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Germond/Witcover

Dole: In the running?

By Jack W. Germond
and Jules Witcover

WHILE THE REAGAN administration labors to extricate itself from the current budget impasse, one Republican senator — Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Dole of Kansas — is enjoying a political resurrection. His new prominence just conceivably could lead to another run for the presidency in 1984 if Ronald Reagan bows out.

Dole's central role in hammering out specific details of spending and tax policy has elevated him to a position of real power in the Senate. And the leadership he has assumed in such issues as the compromise on the Voting Rights Act extension and in defending the food stamp program is winning him friends beyond his old, narrower conservative base.

Indeed, Dole's championing of such supposedly liberal causes, and his attacks on tax leasing and other schemes so beneficial to big business, have begun to antagonize many on the right, making the new perception of him a mixed blessing.

Nevertheless, Dole, while remaining a

strong supporter of the President, is taking the modest first steps advisable for any Republican considering a crack at the 1984 nomination if — and only if — Reagan decides not to seek re-election.

FOR STARTERS, he is cranking up his long-dormant political action committee, called Campaign America, to raise money that will enable him to help Republican senatorial candidates this fall. He has set as a goal contributing \$5,000 in each Senate race and will undertake to finance his own campaign travels in behalf of Senate candidates. The centerpiece of the fund-raising effort will be a reception at \$1,000 a ticket at a Capitol Hill restaurant in late June.

Significantly, Dole intends to keep his PAC going after the November elections — a move that is certain to stimulate speculation that he will try again for the presidency if Reagan passes up a second-term bid. Political friends, in fact, have warned him of just that kind of talk, but he sees it as unavoidable if he is to stay abreast of other hopefuls such as Jesse Helms and Howard Baker, who also have PACs.

Any Republican with an eye on 1984, Dole included, has to walk a cautious line on presidential ambitions as long as President Reagan keeps his own counsel on his 1984 plans. But Reagan will be 73 years old in 1984, and speculation is growing here that he may well settle for one term — though you can find many takers for the proposition that he will run again. "Who knows what's going to happen?" Dole asks — a reasonable enough question under the circumstances.

Well in advance of his PAC fund-raiser, Dole has already begun to travel the country speaking for Senate colleagues. He had a swing through Utah, Wyoming and North Dakota on last weekend's calendar. Dole will make some trips under party auspices but will finance some himself from his PAC — a good way to accumulate political IOUs against a possible 1984 run.

Dole is aware that it can be dicey business raising money for his PAC from business executives who have major

interests before the Finance Committee he chairs. He knows it would have been preferable, he notes, to hold off resurrecting the PAC until after this year's expected round of tax revisions, but the political calendar won't allow much procrastination.

AS DOLE MOVES more actively on the political front, he has a much more visible forum for his ideas as chairman of the Finance Committee than he ever enjoyed in the past. And he has his own prescription for improving the image of Republicans. It is one that could help the GOP, and Bob Dole, in the country at large but could also alienate big business.

Dole says President Reagan needs to focus less on welfare cheating among the poor and more on tax abuses by the rich as a means of combatting the clinging image of the GOP as the party of the wealthy. In the approaching deliberations on the tax package, Dole says he will be going after such things as tighter tax-collection compliance, tax leasing and pension tax shelters for professionals.

"If you take \$12 a month away from a food-stamp family," he asks, "why not take away a little from doctors who put away \$45,000 a year (in tax-free pensions)?" These people, he says, should be targets. "Instead of going after the guy with the leg brace who has been out of work a year and who has four kids."

DOLE'S ADVOCACY of what he calls a "fairness package" in the tax revisions wouldn't sit well with the rich, he admits, but then he adds: "The rich would have to take it."

That is courageous — some would say foolhardy — talk for any Republican with presidential ambitions. But Bob Dole has never been one to mince words. He has long been known inside the Senate as having the sharpest wit and most biting tongue around, despite the popular view of him as a hatchet man that was such a burden to his 1980 campaign for the presidency.

And now, from a more significant platform, he is coming on as one of the white hats as 1984 approaches.

In Wednesday's Perspective

● Cook County Commissioner Carl R. Hanes takes a close look at the Regional Transportation Authority. Though the RTA's record has been unsatisfactory, he says, it is basically a good idea. And he proposes the changes necessary to make the authority succeed.

● The State of Illinois Unemployment Insurance Trust Fund is in serious trouble — it already owes Uncle Sam \$1.6 billion. Columnist Bob Wiedrich says the first thing that needs to be done to save it is to extend for six months a freeze on jobless benefits.

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Jack Germond & Jules Witcover

Dole wears white hat

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For starters, he is cranking up his long-dormant political action committee from 1980, called "Campaign America," to raise money that will enable him to help Republican senatorial candidates this fall. He has set as a goal contributing \$5,000 in each Senate race, and will undertake to finance his own campaign travels in behalf of Senate candidates. The centerpiece of the fund-raising effort will be a reception at \$1,000 a ticket at a Capitol Hill restaurant in late June.

Will keep going

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Left touts Sen. Dole as voting rights savior

Mary McGroarty
Universal Press
Syndicate

WASHINGTON — Joseph L. Rauh Jr., the most liberal Democrat of them all, is going around town singing the praises of his unexpected new hero, Sen. Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas.

What set off Rauh, whose standards many Democrats fail to meet, was Dole's performance in getting the Voting Rights Act onto the Senate floor.

"He was superb," raved Rauh, a civil rights activist, at a Democratic cocktail party on Capitol Hill the other night. "He got us the perfect bill. We couldn't have done it without him."

Rauh calls Dole "the Dirksen of the '80s." Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois has a special place in the hearts of the left because, amid some of the most intricate semantics since the Council of Trent, he put over the Civil Rights Act of 1964 while pretending to tear it to pieces.

"Mightier than armies is the idea whose time has come," Dirksen intoned memorably on the Senate floor, after extracting some concessions from Hubert Humphrey.

Dole did better than Dirksen, ac-

cording to Rauh, because he gave away nothing sought by civil rights activists. He cut the ground out from under the White House, which, under the guise of "strengthening" the 10-year-old bill, was attempting to gut its key provisions.

Dole broke a committee tie and brought along other Republicans. He did it most diplomatically, calling his revised draft "a compromise."

"It was no compromise at all," says Rauh stoutly. "We got everything we wanted."

All Dole did was to put in writing the fears of the conservatives. He added language that specifically said that the new bill would not lead to the "proportional representation" specter raised by the right.

As late as last Tuesday, when the Senate Judiciary Committee voted the bill out 17 votes to 1 vote, the Department of Justice was still agitating for the "intent" clause written by Sen. Orrin Hatch, the Republican conservative from Utah.

"He was never a vicious racist," says Rauh of the architect of perfection. "Just a conservative guy. I remember him from his House days. He would listen to us, but usually voted against us."

Once the White House realized that Dole had the votes, the president rushed forward to embrace "the compromise." Attorney General William French Smith has yet to be heard from.

Dole's involvement began when civil rights advocates zeroed in on him as the only hope of ending the

Judiciary Committee deadlock. Sen. Howell Heflin, D-Ala., was out of it because his state was the site of the most fiercely contested court action of the Voting Rights Act. After they had generated some heat from Kansas, Rauh, NAACP President Benjamin Hooks, political rights activist Clarence Mitchell and other people of the sort that Dole doesn't usually hang around with approached him for support. He took them at their word that they did not want proportional representation, that they accepted the Supreme Court definition of the "result test" and, in fact, wanted only what they said they wanted, as contained in a House version that had passed 389-24.

"He was superb," says Rauh.

Dole can handle Rauh's raves. He took a leading part in the voting rights drama, he says modestly, because he thought the issue should be settled in committee rather than on the Senate floor. A number of Republicans agree with him. What they do not need, in this uncertain spring, is an ugly and divisive debate on discrimination.

"I think Republicans should get out of the back row on things like this," Dole says. "We are sensitive, compassionate people and we ought to act like it, especially if we want to be a bigger party."

It is a philosophy that has been expressed more bluntly by Oregon Sen. Robert Packwood, chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee, who is persona non grata at the

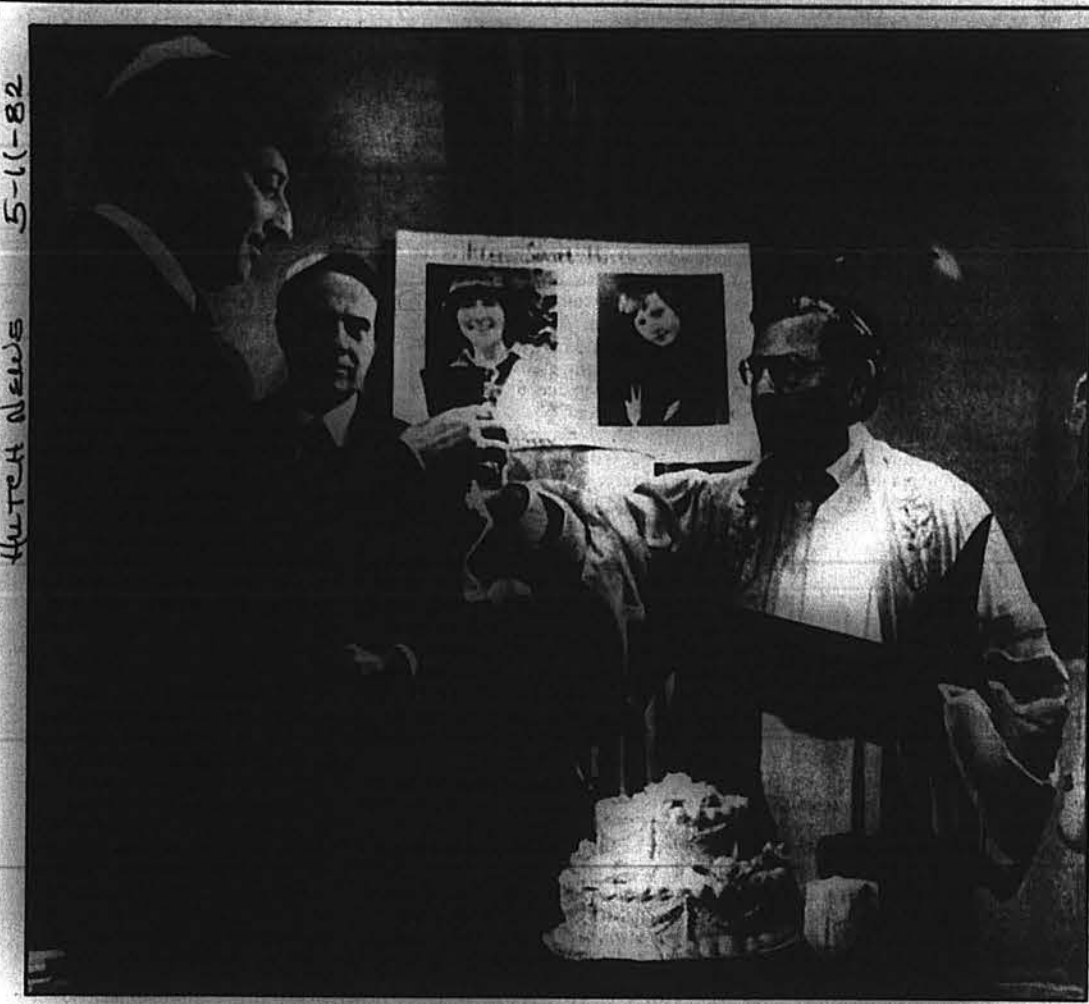
White House. Dole, who says he has a 94 percent "unity" rating with the president, claims that his relations with Reagan are fine. Dole's wife Elizabeth still has her job as director of consumer affairs, and sometimes Dole sends important messages through her.

Naturally, some White House staff members, seeing Dole's deviations on such issues as food stamps (he is against further reductions) and defense spending (he is for further reductions), believe he is playing to the left in the interests of a 1984 presidential candidacy.

Naturally, Dole denies it. He is known to make jokes about supply-side economics, which greatly annoys another ambitious Republican, Rep. Jack Kemp of New York. But he has not been indiscreet enough to call for the repeal of the third year of the Kemp-Roth tax cut, something the president finds unforgivable.

He also observes the cardinal rule laid down by the Republican National Committee: "The place where the White House and the Republican National Committee draw the line in the sand is that no one attacks the president personally from within our party."

Dole hasn't said a word about Reagan. And Reagan hasn't said a word about Dole, even though he must wonder about a former Republican National Committee chairman who gets buzzes from Joe Rauh, a man who rarely says anything nice about Republicans.



Dole, (center) watches as Rabbi Joshua Haberman marries Lozansky, (left).

Dole in international wedding

By Vicki Ostroloek
States News Service

WASHINGTON — With a yamulka perched precariously on his head as he tried to follow the half English-half Jewish service, Sen. Robert Dole on Monday witnessed the re-marriage by proxy of an exiled Soviet professor and his wife, who is being held against her will in Moscow.

At the same time Dr. Edward Lozansky was reaffirming his marriage before numerous reporters and various friends in an ornate room in the U.S. Capitol, his wife Tatyana and three friends who are also separated from their spouses started a hunger strike. They said they will continue it until they are released or die.

In an attempt to halt the consequences of a long hunger strike, Dole, R-Kan., and Rep. Jack Kemp, R-N.Y., who was the second witness to the marriage, are sponsoring Senate and House resolutions urging the Soviet government to act immediately to allow the emigration of Lozansky, her daughter Tanya, and the others, known as the Divided Families Group.

The resolution also calls on the secretary of state to transmit a copy to Moscow and to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Lozansky came to the United States six years ago after losing his teaching position for mentioning Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov in

his classes. He is now teaching at American University here.

Dole is a former co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, an international body established to monitor human rights. The Helsinki Accords, the resolution states, provide that governments will deal in a "positive and humanitarian spirit" with applications for family reunification and facilitate such reunions. Dole said the Soviet Union has not done so.

Dole addressed the group before the ceremony, which was conducted by a reformed rabbi and included wine, the traditional breaking of the glass, and a dried wedding cake.

"We're here today to call attention to the anguish and suffering of four people who want only to be together with their spouses," the senator said.

Referring to the hunger strike, Dole said he hoped the Soviet government would not be indifferent to the suffering of the Divided Families Group.

Dole said the resolution, which is co-sponsored by Sens. Carl Levin, D-Mich., Roger Jepsen, R-Iowa, and Daniel Moynihan, D-N.Y., will show the Soviets how seriously the United States supports the group.

Lozansky, who talks to his wife weekly, but has not seen her or his daughter since 1976, had hoped to talk to his wife by telephone during the ceremony. But the connection didn't go through.

Tatyana Lozansky is not an op-

pressed member of Soviet society, but the daughter of a three-star general, Ivan Yershov, who is chief of staff of the civil defense program.

She married Lozansky, a Jewish physicist, when she was 18. After he was fired, Lozansky was out of work for two years before emigrating to the United States.

Lozansky's father-in-law volunteered to aid in an exit visa, but only if the Lozanskys agreed to get a divorce. The general assured them that it was the only way to get them both out of the country, and could be rectified later when his daughter and grandchild joined him abroad.

Tatyana trusted her father (she still feels a loyalty, said Edward Lozansky, since she won't give him her father's phone number in Moscow), but he refused to help, claiming his daughter must stay to support him in his old age. Yet the Soviet government, according to Lozansky, provides very well for old generals who don't need the support of unemployed daughters.

Lozansky said he hopes his wife and daughter will be released, especially now that Dole is involved. "He is a powerful man and he must somehow feel responsible for our fate since he signed our wedding certificate," he said.

Dole's resolution was introduced in the Senate on Monday afternoon. Kemp expects his to be introduced Tuesday.