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Dole taking pains to survive the South's primaries in 1996

By Scott Shepard
New York Times News Service
WASHINGTON — The ghost of past Southern disasters haunts Bob Dole's latest campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. "I don't lie awake at night yet," Bill Lacy, the chief strategist for Dole's 1996 White House bid, said last week. "But you better believe it — 1988 haunts us." Few American politicians have

suffered the scale of defeat Dole experienced at the hands of then-Vice President George Bush in the 1988 Southern-dominated Super Tuesday primaries: 16 states for Bush, 0 for Dole. The key to that sweep was South Carolina, which three days earlier gave Bush a convincing victory in a rare weekend primary. Lee Atwater, a South Carolinian who was Bush's chief strategist, ma-

neuvered to get the state's primary moved ahead of the other Super Tuesday states so it could act either as a "firewall" to defeats in Iowa and New Hampshire or a "gateway" to a Super Tuesday landslide. Next year, South Carolina will once again be the first Southern state to hold its presidential primary — on March 2, just 10 days before the 10 states that will vote on Super Tuesday.

The fact that Dole learned his political lesson is apparent in the attention he's now paying to South Carolina. Hardly a week passes that Dole does not announce some campaign development in South Carolina. Last week, it was the endorsement of Strom Thurmond, the state's senior senator. But Dole's real courtship of the state is taking place in Washington,

where a former governor, Carroll Campbell, heads an insurance industry group. Dole has gone so far in the courtship of Campbell as to whisper hints of a possible spot on the 1996 ticket. Campbell "obviously has the qualifications and credentials to be vice president," Lacy said. Dole already has the endorse-
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Dole not counting his chickens just yet

But endorsements from New York build momentum

By JOHN KING
Associated Press
WASHINGTON — To hear Bob Dole tell it, he won't be whistled into complacency again. In the 1988 presidential campaign, Dole won the Iowa caucuses and was leading in the New Hampshire polls. "My pollster was whistling 'Hail to the Chief,'" is how Dole recalls it.



Sen. Bob Dole reacts as he accepts endorsements Monday by New York political leaders.

But his campaign soon sputtered, as George Bush won New Hampshire and South Carolina with the organizational help of Republican governors. Now, as Dole prepares to run again in 1996, one of his early priorities is building organizations in those early states. Dole sought to display his early strength again Monday, traveling to New York to accept the endorsements of Gov. George Pataki and other state GOP leaders. New York, with the third-largest cache of convention delegates, has moved its primary to March 7 — two weeks after New Hampshire. "There is no one in America that has the vision and experience" of Dole, Pataki said at a joint news conference with the Senate majority leader. But as Dole prepares for his April 10 announcement, his rivals predict his strong start won't hold up. "I have no doubt he will be more proficient from an organizing standpoint," said Mike Murphy, who was Dole's media adviser in 1988 but is siding with former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alex-

ander in the 1996 race. "But it won't be enough. ... It is far from certain that Republicans want the legislative leader they love as their president." This is the staple criticism of Dole: that his formidable legislative skills are not matched with vision; that when Dole talks about an issue he talks about strategy and vote counts, not why a policy should be approved or defeated. In shrugging off such doubts, Dole says he will offer a coherent message of reining in the power of government at home while responsibly exercising American leadership abroad. Last Friday, he proposed eliminating four Cabinet departments. "I've been tested," he said recently. "I've provided leadership. I'm not a lone ranger. I know how to bring people together. I have been there in every battle for this party for a long time." A few months ago, Dole said he might declare he would serve only one term if elected. He said his thinking was that a one-term president could make tough choices without worrying about re-election, but the idea was quickly interpreted as a potential compromise to ease concerns about his age. Dole, 71, has since nixed the one-term idea. Still, just discussing such a concession has encouraged talk, even among Dole admirers, that he is a fragile front-runner, propped up for now by his high name recognition and high profile as Senate majority leader. "We'll see what it looks like a year from now," Dole said. "But it's a lot easier to sign people up this time. You get off the plane or walk into the room and it feels a lot better." In South Carolina, for example, his early backers include former Gov. Carroll Campbell, who was a key Bush supporter in 1988, as well as Warren Tompkins, a top Campbell political aide. So far, "there is a certain comfort level with Dole," said Tompkins. In New Hampshire, the Dole campaign says it has identified more than 25,000 supporters already; at the close of his 1988 effort in the state, Dole had 6,800 names on file. "He has learned a lot from 1988 and is trying to avoid the same kind of tactical pitfalls," said David Carney, a former Bush political aide now helping Dole. "We will be much more organized and have a much deeper and broader organization than anyone in the country."

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Sen. Bob Dole makes a stop in New York to pick up endorsements for his presidential bid from state Republicans, including Gov. George Pataki, on Monday.

DOLE Dole has pulled out all the stops in South Carolina

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ment of Campbell's father and son, and "we're optimistic that at some point we'll get his support, too," Lacy added. Such a pairing makes a lot of political sense, according to Earl Black, a Rice University professor of political science who spent much of his academic career as an analyst of South Carolina politics. "If Campbell has any national ambitions, Dole is about his only option," Black said last week. Phil Gramm and Lamar Alexander are unlikely to pick a fellow Southerner, and Pete Wilson probably would not select a fellow governor, Black reasoned. "And Dole, by holding out the bait

of the vice presidency to Campbell, is showing he learned something from 1988," Black added. "He at least knows who beat his brains out last time." Gramm appears to be following Bush's 1988 strategy in South Carolina. He has enlisted the support of a majority of county GOP chairmen in order to stall any Dole momentum out of New Hampshire and supercharge any of his own out of Arizona, both of which hold primaries in the preceding weeks. But the big prizes in South Carolina — Campbell and his former chief of staff, Warren Tompkins — have eluded everyone thus far, despite Lacy's confidence that they will end up in the Dole camp. Even with Campbell at his side, however, Dole's problem is that he "has never shown much of a Southern touch ... or a strategy for doing well in the South," Black said. In another part of the country, Dole won some highly choreographed endorsements Monday when New York's Republican Party

leaders, including Gov. George Pataki, lined up behind his presidential campaign. They make New York his most unified base of support at this early stage. The New York primary has been moved from early April to March 7, two weeks after the New Hampshire primary. With one notable exception, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York City, virtually every New York Republican officeholder of any significance, including every member of the state Senate majority, announced their support for Dole. Dole said Monday that he would actively pursue Giuliani's endorsement, but the mayor said he was not yet focusing on the race. Dole also said Monday that he had decided to remain majority leader while running for president. He recently said he might resign his leadership position if he won the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. "We've thought about it," Dole said on Monday. "It's no big deal."

New Yorkers back Dole

Newsday
WASHINGTON — In a display of party solidarity rarely seen since the Soviet Union dissolved, all 14 Republican members of Congress from New York Wednesday endorsed Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole for president and vowed to help him win the state's crucial early primary next year. "This is an unprecedented display of support, and it does come early," Dole said. "But it also indicates we're putting a campaign together that's going to be hard to stop." The strong show of unity came



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on the heels of the endorsement of Dole by Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., New York Gov. George Pataki, Party Chairman William Powers and every Republican member of the New York state Senate. "He's a proven leader, an outstanding senator, a man who sheds his blood for his country and has dedicated a major portion of his life serving the United States of America," Rep. Peter King, R-N.Y., declared.

The pre-emptory show of political force should send "a message" to California Gov. Pete Wilson and other potential rivals about their prospects in New York, Dole said — and he indicated party regulars might use the state's arcane election laws to keep rivals off the ballot. "Once the party takes a position ... it's hard" for other candidates, the Kansas senator said. New York's contest is important not only because the state will send the third-largest delegation to the national convention but also because the primary has been moved up to an early date —

March 7, just two weeks and two days after the opening New Hampshire primary. Other presidential camps declined to cede the Empire State just yet. "That's typical Washington, D.C., arrogance," said Dan McLagan, press secretary for presidential candidate and former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander. "Bob Dole may have wrapped up the only people he knows in New York — that is, the professional politicians — but we'll see what the primary voters have to say next year."

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Dole sweeps N.Y. delegation

Newsday
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moved up to an early date — March 7, just two weeks and two days after the opening New Hampshire primary. Specter tour may visit Russell
Republican Sen. Arlen Specter will declare his presidential candidacy on March 30, he said Wednesday. He plans a three-day tour likely to end in the Kansas childhood hometown of Russell, which he shares with Dole. Specter has been testing the waters for months and has made no secret of his intention to enter the 1996 race. On April 1, Specter will visit Iowa and Wichita, Kan., where he was born. Specter also is likely to hold an announcement event that day in Russell, where he grew up.

SA THE WICHITA EAGLE Thursday, March 16, 1995

'Race-counting game' must end, Dole says of affirmative action

New York Times News Service
WASHINGTON — The simmering debate over affirmative action boiled over on several fronts Wednesday. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., said he would seek to end preference programs for women and minorities, while a federal court and a congressional committee also raised questions about their validity. In a speech on the Senate floor, Dole declared that he would introduce legislation this year that would bar the federal government from granting preferential treatment to certain groups. "After nearly 30 years of government-sanctioned quotas, timetables, set-asides and other racial preferences, the American people sense all too clearly that the race-counting game has gone too far," Dole declared. He urged Congress to repeal a program run by the Small Business

Administration that provides federal contracts to small, "disadvantaged" businesses owned by minorities or women and attacked another program that requires federal contractors to develop plans to increase the hiring and promotion of minorities and women. Dole fought to save that program in the mid-1980s when the Reagan administration sought to eliminate it. The White House seized on that fact and the fact that Dole sponsored the legislation to create the Glass Ceiling Commission to question whether his attack had been politically motivated. When the commission was set up, Dole extolled the fact that the law creating it provided for the establishment of a national award for businesses that made "substantial efforts to promote opportunities for women and minorities to advance to top levels." Dole acknowledged Wednesday

that discrimination is still a problem and suggested that the federal government step up its enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. "Discrimination is illegal," he said. "Those who discriminate ought to be punished." On the legal front, the U.S. Appeals Court for the District of Columbia blocked the sale of more than \$1 billion in licenses for wireless communication systems to review concessions that the Federal Communications Commission grants to companies owned by minorities and women. The agency gives these concerns preferences in bidding and allows them to finance the purchase of the licenses on favorable terms. Following the lead of the House of Representatives, the Senate Finance Committee approved legislation repealing tax breaks given to companies that sell television stations and cable networks to minority-owned companies.