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Same Substance, Different Style

For Republicans, the real issue is temperament and personality

They should certainly not be invited to the same dinner party. Even the Senate chamber is a bit confined for George Bush and Robert Dole. For that matter, the entire country sometimes seems too small a place to absorb the personal antagonisms of the two front runners for the Republican presidential nomination.

There is hardly a tension born of ideological differences. On substance, Bush and Dole differ so little that in debates they seem like two wrestlers faking

When Bush lapses into his gee-whiz optimism, that rosy outlook that comes from having everything dropped into his lap, Dole looks as if he wants to stuff a sock into Bush's mouth. When Dole makes one of his sardonic asides that let observers know he is above the low company he is temporarily keeping, Bush appears so offended by the impropriety of it all—one made sharp remarks at the Bush family dinner table—that he is momentarily speechless.

Bush and Dole have reached the very pinnacle of Republican politics by vastly different paths. Bush's road was smooth and privileged. Dole's relentlessly difficult. While Bush was being chauffeured to Greenwich Country Day School and going off to Andover and Yale, Dole was walking to the public schools of Russell, Kans., and working his way through the University of Kansas at Lawrence and Washburn University of Topeka. As Bush went to prove his manhood in a West Texas oil field with a family stake of \$500,000, Dole was serving as county at-

torney for Russell, where an unhappy part of his job was approving welfare payments to his grandparents.

Bush has seldom been without a safety net. When he gave up his congressional seat in 1970 in an unsuccessful bid for the Senate, Nixon made him U.N. Ambassador. Other appointments followed: the Republican National Committee in 1973, liaison to China in 1974 and director of the CIA in 1976. In fact, it was Dole who had to move aside as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1973 to make room for Bush.

Even heroism came to the Vice President at less of a price. Bush received the Distinguished Flying Cross after being shot down during World War II. A harrowing experience to be sure, but he was

soon rescued and left the service with no disabling wounds. Dole too was decorated in World War II, but the war left him crippled. He spent three years in hellish convalescence, moving from one hospital to another, without therapy for so long that the injury to his right arm became a disfiguring handicap.

Little wonder, then, that Dole has a dark side and that Bush, with his perky optimism, tends to bring it out. Dole has tried to suppress his brooding bitterness following his hatched-man performance as the vice-presidential Republican candidate in the 1976 campaign. Since then, he has gone through two political makeovers designed to improve his body language and soften his style.

Dole's hard knocks have in some ways made him more appealing. Unlike

Bush, he has a forceful personality, an appearance of calm that inspires confidence. Dole's sense of humor can be savage, sarcastic and sardonic. Sometimes, when he has it under control, he can direct it gently at himself. At other times it merges with his mean streak.

Dole's gregarious public persona does not have a private counterpart. Humor comes from the head, the ability to form attachments with people from the heart. Dole seems to trust no one entirely, least of all his staff. Staffers complain that he seldom takes their advice and they frequently do not know what he is doing. He fires aides abruptly and often.

One former aide describes Dole's management technique as peppering



A Vice President who sails with the wind

it for the crowd. If Dole gets exercised when Bush charges that he would raise taxes, it is precisely because he knows their views on taxes are nearly identical. Bush are pragmatic conservatives, men molded by political realities rather than burning convictions.

But the similarity in outlook only heightens the deep differences in personality and style. In manner, temperament, perspective on life—that amorphous bundle of characteristics that define a person—Bush and Dole are like aliens from separate planets despite years traveling in the same orbit.

It is no accident that the two sit at opposite ends of any platform, any closer, and the friction could set the place on fire.

For the minority leader, life's stormy seas

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staffers with numerous questions until they cannot come up with a reasonable answer, then giving them a withering stare. He expects his staff to keep his own punishing 14-hour-a-day, six-day workweek. Building staff morale seems to be for sissies. Says another former aide: "You don't go to his house to have Thanksgiving dinner or watch football on television."

In contrast, Bush has solicited and taken advice from virtually the same team for seven years. He stays in touch with most of the politicians he's met and worked with. Unlike many politicians, Bush actually cultivates close personal friendships. He spends much time writing notes and making phone calls. He is, in a word, nice.

Dole's family seems to be an adjunct to his driving ambition. He left his first wife one day without any explanation. His second marriage, to Elizabeth Hartsell, a Democrat turned Republican from North Carolina who was serving as a member of the Federal Trade Commission, seems more like a merger. He is curiously distant from his only child Robin, a daughter from his first marriage, when he arrives at a podium, he will give his wife a kiss and his daughter a handshake. Dole and his second wife, who have no children, live in his former bachelor apartment at the Watergate. They rarely have time for dinner together, and when they do it tends to be a microwaved frozen meal.

The tightly knit Bush family, on the other hand, is clearly a source of strength to the Vice President. When the three generations gather at their summer home in Maine, they spill off the veranda like an all-American tableau. Barbara Bush, mother of five, grandmother of ten, helpmate of 43 years, has the expectant look of a First Lady in training, holding the Nancy Reagan gaze before there was a Nancy Reagan gaze.

The only question that seemed to stump Dole on a recent Sunday talk show was what he did in his spare time. The Senator finally listed reading newspapers and magazines, and watching TV news shows. Almost as an afterthought, he added having dinner with his wife. When the Doles travel to their Florida apartment, they socialize little and participate in few activities other than tanning by themselves. Dole and his wife go to Florida to visit their son, they see old friends and political leaders. Bush likes to pursue his hobbies, which tend to be of the upper-class sort, such as sailing boats and fishing with flies.

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Happier times: the two men confer in Washington in 1973

Dole charges, with some justification, that Bush tries to look decisive but that in his years as Vice President he has made only one real decision to support Reagan on every issue. Dole, on the other hand, has been a forceful and decisive legislative activist, taking risks when necessary, but also knowing when to compromise.

Dole's main challenge now, as it has been for years, is to keep his dark side under control. Aides joke about his demeanor. Playing off *Doneshura's* concept that George Bush has an invisible "evil twin" Skippy, Dole staffers joke that their candidate has an invisible "happy" twin. Even after Dole knew he had won Iowa, he was slow to celebrate. When he finally accepted his victory, breaking into a genuine smile, Iowa voters

must have got a special lift, having made this sad man happy for a moment. Before the week was out, the happy twin had again disappeared.

Speaking at the University of New Hampshire, Dole humiliated a student who was asking him about South African sanctions. There's also little sign that Dole can be gracious in defeat. As he sat watching those red white and blue hats piling up on the NBC delegate vote board last Tuesday night, he could not resist snapping at the Vice President for "lying."

Bush faces a far different challenge: overcoming the impression that he has never been truly tested, that he knows little about the earthy struggles of daily living and that he has been sheltered from life's hard knocks. Where Dole projects a brooding calm, Bush sometimes exudes a disconcerting shallowness. He is almost stunningly incapable of expressing himself emotionally. Walking through Auschwitz last fall, he made jarring comments like "Boy, they were big crematoriums, weren't they?"

But Bush's problem seems to be less a lack of feeling than a well-bred inability to effectively express it. In the latest version of his stump speech, Bush says his failure to articulate his emotions does not mean he lacks deep passion. When it comes to family and friends, Bush's loyalties run deep. But in a broader sense his passions do seem to lack resonance, partly because his life has been so soft compared with Dole's.

The campaign is not likely to become any less intense. For Dole at 64 and Bush at 63, this may be the last chance to run for the office they so desperately want. Having overcome all the adversities life has thrown at him, Dole sees the presidency as one more challenge to conquer, so as to make the pain go away. Bush, for his part, sees a President every time he looks in the mirror, and has ever since he was a schoolboy.

Campaigns, according to the civics texts and good-government groups, are supposed to be about issues and ideas, ideologies and vision. Focusing on personality and manner is trivial. Yet this year, the fight for the Republican nomination involves something far more important than artificial differences on oil-import fees or taxes. It is a struggle between styles and temperaments that go to the heart of the kind of President each would be.

By Margaret B. Carlson. Reported by David Beckwith and Alessandra Stanley/Manchester

Dole: Mean or Tough?

When George Bush lashes out at Dan Rather or sarcastically addresses Pete Du Pont as Pierre, he is lauded for beating the wimp rap. But when Bob Dole snarls or sneers, he is blasted for having a people remember him as Gerald Ford's hatched man during the 1976 elections. The moment that stands out occurred in a TV debate with Walter Mondale, when Dole categorized America's wars of the 20th century as "Democrat wars." Part of the problem is reality: while Bush is so painfully nice that he seems driven to prove the maxim about which type of guys finish last, Dole can be downright nasty. When he grumbled "Go back into your cave" to a New Hampshire leader, his glower was frightening. But where mean-ness is a political liability, toughness is a prerequisite of leadership—and the line between the two is fine. Margaret Thatcher can be brusque with her Cabinet; Mikhail Gorbachev can be curt when questioned on human rights. Likewise, executives who must every day impose decisions know that it is impossible to be truly tough without sometimes seeming mean. Although Dole's dark side is one of his liabilities, it may be an inescapable flip side of the toughness that has made him an effective leader in the Senate.

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Campaign '88

Republicans talk tough in the South

By Mitchell Locin and Dorothy Collin

CHARLESTON, S.C.—Vice President George Bush kicked off a Southern campaign swing Monday with strong rhetoric aimed at underlining his willingness to use military force if necessary and his support for defense.

At the same time, an aggressive Sen. Bob Dole, campaigning in Georgia and Mississippi, said he was "tougher" than Bush and suggested the United States may want to reconsider turning over the Panama Canal to Panama if continued political turmoil jeopardizes U.S. interests.

And Republican contender Pat Robertson revived his claim that there are Soviet missiles in Cuba and hit on foreign policy themes during campaign appearances before Cuban-Americans in south Florida, drawing cheers as he condemned Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Only eight days remained before the biggest contest of the presidential year, the March 8 Super Tuesday election, when some 20 states will select about 30 percent of the convention delegates.

Bush's aides said he would spend about two days in South Carolina before the state's Republican primary on Saturday, an indication that South Carolina's significance stretches beyond its 37 delegates and that the state will play an important role in setting the stage for Super Tuesday.

Though Bush leads in the polls in South Carolina, Robertson is believed to be well-organized there and Dole has been focusing more and more time on the state.

"A president must never bargain from a position of weakness, and I never will," Bush said at a rally at the College of Charleston, citing the invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya and the Reagan administration's defense buildup. Bush pledged he would continue an equally aggressive course as president.

"I'm proud, frankly, that we kicked Fidel Castro out of Grenada," he said. "International terrorist incidents are down and I am absolutely convinced that they are down because we went in and punished the state that was sponsoring terrorism... Libya."

Dole made no effort to hide his motives during his appearances. The Kansas senator attacked what are becoming two favorite targets: Panamanian military leader Manuel Antonio Noriega and Bush.



Bob Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, campaign Monday in Atlanta, where Dole told Georgia lawmakers he was "tougher" than George Bush.

Robertson's theme of the day was Castro-bashing, which always brings a warm response from many of the people who have fled Cuban communism and moved to Florida over the past 20 years.

"I care very deeply about freedom, and I want people in Cuba and Nicaragua to be free," Robertson said at a high school campaign stop in Miami.

"As president, I will do everything in my power to bring about a time when we will eliminate communism from Nicaragua, from Central America, from the Caribbean and from Cuba."

Tribune correspondent Paul Weingarten and the Associated Press contributed to this report.

"If this [Panama unrest] continues... we may want to go back and take another look" at the treaty that gives Panama complete control of the canal in 10 years, Dole said of Noriega, who ousted the Panamanian president from office last week after he suggested Noriega resign. "We may not want to turn it over," Dole said.

And in an address to the Georgia House of Representatives in Atlanta, Dole used the word "tough" six times in less than a minute.

"I believe I have a certain quality that some may be lacking," Dole said. "I am tough. I understand you have to be tough to make tough choices. You have to be tough to deal with the Congress. You have to be tough to provide moral leadership in America. You have to be tough to provide political leadership in America."

"Is George Bush tough enough?" Dole was asked by a reporter.

"I'm tougher," Dole replied.

"When you have to go back to the Central Intelligence Agency in the Ford administration to say I've made decisions... He can't cite one thing in the last seven years that he has done," Dole said of Bush. Bush was CIA director under President Gerald Ford.

Robertson, trying to repair damage he caused to his campaign a few weeks ago by claiming there were Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, produced a Cuban refugee, identified only as E. Rodriguez, who said, according to the candidate, that he had seen Soviet missiles in his homeland.

Since Robertson first raised the claim two weeks ago, denials have come from the White House, congressional experts on U.S.-Soviet affairs and from Castro.

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Lagging in the polls, Dole claws at Bush

By Dorothy Collin and Mitchell Locin

Chicago Tribune

DURHAM, N.C.—Trailing in the polls and running out of time, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole went on the attack Tuesday with a barrage of complaints about Vice President George Bush and said Bush hasn't made an important decision in the past seven years.

Bush, who was campaigning in Florida, said he didn't want to respond to any of Dole's criticisms. Nor did he react to new Dole television ads that cast Bush lacking a real record of accomplishment.

Meanwhile, Bush, as expected, won the nonbinding GOP primary in Vermont Tuesday with 48 percent of the vote to Dole's 41 percent. The partial returns also showed Pat Robertson a distant third with 5 percent and Rep. Jack Kemp of New York with 4 percent.

Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, who also was favored, easily won the Democratic "beauty contest" in Vermont with 55 percent of the vote, followed by Jesse Jackson with 29 percent, Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri with 7 percent, Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois with 5 percent and former Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado with 4 percent.

The Dole attack was one of the loudest events on the campaign trail Tuesday, one week from the huge March 8 Super Tuesday regional primaries and caucuses, in which Democrats will select 1,307 delegates to their convention and Republicans will pick 712. Most of the primaries are in the South.

It is not unusual for front-runners to become targets. Dole agreed he was going on the assault, a tactic he relishes, because he is behind in the polls. It is also typical for front-runners to ignore such assaults.

Dole and Bush have played this game before in Iowa and New Hampshire. In the earlier contests, Bush at first left it to his aides to fire back, but then got into some trouble when he tried to respond himself by claiming Dole's congressional background was insufficient for the presidency. Bush avoided the matter Tuesday.

"I am trying to wage an honorable campaign and I am not going to get into the gutter answering every single attack," Bush said in Ft. Lauderdale. "I want this nomination to be worth something after I win it."

But if Bush was guarding his words about Dole, Dole seemed to want to talk of nothing but the vice president, perhaps hoping to draw Bush into a defensive position, a campaign style the vice president does not handle well.

"He talks about executive leadership," Dole said at a news conference at Duke University. "Well, where is it? Tell me what you've done? Give us some decision you have made that's made a difference in the last seven years?"

Dole also revived the Iran-contra arms issue, charging Bush supported "the arms for hostages deal" while Dole "opposed selling arms to Iran."

"We're talking about credibility when somebody gives you nine different answers on the same question," Dole said of Bush's explanations of his role in the arms for hostages affair.

Dole also ridiculed Bush's claim that he wants to be "the education president."

"My chief opponent runs around saying he wants to be the president of education. Well, he's certainly been quiet the last seven years while his administration has been whacking billions and billions of dollars out of the education budget," Dole said.

And he blasted away at Bush's resume.

"It's not the titles you've had, but what you've done when you've had the titles," Dole said. "Tell us precisely what you did at the CIA. What you did at the United Nations. What stands out when you think of Bush at the UN? What jumps out at you, some great accomplishment?"

While Dole was attracting attention with his verbal assault, Dole's campaign was also firing away at Bush on TV, unveiling a series of commercials dubbed "Footprints," "Waffles" and the like.

The "Footprints" spot shows snow being kicked by a pair of boots while an announcer lists Bush's government jobs. "Isn't it interesting that George Bush has never left a single footprint behind?" the announcer asks. The "Waffles" ad compares Bush and Dole positions on the Iran-contra matter, taxes, textile imports and the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force treaty.

The strategy is in sharp contrast to the one Dole used just before the New Hampshire primary, which he lost to Bush. The Kansas senator was all sweetness and light before that contest, despite negative campaign ads from Bush.

"We sat there for three days waiting for the returns," said Dole, who has told reporters since that primary that he made a mistake in not being more aggressive.

Meanwhile, the New Right met the New Left at a Pat Robertson campaign appearance Tuesday, and neither side liked it.

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