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Bush crushes Dole, rolls into Illinois Dukakis, Jackson, Gore split Democrats' Super Tuesday vote

Race turns clear — and muddy

By Jon Margolis

Emerging from Super Tuesday, the Republican Party is on the verge of getting itself a nominee and the Democratic Party is on the verge of getting a new leading challenger to its front-runner.

The Democrats now have a front-runner in their effort to find someone to run in fall in what increasingly appears to be a general election campaign against George Bush. But that Democratic front-runner, Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, faces a far more complicated situation than does Bush, starting with next week's Illinois primary.

Dukakis' Illinois problem is not so much Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, who seems to have displaced Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri, at least for now, as the candidate chasing the front-runner.

Rather his problem is Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois, who did not even compete in Tuesday's contests but still is leading in most Illinois polls.

"I'm very serious about Illinois," said an "exceedingly happy" Dukakis in an interview Tuesday.

News analysis

night at his primary night party at a Northwest Side theater. "I respect Paul a lot. As a matter of fact, my respect for him grew as I campaigned with him. But I'm committed to running a national campaign. I'm going to run a strong full-fledged campaign [in Illinois], particularly on the economic issues."

Still, Dukakis' campaign aides do not expect him to win Illinois. They could be playing the "expectations game," trying to make a victory next week seem more impressive, but they say they think he might well finish third, behind both Simon and Jesse Jackson, the third of Tuesday night's Democratic winners. The prospect of their front-runner finishing third in one of the nation's largest states does not comfort Democrats.

The results leave the Democratic picture less muddled than it was, because Dukakis has clearly become the man to beat and because one of the contenders trying to beat him, Gephardt, was severely damaged Tuesday night.

But it is still muddled enough, because Gephardt, the winner of two early contests, can not yet be counted out, and because the other two contenders who did well

See Campaign, pg. 12



Jesse Jackson gets a supportive hug from daughter Sanita during a flight to Houston Tuesday.



With his wife, Barbara, looking on, George Bush holds some of the spoils of victory in Houston after the vice president rolled to a Super Tuesday win in his home state of Texas.



Bob Dole begins his Illinois campaign in earnest Tuesday with a speech at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Oak Brook.



Richard Gephardt's mother, Loreen, gives her view of the race in Miami Beach, Fla.



After voting in Brookline, Mass., Michael Dukakis gives a lift to a 3-year-old supporter.



Albert Gore gets a running start from his farm near Carthage, Tenn., before voting Tuesday.

Campaign

Super Tuesday

Delegates totals
Estimates include Super Tuesday voting; results are incomplete

Democrats

Needed to nominate: 2,082

Candidate Delegates

Dukakis 401

Gore 364

Jackson 344

Gephardt 166

Simon 36

Hart 0

Other 281

Republicans

Needed to nominate: 1,130

Candidate Delegates

Bush 690

Dole 163

Kemp 39

Robertson 20

Other 30

Note: Other includes uncommitted Chicago Tribune Graphic

States they won

Democrats

Dukakis: Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Texas

Gore: Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia

Jackson: Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee

Gephardt: Missouri

Ten votes to call: Alabama, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, North Carolina, Washington

Republicans

Bush: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia

Dole: None

Ten votes to call: Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington

Reagan a factor; Simon still alive

By Charles Madigan

Vice President George Bush swept the Super Tuesday primary states, collecting an army of Republican delegates and marching into Illinois to face what may be a final challenge in the battle for the Republican presidential nomination from Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas.

Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee split votes all across the 20 states that held Democratic primaries or caucuses. The outcome set the scene for a grueling fight in Illinois and beyond by offsetting Rep. Richard Gephardt's earlier victories and giving a slim chance for revival to Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois.

The vice president's victory, anticipated days ago, was as much a measure of the continued affection for President Reagan as it was for the Bush candidacy, a strong connection that Dole never was able to overcome.

At stop after stop during the hectic Super Tuesday campaign, Bush wrapped himself in the mantle of a president who remains tremendously popular across the South.

"This is a unique political happening," Bush told cheering campaign workers in Houston. "It exceeded my fondest expectations."

"This region still strongly backs Ronald Reagan and his agenda," said Richard Bond, Bush's campaign manager. "That helped Bush. He's a very strong and very popular president."

"I would certainly hate to be in Sen. Dole's shoes after tonight, and especially if he loses in Illinois," said Bush's national campaign chairman, Lee Atwater.

Bush's landslide will end the campaign of Rep. Jack Kemp of New York, who has run out of money and has drawn little attention. It also could halt speculation that Pat Robertson's "invisible" evangelical army would appear and carry the former religious broadcaster to a decent showing, if

See Bush, pg. 14

Full coverage

● Simon says he is the day's real winner. Page 12.

● The battle for Illinois will be waged on many fronts. Page 12.

● Dukakis, Bush teams enjoy super celebrations. Page 13.

● The Du Page GOP is a tough act to break up. Page 14.

Campaign

Continued from page 1

on Super Tuesday—Jackson and Gore—seem ill-prepared to exploit their successes. Gore is not politically well-positioned outside the South and Jackson's appeal remains limited.

For the Republicans there were no such ambiguities. Vice President Bush won just about everywhere, and he won big in most places. Though the results were expected, they are certain to increase the pressure on Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas to win next Tuesday's primary in Illinois.

But while making an Illinois win for Dole more necessary, the Super Tuesday results could make it more difficult. Campaign momentum, while intangible, is real, and though it can be reversed, it would be quite a feat for Dole to reverse the momentum Bush brings to Illinois.

Dole's task was made even harder by the apparent collapse of the candidacy of Pat Robertson, even in the region which he had claimed would be his strongest. Though the Southern states have larger than usual collections of evangelical and "born again" Protestants, the former religious broadcaster and Baptist minister finished a poor third throughout the South.

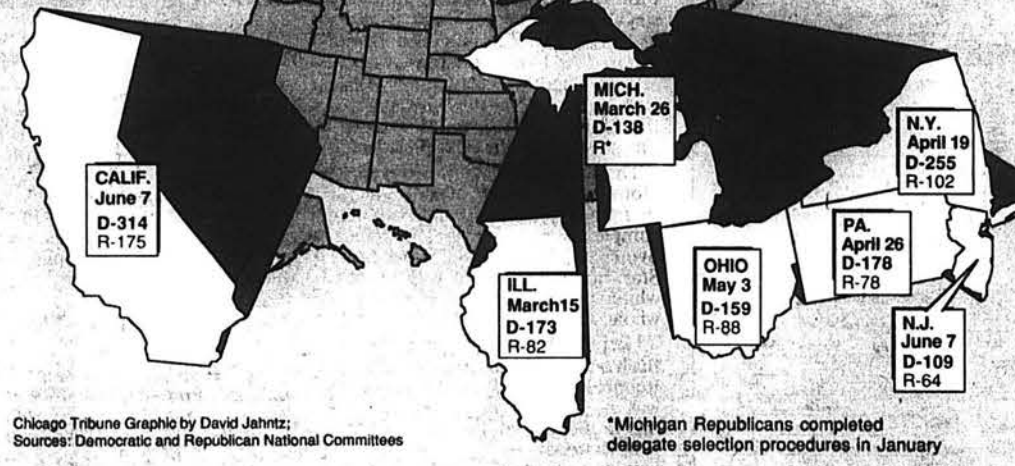
Even among his coreligionists, Robertson did not fare well. According to exit polls taken by ABC News, 44 percent of those calling themselves "born again" voted for Bush, while 34 percent were for Robertson and 16 percent were for Dole. Among the larger group of evangelicals, Bush got 45 percent and Dole won 34 percent while Robertson received only 15 percent.

The Dole campaign had counted on Robertson to hold down Bush's delegate total Tuesday. But either Robertson's appeal was never as

Big states after Super Tuesday

In the race for presidential delegates

D=Democrats
R=Republicans



Chicago Tribune Graphic by David Jentz; Sources: Democratic and Republican National Committees

*Michigan Republicans completed delegate selection procedures in January

great as some hoped and others feared, or some of his recent statements chased away potential supporters.

Whatever the reasons, the apparent fizzle of his conservative crusade delighted Republicans, some of whom had feared that a strong effort by Robertson would force the party too far to the right, or would make it appear bizarre in the minds of centrist voters.

Instead, it is the mainstream, establishment wing of the Republican Party that is dominant. Even in the most conservative parts of the country, the two candidates who represent the party's right wing, Robert-

son and Rep. Jack Kemp of New York, received only about 20 percent of all votes between them. Kemp, who finished poorly, as he has done since the contest began, scheduled a press conference Wednesday, when he is expected to drop out, perhaps endorsing Bush in hopes of being chosen as the vice presidential candidate.

That prominent Republicans already are mulling Bush's choice for a running mate shows how firmly they believe he will be the nominee. Such firm beliefs have been wrong in the past, of course, and voters have a way of confounding the most widely held political opinions. But the near-consensus view that Bush will be the nominee is just another hurdle for Dole.

Democrats also began talking about a ticket Tuesday night, and one combination mentioned frequently was Dukakis-Gore. "Al Gore has a decision to make Wednesday morning," said Mark Siegel, a Democratic political consultant who has remained neutral in the presidential race. "Does he want to be president or vice president?"

In Siegel's view, Gore might try to overtake Dukakis by attacking him hard on foreign policy and defense issues. "Dukakis may be stoppable, but probably not," Siegel said. "The candidate who savages him is not going to be his running mate, and is going to weaken the ticket for the fall."

Like other Democrats, Siegel said

it was hard to see where else Gore could do well. He does not even have full delegate states in Illinois, and he would be hard put to defeat Dukakis in the next round of primaries and caucuses in Michigan, Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania.

The candidate many Democrats, including Dukakis' high command, think could do well in some of those states is Gephardt. But the Missouri congressman was so damaged Tuesday that it may be difficult for him to raise any money. His best chance to recoup could come in the March 26 caucuses in Michigan, where several top Democrats support him and where his tough trade policies might attract support from auto workers facing job insecurity because of imported cars.

Most observers had felt that Gore and Gephardt, both seeking support from moderate white Southerners, could not survive Super Tuesday, and until the weekend, most had assumed that the survivor would be Gephardt, already the winner in Iowa and South Dakota.

But Gore, who had saved his campaign money by skipping the earlier contests, put on a television barrage of anti-Gephardt commercials and overcame his opponent in the final days of the campaign. In the all-important delegate count, Gore was winning almost as many as Dukakis Tuesday, and more than Jackson.

Super Tuesday was surely a good night for Jackson, too. He led the balloting in at least four states, per-

haps five, and picked up roughly 350 convention delegates. This makes it likely he will have at least 700 delegates, perhaps more, by the time the primaries end, perhaps giving him bargaining power at or before the Democratic convention.

Despite his success, Jackson still appears to be the candidate of minorities, unable to expand his support beyond the black community, some Hispanics, and just a sliver of the white majority.

Jackson did better Tuesday than he did in the 1984 primaries largely because this time he got almost all the black votes, according to the ABC exit polls. In 1984, he split them with Walter Mondale. The ABC polling indicated Jackson was receiving the votes of about a quarter of Hispanics, about what he did in 1984, and slightly less than 10 percent of whites.

That is slightly better than he did in 1984, but Jackson's white voters appear to be from both very identifiable and very small minorities themselves. Many of them are politically active homosexuals whose organizations have endorsed his candidacy, and the rest are the residue of the radical and counter-culture movements. Even combined with his huge black majority, such voters are hardly enough to provide the strength for nomination, much less for victory in a general election.

Without any noticeable strength among average voters, Jackson's political future remains limited.