## 340. 1988





up and Robertson stuns the establishment



Who represents the far right? Kemp protesting a Robertson 'smea

supporters turned out statewide and the Bush campaign was swamped. What made Robertson's showing all the more impressive was the fact that the turnout for the Republican caucuses set an lowa record-and what gave pause to politicians of both parties was the fact that Robertson's total was higher than that of any single Democrat. What did Bush in. similarthe front-runner blahs-early overconfidence, shallow support from unenthusiastic mainstream Republicans and a can-

didacy that seemed based on some vague presumption of inevitability rather than any cogent appeal to the voters. Trailing Dole among Iowa voters for months, he failed to mount the sort of focused and energetic stretch drive that might have prevented the wholesale erosion of his support on caucus night. His own staff was deeply divided over tactics. The field staff wanted Bush to run the kind of hands-on, informal campaign that worked so well in 1980, when Bush upset Ronald Reagan in Iowa. But the vice presidential staff and the Secret Service kept the candidate insulated from the voters. After Christmas, aware that Bush was losing ground, his handlers opted for a belated get-tough strategy that may have backfired. Bush's confrontation with CBS anchor Dan Rather, along with a campaign press release attacking Dole, seem to have made Bush look desperate and meanqualities that hardly endeared him to lowa's high-minded voters. In the aftermath, Bush tried to shrug off ad says. T'm entitled to the job.' That's

his defeat by pointing out that Reagan, too, had been beaten in Iowa and had gone on to win the nomination. In fact, the Bush debacle had been far worse-and, as if to prove the point, his campaign last week began a massive midcourse correction. The national staff decamped for New Hampshire en masse, the basic stump speech was wholly revised and Bush himself came down from hisvice presidential pedestal in an attempt to make better contact with the voters. The first results were less than impressive. Bush tried and failed to make a joke of ly, was a classic example of stealing Dole's successful line in Iowa-"I'm one of you"—and gave it up after only a day. He confessed his inability to make "eloquent statements of belief," asking his audiences not to confuse his habitual reserve with "lack of passion" about America. And he flattered the cantankerous New Hampshire electorate. When he takes the oath of presidential office in 1989, Bush said, he will be thinking just four words to himself: "Thank you, New Hampshire." Steady erosion: The results of Bush's humble-pie approach were hard to detect. Bush, who once held a commanding. 20-point advantage in New Hampshire, saw his support among Republican voters slip steadily through the week-and at the weekend.

network tracking polls showed that he was beginning to fall behind Dole. The trend suggested a second Dole victory, with potentially disastrous consequences for Bush. Bush's campaign ads, meanwhile. continued to stress his apprenticeship to Ronald Reagan as his major qualification for the presidency. One TV commercial showed Bush with Reagan and ended with the line "George Bush-prepared from day one to be president." "They don't get it." a Dole strategist said. "That

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just what the voters of lowa rejected The Bush campaign was sort of an imperial candidacy." Dole said last week "I don't think you can change that in the last three days." He may be right Buoyed by hissuccess in Iowa. Dole continued to bang away at what he and his advisers see as the strongest point of his candidacy-his image as a tough, decisive leader, especially when compared with Bush At the weekend, with both campaigns pinned down by snow, Dole's I'm-a-better-leader theme got

six candidates. Dole, in annovance, made

about it," he demanded. Dole's chief New

Hampshire strategist, 42-year-old Con-

cord lawyer Tom Rath, just stared at him.

next president of the United States, and

you're going to have to start acting like

one." Dole, startled by the challenge from

an adviser, gave a pained smile and sub-

ne episode with Rath was pure Dole.

It revealed the senator's compulsive

need to control every detail of his

political life and his often icy, peremp-

sided into silence.

pointed reinforcement from Alexander Haig, the first casualty of the Republican campaign Hopelessly behind atter winning less than 1 percent in Iowa, Haigdropped out of the race and endorsed Dole "From my point of view," Haig said, "Bob Dole is head and shoulders above George Bush as a potential president " The Bush campaign's new slogan, cynics

in the national press corps joked, was "Win-Big or Die"-but that wisecrack, a play on the New Hampshire state motto, could ap-

## ply almost equally to Dole. Despite his recent gains in the polls and his long career in Republican politics. Dole has yet to define himself in the eyes of many Republican voters. Is he the sharp-tongued hatchet man of the 1976 campaign, or is he now a wiser and more likable man? Does he have a broad vision of the nation's needs, or is his message only an updated version of the traditional Republican gospel of austerity and hard choices? From a tactical standpoint, both he and Bush are in at least some

**Dole: A Lone Wolf** Can this sometimes-brilliant, but often aloof operator pull a team together? leave, he really helps you, but By Margaret Garrard Warner while you're on his staff, it's as if he's saying to himself, 'If this Darkness was falling as Bob Dole's moguy's so good, why is he working torcade sped toward a Nashua, N.H., Refor me?"" said Assistant Depublican dinner. George Bush had at first fense Secretary Richard Armideclined and then, after his Iowa loss. tage, a former Dole assistant. agreed to attend and now was to be given Why is Dole the way he is? A the coveted final speaking slot among the

war injury that left him with a withered right arm-he must it clear he felt his staff had failed him. "I rely on others to cut his meatwant to know how it happened, why it made him despise dependency happened and what we're going to do of any kind. And some associates point to his frightful treatment in a veterans' hospital after the war, when doctors You shouldn't be worrying about things let his muscles atrophy for six like that," Rath said. "You may be the months without treatment or exercise. That experience bred in him, these associates say, a deep mistrust of others' judgment. "The last time he trusted someone with his life," said a former top aide, "it nearly

killed him. On Capitol Hill, where there are many different legislative styles, Dole is a brilliant inde-

tory manner toward those around him. pendent operator. He has su-These traits haven't inhibited his success perb political instincts and legendary vote-counting abilities. Soaring solos are possible on the Hill, where legislators as a legislator. But Dole's operating style has already hampered his campaignand could create problems for a Dole can pick their shots. But the demands presidency. Dole is struggling to overand drudgery of day-to-day management come these limitations, but it won't be are something else again. And so far Dole easy. For one thing he must resolve a has not demonstrated the executive talcareer-long paradox: Dole hires bright ents necessary to run a successful camand aggressive people, and is so demandpaign-or the presidency. ing of them that they once nicknamed Interviews with more than two dozen him the Aya-Dole-Ah behind his back.

current and former staffers reveal a lot Yet, the aloof and acerbic Dole mistrusts about Dole's executive skills-and his temperament. Dole demands the best anyone's judgment but his own. "If from subordinates, then often undercuts you're good, he wants you, and after you



and second-guesses them. He will make a deal with a fellow senator, and let his staff learn about it from the other senator's aides. After 27 years Dole still insists on reviewing all press releases and form letters leaving his Senate office, frequently rewriting a phrase or slapping on a new headline. He operates as is own chief of staff, dealing with a half dozen senior aides directly, making the ultimate decision himself on everything from negotiating strategy to scheduling. "Until he gets involved in something, nothing happens," said another former

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W. Valiet no one knows how high the ceiling may be

well, for example, in the Minnesota caucusdanger of hitting the federally mandated spending limit for a primary campaign, \$27 es on Feb. 23, and he is working hard in million before the Republican contest is Maine, which holds its GOP caucuses Feb. over (both will have spent more than half of 26 to 28. He has already predicted victory the allowable total by the end of February). in South Carolina, three days before Super And Dole, unlike Bush and Robertson, has little organization in place for the big push. to Super Tuesday, March 8, when 17 states hold GOP contests. Robertson's guerrilla army will have

Tuesday, and the South Carolina primary now shapes up as a key test of strength between Robertson and Bush. Bush's campaign manager. Lee Atwater, is a South Carolinian; if Bush fails there, Robertson many opportunities for ambush on the will be riding high when Super Tuesday true that the Robertson candidacy has a road to Super Tuesday. He will probably do dawns. The key to Robertson's strength in



Nemories of war: Veterans who served with Dole in Italy where he was wounded

aide. Periodically there has been deep | tract top talent drawn by the excitement dissatisfaction on the staff and Dole has tried to deal with it in his own way. "Make my office happy. They're unhappy," he told one new administrative assistant. But most of the time he is impatient with management concerns. When Chris Bolton, a top aide, grumbled about the turf battles fracturing the staff, Dole replied, "What are you complaining about? [You're]asurvivor."

Like servants: Staffers think he is simply unauthorized biography of Dole. oblivious to their concerns. One former and one current staff member used preputting him in a bad mood," said a former cisely the same words to describe Dole's attitude toward his staff. The senator, they said, treats subordinates "the way the newly rich treat servants." Dole is swift to dismiss those he considers incompetent. "If a staff member doesn't measure up to his standard, they are quickly gone," says Jo-Anne Coe, Dole's longtime senior political adviser. But he is sparing with his praise and thanks for those who she replied. do make the grade. When displeased, he cuts the offending aide off for a time. "He puts you in the deep freeze." said one former staffer. "It's mid-August and you're walking around Washington in

mittens and a muffler." Dole's staffers see flashes of his charm and legendary wit. But for the most part. said one, "he reserves that effort for those outside the family." Dole is a tough, demanding boss, but he continues to atthe South may well be crossover Democrats: along with South Carolina, seven of the Republican primary states on Super Tuesday permit crossover voting. For the moment, at least, the Dole campaign hopes that Robertson will cut into Bush's strength across the South. But Dole's advisers, like almost all mainstream Re publicans, are casting a wary eve on Robertson's disruptive potential. If it is natural "ceiling," as some skeptics believe.

as "a cold, aggressive producer, like the boss." Another aide described the toughminded Coe as "Bob Dole in an Ultrasuede suit."

At the campaign office, Dole is now on his third wave of managers. Despite his stunning success in Iowa, staffers still joke about "the C-word"-chaos. Dole partisans welcomed the arrival in November of the newest campaign manag er, Bill Brock, because the former labor secretary and Republican National Committee chairman was seen as a strong figure whose judgment Dole would re-spect. "We can shout at each other because we're peers," Brock said. But early on, Brock learned what it was like to be undercut. After negotiating for days

of working for such an activist senator. | with the White House about just when He likes subordinates to present ideas and how Dole would endorse the presisuccinctly, in brief memos if possible. He dent's proposed intermediate-range misreplies quickly, and decisively, with a sile treaty, Brock got a call from a scrawled "Yes," "No" or "Need more," stunned Reagan aide. The aide had just Staffers who want to ask him something | heard about a Dole speech charging that learn to catch the busy senator on the the administration had managed to fly. "There's an elusiveness about him, a "stuff the INF agreement down the hit-and-run quality," said former aide throat of NATO." An embarrassed Brock Stanley Hilton, author of an upcoming was equally surprised. "Using the words 'Dole' and 'management' in the same Dole's wintry demeanor does not insentence is an oxymoron," lamented a vite challenges from his staff. "You risk | Dole admirer familiar with the incident.

Dismayed by Dole's continued urge to aide. Campaign press secretary Mari Ma- call all the shots in the campaign, Brock seng insists Dole "doesn't respect you if at one point told him: "There are two jobs you play the yes man." But some subal- in this campaign-candidate and camterns seem almost in awe of Dole's judg- paign manager. You can have one.'

ment. When Coe, who's been with Dole 21 His way: Dole's admirers insist that he years, was asked what she did if she will grow, that he can adjust his temperthought he was making a mistake, "I ament and style to accommodate the don't think there ever was such a time," campaign and, if he wins the White House, the presidency. In an interview Dole in the late 1970s did hire a group of last week with NEWSWEEK, Dole said he high-powered finance-committee aides to guide him through the arcana of tax but in the same breath defended his policy. But the authority of the group, need for tight control. "You stay out of headed by lawyer Robert Lighthizer, was trouble that way," he said. "I think my tightly restricted. "They were on a short instincts are good. I keep telling my leash," says a former Reagan official. staff, 'If I goof up, they're not going to Dole's most trusted senior aides tend to | blame you, they're going to blame me'. resemble him. A Dole staffer described Dole was suggesting that whether he Lighthizer—a possible White House wins or loses he's going to do it his way— chief of staff if Dole becomes president— and only his way

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Last week, at least, Robertson was locked in a three-way battle for third place in the New Hampshire primary with Rep. Jack Kemp and former Delaware governor Pete du Pont. He was also on the defensive, after Kemp charged publicly that Robertson supporters had launched a smear campaign to suggest that Kemp was soft on pornography and that his daughter had had an abortion. Although the Robertson campaign said it would investigate, press secretary Constance Snapp admitted that literature containing the charges against Kemp had been distributed by someone involved in the Robertson campaign. But with Robertson moving up in the polls, the real question was whether Kemp's outburst would make a difference to New Hampshire voters. "We've got to finish first or second here," a Kemp adviser said, "or it's all over."

Foreign competition: The GOP's deepening divisions had Democrats laughing-though in truth, the Democratic presidential campaign was off to a notably soggy start. With no front runner, the Iowa Democratic caucuses produced a narrow win for Rep. Richard Gephardt, who played on blue-collar voters' fears of foreign competition with tough talk of protectionism. In New Hampshire, however, most polls showed Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis holding a strong lead over Gephardt and Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois-which suggested that the first two contests of the Democratic campaign would do little to resolve the shapeless scramble for the 1988 nomination except winnow out the bottomtier candidates.

The prospects for the coming weeks are hardly more inspiring. Assuming Dukakis, Gephardt and Simon survive, the Demo cratic race will still be a game of musical chairs among five roughly equal candidates-the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, who chose to ignore the Iowa caucuses, are basing their strategies on Super Tuesday. Jackson, who more than doubled his 1984 showing in the lowa caucuses, may yet win the most delegates on Super Tuesday; Gore, who is raising big money among Southern moderates, currently figures to run second. The outlook, in short, is that no front runner will emerge until the big industrial-state primaries in Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania following Super Tuesday. As a result, the Democrats may be even more likely than the Republicans to stage a brawl at the 1988 convention-but if an orderly nominating process is the key to victory in November, both parties have much to fear and much to do.

TOM MORGAN THAU with HOWARD FINEMAN in New Humphire ANN MUDANIES and the back unspection Materian Charles Waves and Song Tel-company and Jones MUCORMICK in Iona

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