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Arias's Hopes, Ortega's 'Circus'

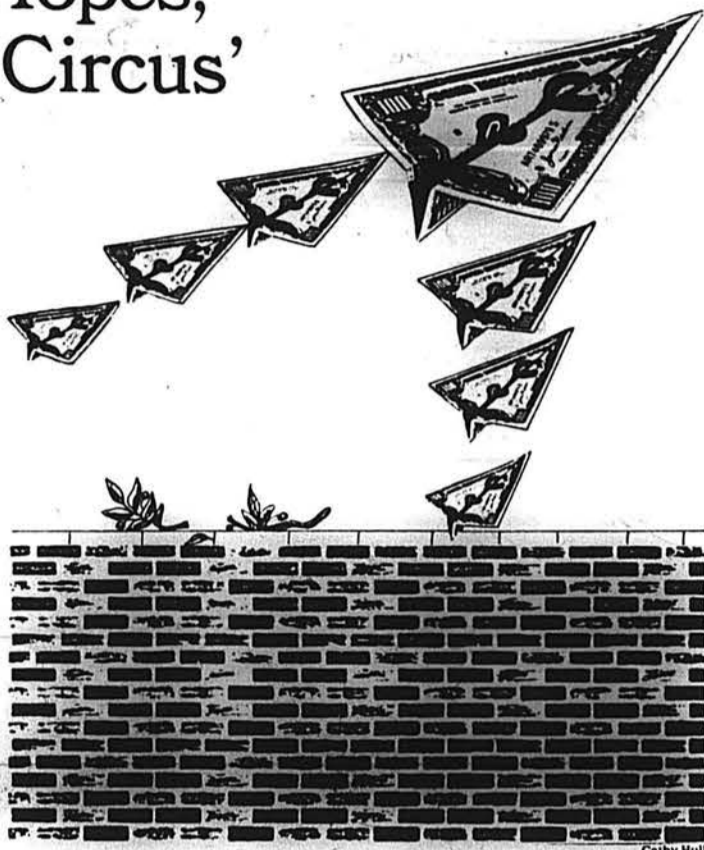
By Bob Dole

During the Congressional recess, I joined four other Senators on a trip to Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. We encountered some encouraging efforts at state-ship, tragic suffering — and a circus act staged by Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the ringmaster of repression in Nicaragua.

The good news first. No one can doubt the good faith of the democratically elected leaders of Honduras and Costa Rica, José Azcona Hoyo and Oscar Arias Sánchez. Both recognize the danger to their countries from a savily armed, Moscow-leaning Marxist dictatorship on their borders. But the peace plan originated by Mr. Arias and endorsed by Mr. Azcona and three other Central American leaders in August suggested that the men are prepared to run real risks to achieve peace.

Mr. Azcona understands that if this fort collapses he might be flooded with hundreds of thousands of refugees, many of them heavily armed intruders. He also knows that when the Sandinistas subsidize Mr. Ortega might increase his support for the insurrection in El Salvador and cast a greedy eye on Honduras. The stakes are just as high for Mr. Arias. Failure to negotiate peace in Central America could threaten Costa Rican democracy, which has survived for nearly a century without the need for a standing military force.

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simple women, from laboring and peasant families, whose sons and husbands have been thrown into Sandinista prisons. I saw it when I visited Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, the Archbishop of Managua, and Violetta Chamorro, the publisher of the censored opposition newspaper La

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Prensa — courageous reminders that we are working for something very precious: freedom and dignity.

Set against this suffering was Mr. Ortega's circus. And a show it was — a high-intensity harangue delivered before cameras and microphones by a man who seemed momentarily unhinged because a Senator had raised legitimate concerns about the Soviet presence and the repression of human rights in Nicaragua.

We had gone to see Mr. Ortega hoping that we could raise our concerns about certain aspects of the peace plan agreed upon in Guatemala City and to win reassurances that he intended to follow through on his own promises. What we got instead was a monumental temper tantrum and a nonresponse to almost all of our specific questions: When would the emergency decrees suspending civil liberties be withdrawn? When would La Prensa and the Catholic radio station be reopened? When would such political prisoners as Lino Hernandez and Alberto Saborio, respectively the heads of the Permanent Human Rights Commission and the bar association, be released?

We did get one direct answer — a very troubling one. When we asked when Nicaragua would send home the Communist bloc advisers and reduce its vast military machine to a level commensurate with its neighbors, Mr. Ortega said the issue was separate from the Guatemala City accords and would not even be discussed, let alone resolved, until some unspecified later time.

What's the bottom line? First, I am more convinced than ever that we must give the democratic leaders in the region the chance to pursue their initiative. As for Mr. Ortega, there is always the chance that the Ortega I saw is not the real thing. But it is hard to place much confidence in a man who chooses to mark Nov. 7 — the peace plan's deadline — by flying to Moscow to help celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Soviet revolution.

We must therefore keep whatever pressure we can on him to act in good faith. We should reauthorize humanitarian aid to the contras starting Oct. 1, when the current authorization expires. As for military aid, we ought to be able to find a legislative formula that would permit the immediate resumption of such aid after Nov. 7 if the Sandinistas fail to fulfill their commitment under the Guatemala City accords. Finally, we need to remain united in pursuit of the goals that nearly all Americans share: democracy and an end to Soviet intrusion in Central America.

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Dole Focuses '88 Campaign On Bork and Nicaragua Chief

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — As Bob Dole prepares to announce his Presidential candidacy in about two months, he is focusing his campaign, at least for the moment, on two disparate figures: Judge Robert H. Bork and President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua.

After a four-week, 28-state campaign drive in August to set up organizations and raise funds, Mr. Dole, the Senate Republican leader, has returned to Washington to assume control of Senate Republicans' efforts to secure Judge Bork's confirmation to the Supreme Court — efforts that Mr. Dole clearly views as significant to his Presidential ambitions.

Last week in Managua, Mr. Dole engaged in a lively debate with Mr. Ortega, in which the Nicaraguan leader denounced American conservatives for seeking "propaganda confrontations."

Mr. Dole, on the other hand, expressed indignation at press censorship in Nicaragua and annoyance that Mr. Ortega had turned a meeting with him into a "pop rally."

Candidates 'Under Scrutiny'

Dominating Mr. Dole's strategy, both in the Bork fight as well as the trip to Central America, is an effort to contrast the Republican leader with Vice President Bush and present a portrait of "a hands-on, engaged, strong leader," said Robert F. Ellsworth, Mr. Dole's campaign manager.

"Let's face it — what he does now is colored with a political hue," said Mr. Ellsworth, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Mari Maseng, a former White House official and Mr. Dole's director of communications, said: "Most Americans haven't really focused on the Presidential race, but they're beginning to now. The candidates are under scrutiny. And what they will see in Bob Dole is a person who's a leader, who fights for causes he believes in, who gets things done."

Risks in the aggressive strategy are evident, in part because of Mr. Dole's reputation as a tough political fighter who has been called a "hatchet man," by rivals. Moreover, he still has trouble living down his 1978 debate with Walter F. Mondale — when they were the Vice Presidential nominees of their parties — in which Mr. Dole referred to the wars in this century as "Democratic wars." He now says of the incident: "I was supposed to go for the jugular and I did — my own."

Concerns of Aides

John Sears, a veteran Republican strategist who occasionally advises Mr. Dole, expressed some ambivalence about the Kansas Senator's performance in Nicaragua. "It's probably not altogether a plus if Dole is seen in a confrontational situation," Mr. Sears said. "What he needs to do is the opposite, show that he can negotiate in a milder fashion."

Other aides to Mr. Dole were somewhat concerned Wednesday when he told reporters in the Senate that he was not simply making "a quip" when he was quoted in an interview with The Milwaukee Sentinel as saying that "a little three-day invasion" of Nicaragua would be welcomed by its people.

"I was just giving an opinion," Mr. Dole said. "We have no such intention. The point is Ortega doesn't have many friends there. People don't like Communism in Central America and they'd as soon he go away."

Also Wednesday, Mr. Dole met privately with Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has scheduled confirmation hearings for Judge Bork to start Sept. 15.

'Mainstream Conservative'

In the view of Mr. Dole's aides, the Bork fight can serve Mr. Dole's candidacy in several key ways. They say the highly publicized fight places him in the center of the debate at a moment when he is struggling to gather momentum and support in his effort to defeat Mr. Bush in the early nominating contests in February and March.

Beyond this, and perhaps more importantly, in spearheading the Bork fight in the Senate, Mr. Dole hopes to broaden his appeal to conservative Democrats and independents, especially in the South, where at least eight states will hold primaries on March 8 in which Democrats and Republicans can cross over and vote in the other party's primary. On that day, "Super Tuesday," at least 20 states will hold caucuses and primaries.

"The Bork fight is a tremendous opportunity for us," said William D. Lacy, Mr. Dole's campaign director. "We get to demonstrate to Republicans

The effort is to show him as a 'strong leader.'

that Bob Dole is a mainstream conservative, he takes a leadership position for the President, he grows in terms of name identification and it will help, undoubtedly, in terms of Democrats and conservative independents in the South."

Mr. Dole, according to aides, tentatively plans to announce his Presidential candidacy in late October or early November, several weeks after Mr. Bush's formal announcement. Among the six Republican contenders, Mr. Dole is considered to be the second leading candidate after Mr. Bush, who has a commanding lead in opinion polls.

Mr. Dole is now raising more than \$1 million a month in his Presidential drive, and hopes to gather more than \$750,000 next week at a fund-raising event in New York City. Also, Dole aides are encouraged by the prospect of a series of a half-dozen debates, starting Oct. 28 in Houston, among the Republican contenders.

"We see the debates as a plus for Dole because he deals with issues every day, makes decisions every day, he's used to debating, he doesn't travel around in a cocoon like Bush," Ms. Maseng said.

THE STAR-LEDGER, Saturday, September 12, 1987

A VISIT FOR SUPPORT Presidential hopeful Dole boosts Rinaldo, GOP 'crew'

By DAVID WALD

Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, a candidate for the Republican nomination for president, flew up from Washington last night to wish "boa voyage" to about 500 Republicans about to set sail on Rep. Matthew Rinaldo's annual boat ride around New York Harbor.

Dole, mindful of Rinaldo's senior status in the House, the Union County congressman's electoral success and Rinaldo's uncommitted stature in the Presidential race, took a break from his Iowa campaign schedule to meet and greet Rinaldo supporters as they boarded a Circle Line boat docked in Port Newark for a three-hour night-time cruise around the harbor.

"I'm glad to be here," said Dole, who is expected to formally declare his candidacy late next month. "I'm glad you're here, too. If I was here by myself, it wouldn't be very exciting."

Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate for the last three years, is one of six candidates for the GOP nomination for president, but is considered at the moment to be the principal challenger to Vice President George Bush.

Polls in Iowa now show him in a tie with Bush, he said. Last year, he trailed 50 percent to 10 percent.

Dole responded to encouraging words from some Rinaldo contributors about his prospects with a flat declaration, "We're going to win."

Dole stayed for about an hour before returning to Washington. He was scheduled to fly to Iowa this morning to attend a GOP dinner in Ames featuring all six presidential hopefuls.

Rinaldo, a Washington neighbor of Dole, said he is in no hurry to make any endorsement in the Presidential race. He said Dole, Bush and Rep. Jack Kemp of New York are the three top contenders and considered each a friend who has campaigned for him in



Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), left, and Rep. Matthew Rinaldo (R-7th Dist.) greet Evelyn Furness of Union during a reception for the congressman at Pier 23, Port Newark.

the past.

Rinaldo has hosted the boatride 10 times since 1972. The \$75 ticket price just about meets expenses, he said. Guests are treated to a cocktail party and buffet dinner catered by the Tower Steakhouse Restaurant in Mountaintide, live music and a close-up view of the Statue of Liberty.

Rinaldo and Rep. James Saxton are the only two of New Jersey's six Republican members of the House still neutral. Rep. Marge Roukema is the

Dole campaign's honorary chairwoman in New Jersey. Reps. James Courter and Christopher Smith have endorsed Kemp, while Rep. Dean Gallo has endorsed Bush.

"When you get re-elected with 80 percent of the vote, they all want your endorsement," Rinaldo said.

In some brief remarks, Dole acknowledged Rinaldo's ability to win Democratic and independent votes. "All the polls taken keep showing that Bob Dole attracts more independents and

more Democrats than any other candidate on the Republican side, and that means electability," he said.

Rinaldo said, "I know you love that early Iowa corn and that early Iowa primary. We ripen our corn and our votes a little more slowly in New Jersey. But I can assure you that when the time is ripe next spring, you'll find New Jersey is very fertile ground."

The Iowa caucuses are Feb. 8. The New Jersey primary is scheduled for June 7.