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THURSDAY



Fantastic Voyager 2 streaks on to Neptune
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Dole lining up support of key Iowa Republicans

By DAVID YEPSEN
Register Staff Writer

Kansas Senator Robert Dole is assembling an impressive list of top Iowa Republicans to run his 1988 Iowa presidential caucus campaign, including many key supporters of Iowa Senator Charles Grassley.

Dole told reporters Tuesday the formal announcement of his list of leaders will "knock your socks off," but won't come until later.

But local Republicans and Dole aides said Barbara Grassley, wife of Charles Grassley, is a Dole supporter as is Beverly Hubble Tauke, wife of Congressman Tom Tauke and former Grassley press secretary.

The two are believed likely to be named as top leaders of Dole's campaign in Iowa. A spokesman for Grassley confirmed the two are Dole backers, but said any other role in Dole's campaign has not been decided.

Dole's support among Grassley's organization extends to the staff level. Grassley organizer Tom Synhorst has joined Dole's payroll helping to set up Dole's Iowa organization. Senate Minority Leader Calvin Hultman of Red Oak has traveled the state for Dole during the summer.

Other top GOP leaders and officials reportedly being wooed by Dole are Hal Manders of Dallas Center; Marjorie Ashew of Thurman, former 5th District Republican committee member; Margaret MacDonald of Cherokee, former state party co-chairman; former Congressman Bill Scherle of Henderson; and Donald Byers of Newton, a Maytag executive and former head of the Iowa Association of Business and Industry.

Formal announcements of support will be made later, Dole aides said, but they said they believe they are solving the organizational problems that plagued Dole's campaign in the 1980 caucuses.

While polls show Dole enjoying wide support among Iowa Republicans, he lacks an organization on a par with that of Vice President George Bush. Bush has kept his 1980 organization intact. Organizations are important to a candidate's efforts to find supporters and encourage them to turn out for several hours on caucus night to stand up for the candidate.



ROBERT DOLE

Joker of '88.

THE DOLE MOMENT

NEARLY TWO YEARS ago Senator Robert Dole got a phone call from his least favorite Republican, Representative Jack Kemp. Let's quit zinging each other in public, suggested Kemp. It's hurting both of our chances for the GOP presidential nomination in 1988. What prompted the call was a rapid-fire exchange of barbs. Dole had quipped—actually, he bought the one-liner from a professional jokewriter—that Kemp liked tax reform because he was counting on a tax break for hair spray. Kemp responded in mock sadness over the fire at Dole's library: both books were destroyed. That was tit-for-tat. Earlier Dole had stung Kemp with a good news, bad news joke about supply-side economics, Kemp's ideological passion. The good news was that a busload of supply-side economists had plunged over a cliff and everyone was killed. The bad news was that three seats on the bus were empty.

Despite his quip advantage, Dole agreed to the no-zing rule. But it's a hard rule to follow. Of course it doesn't apply to Vice President George Bush. At an Iowa dinner a few months ago, Dole declared that Bush was one of the greatest weeps of all time. "Let's keep him there," Dole added. Some Bushies in the crowd boomed. As to Kemp, Dole was angered when the congressman's press secretary, John Buckley, charged last December that the senator was trampling on "Reagan's corpse" to gain politically from the Iran scandal. Doesn't the rule apply to press secretaries, too? Dole asked. Well, after discussions, it now does. Still, Dole can't resist a good shot, especially if it scores a political point. Eager to win over the party's dominant right wing, Dole insists that "conservatives can't find much fault with me. Busing, right-to-life, I say, you guys should keep looking. You'll find something. Look at some of the [pro-] labor votes Jack Kemp has cast. They'll curl your hair."

This is Dole's moment. President Reagan is badly wounded by the Iran scandal, and so is Bush. Not only has Dole emerged as Bush's chief rival for the nomination, but he's still ascending, while Bush continues to plummet. Dole didn't manage this by overhauling his style. True, he's not quite the reckless slasher he once was, but he remains a clever, smart, pragmatic, funny, acerbic politician who gets by on his wits. Nor did he do anything in particular to touch off his sudden rise—no dramatic speech, milking of an issue, etc. Dole was simply "positioned for some upward movement if Bush slipped," says Republican consultant Eddie Mahe. He was the only Republican candidate besides Bush who is nationally known. Dole soared by default.

John Sears, the Republican strategist and part-time Dole adviser, has a more complex explanation. Dole, he says, is practically every Republican voter's second choice for the 1988 nomination. "Usually that's not worth a damn," Sears

concedes. "It's first-line support that counts. If you don't have it, you're going nowhere. You can't turn second-tier support into anything." Except that throughout 1986, Sears says, Bush campaigned avidly, forcing people to make a tentative judgment on him. They did, and Bush lost support. Suddenly Dole's second-line support "began to be more worthwhile." Dole went up in opinion polls, moving within five points of Bush nationally (20 percent to 25 percent) in a new CNN poll and opening a 28 percent to 25 percent lead over Bush in Iowa in a *Des Moines Register* survey. But, cautions Sears, Dole's gain in the polls may be illusory. "It isn't first-strength support yet," he adds.

Still, it sure beats the near-obscurity that was widely predicted for Dole after Republicans lost the Senate last November and he slipped from majority to minority leader. "A lot of people said, 'That's the end of Bob Dole,'" Dole says. "He can't raise money. He's a member of the minority. He's finished. My view is we're going to have 45 fairly unified [Republican] senators. We're going to find ourselves in a position from time to time when the administration is going to have a view, Democrats have a view, and we're going to be called on to work it out." That would put Dole in the catbird seat, with maximum media attention. And he may get exactly that. Besides, given his accessibility, wit, irreverence, and quotability, Dole is a reporter's dream.

The trouble, though, is that the Dole moment is artificial. He didn't create it, and he may not be able to sustain it past the early months of 1987. To make himself a stronger presidential contender, Dole has needed to do several things, and he hasn't done any of them yet. The first is to draw significant conservative support. You can't win the Republican nomination without organized conservative backing any more than you can win the Democratic nomination without liberal support. Dole has warmed up to New Right leaders such as Paul Weyrich and Richard Dingman, but they are still leery of him. He's helped them on some issues—preserving the tax deductibility of conservative foundations, for example—but not on others. Last summer Dole gave Weyrich the impression that he would appoint a New Right figure as his deputy chief of staff. Weyrich submitted three names, which were rejected. Finally, without notifying Weyrich, Dole picked a deputy from a Republican congressman's staff. Weyrich was miffed. For all Dole's wooing, he's unpersuaded.

DOLE'S RELENTLESS courtship of the right has a too-clever quality. One of his tactics is to associate himself with a conservative position without committing himself to it. In an interview in *Conservative Digest* a year ago, he noted that Reagan got no applause during his address to Congress after the November 1985 summit when he suggested opening up American research centers to Soviets. "It brought home to me the fact that even though we were pleased with his summit success, there is no enthusiasm to start sharing our technology with the Soviet Union." Note that Dole said only that sharing technology was unpopular, not that he wouldn't do it. Dole's attempt to appear

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Weather

Today: Partly cloudy. High 24-26.
Low 15-20. Wind: light.
Thursday: Partly sunny. High 35.
Wednesday: 18-25 high.
Yesterday: Temperature range:
70-80. (See box on page C2.)

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1987

Dole Sees Meeting With Tambo As 'Wrong Message' on Terror

United Press International

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) warned yesterday that unless Secretary of State George P. Shultz handles his meeting with South African black leader Oliver Tambo properly, it might send "the wrong message on terrorism."

Joining conservative criticism of the planned meeting, Dole called on Shultz to use the opportunity to press Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), to renounce the use of violence.

Shultz is scheduled to meet Tambo at the State Department today. It will be the highest-level U.S. contact ever with the 75-year-old ANC, which has been outlawed since 1960 by the white-minority South African government and is the main black opposition group.

Tambo told reporters Monday it is "not thinkable" for his organization to renounce "armed struggle" as long as the racist apartheid system continues in South Africa.

The Coalition Against ANC Terrorism, formed by conservative groups, has announced plans to demonstrate against the meeting outside the department today. More than a dozen conservative House members have called on Shultz to cancel the meeting.

In a letter to Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) last week, Shultz called the meeting "an essential element" in the administration's effort to press for a peaceful settlement in South Africa and transition to a democratic system. The meeting,



SEN. ROBERT J. DOLE
... U.S. "made a close and tough call"

Shultz said, does not "constitute an endorsement of [the ANC's] goals or tactics."

But Dole, in a press release, said the administration "made a close and tough call in scheduling a meeting with an organization that practices, condones and refuses to disavow the use of terrorism." Shultz, he said, should use the meeting "to pressure Oliver Tambo to renounce terrorism."

"Meeting with Mr. Tambo without that kind of precondition comes perilously close to sending the wrong kind of message on terrorism—the same wrong kind of message that may have inadvertently been sent in our arms dealings with Iran," Dole said.

arch-conservative even drew an amused barb from Senator Teddy Kennedy, who twitted Dole on their daily show on Mutual Radio. "Your tilt to the right isn't even convincing, Bob," Kennedy said. "You've done too much good on civil rights and food for the hungry to be credible to those right-wingers."

In truth, Dole's problem is more fundamental than a lack of credibility with conservatives. According to William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute, presidential candidates must have pragmatic and passionate sides. Dole is all pragmatism, scorning the role of ideas and ideology in politics.

I asked Dole what issues he passionately believes in, and his answer was cool and measured. "I think we've sort of led the way in dealing with the deficit," he said. "[I] passionately believe in good, old-fashioned Republican economics that you shouldn't spend more than you take in. 1988 is going to be a tough year for all of us with \$3 trillion in debt out there. It was \$1 trillion in 1980. I think we've made the hard choices." Maybe Dole is right about the deficit, but this isn't soaring campaign stuff, as Walter Mondale found out in 1984. Beyond the deficit, what stirs Dole? Nothing special, it turns out. "It's one thing to make the statements," he said. "It's another to pass the votes. It's another thing to provide leadership. It's my view that in 1988 people are looking for leadership." Ideas? Oh, yes, "they're always looking for ideas. We're all going to have a lot of ideas in 1988, I suppose."

Sears says Dole must "make the transition" from legislative deal-maker to Republican visionary if he's going to win the nomination. "You can't make it just on your experience" as a congressional leader, Sears contends. "You have to show yourself in a different way." Sears says Dole can do it, but hasn't yet. For one thing, Dole tends to micro-manage, causing Sears to tell associates he wonders if Dole has the discipline to concentrate on being a presidential candidate and leave mini-decisions to aides. On this count, Dole's quixotic bid for the 1980 nomina-

tion, pursued while also seeking Senate re-election, was not encouraging. He spurned good advice. His campaign manager, Thomas Bell, urged him to drop out of the presidential race in 1979. Dole said no; then, after Bell quit, refused to pay him for services rendered. Dole relented when Bell threatened a lawsuit. Now Dole admits that running for the 1980 nomination was "a mistake of judgment."

The most important change Dole needs to make is more personal, and perhaps that's not possible. As charming as he can be, Dole doesn't build what Stephen Bell, a Washington lobbyist and Dole fan, calls "an emotional bridge" to voters. He's aloof, revealing little of himself. In 1984 Republican senators backing a boost in spending for veterans recruited Dole, a disabled veteran with a paralyzed right arm, for a floor speech. They hoped he would personalize the issue by talking about his own experience of 39 months in the hospital recuperating from war wounds. But he didn't mention the subject. Rather than address a sensitive subject, Dole frequently finesses the matter with a quip. That gets a laugh, but it doesn't create a bond. A GOP senator says the reaction Dole elicits from Republican audiences is, "He was funny, but ..."

I asked Dole if he had regrets or reservations about his performance as Gerald Ford's vice presidential running mate in 1976. It was in that race, and particularly in the televised debate with Mondale, that he got his reputation as a partisan slasher. He referred me to his speech to the Gridiron Club in 1978. The part on the 1976 race consisted of five jokes. His humor was self-deprecating. "I'll never forget the Dole-Mondale debate, and don't think I haven't tried," he said. And, "if you remember these debates, President Ford was supposed to take the high road and I was supposed to go for the jugular. And I did. My own." Funny, but isn't that more to Dole than this? Maybe not.

Fred Barnes



DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

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