gates	Chairman and CEO, The Gates Co.	Denver	\$50,000
Thomas Gosnell		Rochester, N.Y.	\$50,000
Richard C. Green Jr.	Chairman and CEO, UtiliCorp United	Kansas City, Mo.	\$25,000
Maurice R. Greenberg	Chairman and CEO, American Int'l. Group	New York	\$100,000
Donald J. and Adele Hall	Chairman, Hallmark Cards	Kansas City, Mo.	\$50,000
John Harbert III (deceased)	Former chairman of the Board, Harbert Corp.	Birmingham	\$25,000
Charles M. Harper	Chairman and CEO, RJR Nabisco Holdings	New York	\$100,000
Mark V. Heitz	President and General Counsel, Am Vestors Financial Corp.	Topeka, Kan.	\$5,000
Wallace Hilliard	President, American Medical Security	Green Bay, Wis.	\$40,000
James M. Hoak	Chairman and CEO, Crown Media Inc.	Dallas	\$25,000
Forrest E. Hoglund	Chairman and CEO, Enron Oil & Gas Co.	Houston	\$50,000
Mary Howell	Senior VP for Government Affairs, Textron Inc.	Washington	\$50,000
B.K. Johnson	B.K. Johnson Interests	San Antonio	\$10,000
Charles S. Johnson Jr.	Chairman and CEO, C.S. Brooks Corp.	Greenwich, Conn.	\$25,000
Edward C. Johnson III	Fidelity Investments	Boston	\$30,000
Glenn Jones	Chairman and CEO, Jones Intercable Inc.	Englewood, Colo.	\$50,000
Bill Jordan		Fayetteville, N.C.	\$15,000
Harry P. Kamen	Chairman and CEO, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.	New York	\$50,000
Yong C. Kim	President, YYK Enterprises Inc.	Oakland	\$10,000
John Kluge	Chairman and President, Metromedia Co.	New York	\$100,000
Charles G. Koch	Chairman and CEO, Koch Industries Inc.	Wichita, Kan.	\$225,000

Edward C. Kratovil	Senior Vice President, UST Inc.	Greenwich, Conn.	\$50,000
Henry Kravis	Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co.	New York	\$50,000
Robert D. Krebs	Chairman, President & CEO, Santa Fe Pacific	Schaumburg, Ill	\$100,000
Kent Kresa	Chairman, President and CEO, Northrop Grumman Corp.	Los Angeles	\$50,000
Mr. & Mrs. Virgil Lair		Chanute, Kan.	\$15,000
Charles R. Lee	Chairman and CEO, GTE Corp.	Stamford, Conn.	\$50,000
Earl T. Leonard Jr.	Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs, The Coca Cola Co.	Atlanta	\$10,000
Alfred Lerner	Chairman and CEO, MBNA Corp.	Cleveland	\$75,000
Gerald Levin	Chairman and CEO, Time Warner Inc.	New York	\$50,000
Carl H. Lindner	Chairman of the Board, American Financial Corp.	Cincinnati	\$100,000
Vernon R. Loucks Jr.	Chairman and CEO, Baxter International Inc.	Deerfield, Ill.	\$10,000
Robert P. Luciano	Chairman and CEO, Schering-Plough Corp.	Madison, N.J.	\$100,000
Robert Ludwig		Bronxville, N.Y.	\$25,000
Bob Magnus	Chairman, Tele-Communications Inc.	Denver	\$100,000
J. Williard Marriott	Chairman, Marriott International Inc.	Washington	\$50,000
Richard D. McCormick	Chairman, President and CEO, US West Inc.	Engelwood, Colo.	\$50,000
Russell W. Meyer	Chairman and CEO, Cessna Aircraft Co.	Wichita, Kan.	\$50,000
James R. Moffett (1993)	Chairman and CEO, Freeport-McMoran Inc.	New Orleans	\$10,000
William Murray	Chairman, Phillip Morris Cos. Inc.	New York	\$100,000
James A. Ortenzio		New York	\$25,000
Ronald Perelman	Chairman, MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings	New York	\$250,000
T. Boone Pickens	Chairman and CEO, Mesa Inc.	Dallas	\$100,000
Ryal Poppa	Chairman and CEO, Storage Technologies Corp.	Louisville, Colo.	\$50,000
R.K. Richey	Chairman, Torchmark Corp.	Birmingham	\$50,000
Julian Robertson	Chairman, Tiger Management Corp.	New York	\$100,000
John Ruan	Chairman and CEO, The Ruan Cos.	Des Moines	\$50,000
Chuck Ruthe	President, Boyd Gaming Corp.	Las Vegas	\$25,000
Patrick G. Ryan	Chairman, President and CEO, Aon Corp.	Chicago	\$25,000
Frank V. Sica	MS Investments Inc.	Bronxville, N.Y.	\$25,000
Harold Simmons	Chairman and CEO, Contran Corp.	Dallas	\$25,000
Herbert A. Sklenar	Chairman and CEO, Vulcan Materials Co.	Birmingham	\$25,000
Frederick W. Smith	Chairman, President and CEO, Federal Express Corp.	Memphis	\$25,000
Robert M. Smith	Chairman and CEO, American Barrick Resources Corp.	Toronto	\$75,000
John W. Snow	Chairman, President and CEO, CSX Corp.	Richmond	\$100,000
Anthony L. Soave	Chairman, City Management Corp.	Detroit	\$15,000
Jackson T. Stephens	Chairman, Stephens Inc.	Little Rock	\$50,000
W. Thomas Stephens	Chairman, President and CEO, Manville Corp.	Denver	\$75,000
Timothy J. Travis	President, Eaton Metal Products Corp.	Denver	\$10,000
Dennis Washington	Washington Companies	Missoula, Mont.	\$50,000
John W. Weekly	President and COO, Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co.	Omaha	\$10,000
Arthur E. Wegner	Chairman and CEO, Raytheon Aircraft Corp.	Wichita, Kan.	\$100,000
Tom Weisel	Chairman and CEO, Montgomery Securities	San Francisco	\$29,400
John F. Welch Jr.	Chairman and CEO, General Electric Co.	Fairfield, Conn.	\$25,000
Thomas B. Wheeler	President and CEO, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co.	Springfield, Mass.	\$100,000