

With help from Pat Robertson, he turns the G.O.P. race upside down

The day after the Iowa cau- | er. his jokes funnier, his rapport with votses, an earthquake shook ers seemed warmer. For Dole and his New Hampshire. It was a chief opponents in the Republican presismall tremor, just enough to give folks a jolt. On the same day, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas swept 1988 into the Granite State for a final round of campaigning before this week's primary. The often tightly coiled politician seemed a changed man: jaunty. self-possessed. rejuvenated. After winning the Iowa contest with 38% of the Republican vote, he suddenly had the aura of a champion. "We're staffers. winning!" he exulted as he greeted a supporter in Nashua. His rhetoric was sharp-

dential race, the Iowa results promised to have earth-shaking ramifications. As he barnstormed through the snow Dole was clearly on a roll. When he posed for a photographer on a street corner near Exeter, a passing driver honked his horn and yelled. "Give 'em hell. Bob!" Dole marveled at his reception. "People are wishing me luck now," he gloated to his "He's grown as a candidate in just the last four days." said his poll-ster Richard Wirthlin late in the week.

He's more confident, more assured." The flip side of Dole's Iowa victory was Vice President George Bush's defeat. Despite his status as Reagan's heir apparent. the advantages of office and more than \$5 million in campaign funds, Bush finished a distant-third, with a slim 19% of the vote. Pat Robertson, the former religious broadcaster who has never held public office, stunned the Republican establishment with 25% of the vote and a second-place finish, emerging as a power ful and potentially disruptive force. The lowa results set the stage for grip ping political drama in both parties as the

primary season opened this week. With no incumbent to rally around, each party had hoped for an early consensus behind a strong candidate. Instead, the muddled Democratic results and the turmoil in the G.O.P. increase the chances of protracted warfare right through the spring. As expected, the chorus of lesser

G.O.P. candidates began making their ex-its. Alexander Haig (0% in Iowa, last place) quit the race last Friday with a parting shot at Bush-and, indirectly, at the Reagan inner circle that had ousted him as Secretary of State. "From my point of view," said Haig, "Bob Dole is head and shoulders above George Bush as a potential President." Pete du Pont (7%, fifth place) will soon be heading back to Delaware's chateau country. Jack Kemp (11%, fourth place) had counted on out-flanking Bush and Dole on the right as the true-blue conservative candidate. But Robertson's message of moral regeneration proved more appealing than Kemp's pep talks on economics, and the Buffalo Congressman could only hope that a strong finish in New Hampshire would keep him in the game.

"He's grown as a candidate," the Senator's polister says. "He's more confident

Struggling to keep his candidacy viable. Bush badly needed a win in New Hampshire. Two weeks ago polls showed him leading Dole by 20 points in the state. Late last week most surveys found the race too close to call. Dole was poised to ation had been upset a rival whose nomin portraved as inevitable.

In Iowa. Dole capitalized on dissatisfaction with the Reagan Administration. But in New Hampshire, where the President remains popular. Dole struck a more conservative note, reiterating his support for the Nicaragua contras and, most nota-bly, the Strategic Defense Initiative. "I will develop SDI. I will test SDI. I will deploy SDI," he thundered to the state legis-lature. A Dole aide boasted, "Ronald Reagan couldn't find any room to the right of that speech." Dole sounded even more like Reagan at a G.O.P. forum in Nashua. "As President of the U.S.," he vowed. "I pledge to veto any attempt to increase new taxes."

Yet even in the midst of his roll. Dole could not completely check the crusty streak that has proved his undoing in the past. His testiness surfaced when liberal students at the University of New Hampshire grilled him about South Africa. "Aren't there any conservative students here?" Dole bantered at first. Then he lost patience. Why, one questioner persisted, was Dole unwilling to support "realistic sanctions"? Dole shot back. "Name those realistic sanctions." When the student faltered. Dole bore in on him. "Name 'em." he growled. "Give me a list of them." The student replied, "I'm sorry, I can't." His point made, Dole drawled, "Oh, O.K. Go head

Afterward, Dole defended his harshess. "I'm trying to make the point up here that Bob Dole is a conservative Republican: Bob Dole is tough enough to stand up to some of these ideas." he told TIME. "They ought to know that if Bob Dole is President ... that's the way I oper-ate." But after Ronald Reagan's sunny optimism. Republican voters may be startled when they encounter Dole's occa-

sional cold furies. While Dole built up momentum. Bush appeared unanchored. The Vice President's men blamed external factors for the crushing loss in Iowa: six years of a depressed farm economy. Dole's Mid-western background. Senator Charles Grassley's support for Dole. In truth. the Vice President had simply failed to moti-vate caucus goers. Bush had garnered 35.000 pre-caucus commitments, but wound up with little more than 20.000 votes. His projected supporters either changed their minds or stayed at home on caucus night.

When asked what he could do to turn his campaign around. Bush wanly replied. "Do a better job of getting my message out. Work harder, though I don't know how I can do that." In fact. Bush has been campaigning relentlessly for two years.

His weak support in Iowa did not stem from lack of hard work, or even from his involvement in the Iran-contra scandal. The essential problem with the Bush campaign was the man himself

His "message" builds on his loyalty to Ronald Reagan, but his rhetoric evokes images of following rather than leading. His stump speech-delivered in disjoint ed sentence fragments and punctuated by jittery mannerisms-does little to com-mand respect or confidence. When Dole preaches about reducing the deficit, compassion for the poor and "hands-on leadership," he sounds convincing, even ur-gent. Bush tells his audiences. "I want to be the education President," leaving them sitting on their hands. Try as he might Bush has not attained the stature that a successful candidate needs.

At midweek the Bush camp brought in former Reagan Wordsmith Peggy Noonan to rewrite his stump speech. The result was a tight. effective assault on the recent lack of congressional leadership. Bush's biggest weapon against Dole. The Vice President scaled back his intimidat ing Secret Service entourage and toured shopping malls to engage in the "retail politics" required in New Hampshire. Before an audience of retirees in Ports mouth. he pleaded for understanding: "I don't always articulate well, but I always do feel. Nobody believes more strongly It seemed to work.

Even if Bush rallies for a clear win in New Hampshire, he faces tough tests ahead. Robertson could prove to be more of a spoiler in the South than he was in Iowa. Robertson credited his dazzling showing in Iowa to God and his "invisible army" of supporters. Actually, Robertson supporters functioned less like an army than a skilled commando brigade. They understood the caucus system well and adroitly concentrated on group voting. Robertson organizers even rented buses to deliver their supporters to meetings en masse. Throughout the South and in such





Nation

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

R onald Reagan was in a strange little drama up in New Hampshire last week that the wags in the White House named *The Body Snatchers*. Reagan played the body.

Watching from the Warmth

states as Michigan and Minnesota, Robertson has built up similarly efficient organizations full of fervent campaigners. To some Republicans, the Dolemiddle ground for them."

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Bush-Robertson conflict taking shape is a sign of fragmentation and discord in the G.O.P. "All the cultural contradictions of the party are coming home to roost." says John Buckley. a senior Kemp aide. "We are paying for the coalition we put together in 1980." Unlike Reagan in that year, no Republican in 1988 seems capable of winning the support of both moderate conservatives and right-wing evangelicals. Moreover, Robertson voters seem unlikely to throw their weight to a more electable, coalition candidate. "They hold their views

Bob Dole on camera waved his letter of presidential

thanks for help in the Senate approval of *contra* aid, one of 51 sent to supporters. George Bush played trump and rushed

back to Washington, huddled officially in the Oval Office on

secret matters with the President, stayed around for his

weekly lunch and then made sure a photo of the two deep

Reagan kind of liked it. There are a couple of things that

dency, he sportingly lifted "George, tell 'em you paid for the microphone

go for the farmers. Now Iowa has bashed Reagan's own Vice

licly-but he is not sworn to be oblivious. He is intensely in-

terested. He and Nancy watched the lowa returns into the night. But nary a leak trickled down.

cincts to talk about whether or not he should come back for

the contra vote, the President listened and never tilted either

way. Bush decided on his own to return. The President did not even tell Chief of Staff Howard

Baker what he and Bush said at the post-lowa lunch "Don't

you suppose." ventured one White House staffer. "he said.

Reagan is sworn to neutrality-so he's said nothing pub-

Earlier, when Bush called in from the frozen Iowa pre-

into beef-pepper-pot soup was pumped out to the press.

have got under his skin dur-

ing these past few weeks. One

is Dole. The other is Iowa.

when it helps him, then

cozies up when the crowd

turns out to be pro-Gipper. as

in New Hampshire. In Iowa

they have been sore at Rea-

gan for eight years, even

though he helped jolly them

through the Great Depres-

sion as Dutch Reagan, ace

sportscaster. In the 1980 cau-

cuses, Iowa voted Reagan

down, but when he neverthe-

less went on to win the presi-

Jimmy Carter's grain embar-

President. No wonder he's a bit annoyed.

Dole beats up on Reagan

with a ferocity that makes compromise for those who are concerned or resentful impossible." says John Deardourff, a about America's lost jobs and lost longtime G.O.P. consultant. "There is no The fractures in the GOP coalition

he returned to the campaign. He sported baseball caps,

fortable in this state." he told New Hampshire voters. It was

House for some time. When Redskin Supermouth Dexter

Manley came around with the Super Bowl champs for the

South Lawn ordination and declared, "We're going to rene-

A little melancholia has been showing in the White

gotiate the President's con-

tract for four more years,"

Reagan's eyes lit up like a

tive Office Building, a high school delegate in the Senate

Youth Program asked him

about the two-term limit, and

Reagan, with a wistful tone

in his voice, made an elo-

quent appeal to dump the

22nd Amendment and let the

American people decide how long a President should serve.

He went to Duke University

Over in the Old Execu-

pinball machine.

drove an 18-wheel truck, even manned a forklift. "I'm com-

a sentiment that seemed to come from the heart.

that he is not on the political line.

do about it.

Though Dole and Bush are both seen that surfaced in Iowa could deepen if the as traditional G.O.P. politicians. there three-way battle drags out and grows bitseems to be a cleavage, in culture and outter. For months the Bush campaign counted on its broad support and organization in look, between their respective supporters. Says Charles Douglas, a former New the Southern states as a "fire wall" against any damage suffered in the early contests. Hampshire Supreme Court justice and a Kemp supporter: "It's the difference be-But if Dole and Robertson continue to tween those who buy their clothes at Sears and those who go to Brooks Brothers." If scorch him. Bush may not reach his fire wall intact-and the others must hope that Dole represents Main Street. Bush perthe spreading conflagration does not desonifies Wall Street. Dole's roots are stroy the party's chances of keeping the rural: Bush's are suburban country club. White House. -By Jacob V. Lamar. Like Reagan. Bush is upbeat about the fu-Reported by David Beckwith and Alessandra ture: Dole. and Roberston as well. speaks Stanley/Nashua

SAL URNL Wednesday, February 24, 1988

Opinion 'Mean-spirited' Dole upsets the think-tank twits

Mike

Royko

If the election were held today, and the entire herd of candidates were running, I'd probably vote for Robert Dole. I like the way he upsets the twits. The twits are the many political com-

TIME, FEBRUARY 22, 1988

mentators, analysts, pundits and think-tank professors who have been wringing their hands and saying: "Oh, my goodness gracious, Dole has said something nasty ... Eek, Dole is showing his mean side ... Heavens to Betsy, Dole is using sharp one-liners

All of this stems from one short sentence Dole said to George Bush when they were on TV together after the New Hampshire primary ended. Dole said: "Stop lying about my record."

it was a reasonable request on his part, since Bush had been running commercials that lied about Dole's record.

about Dole, why shouldn't Dole use plain, blunt language and tell them to stop the lies? But that isn't the way the twits see it.

service story put it: "Robert Dole, one of Washington's quickest wits, flashed his bitter, mean streak at George Bush this week and political experts say it could be a sign of

would have said:

lying about him this week, and Bush just sat there with a foolish smile frozen on his face." Which is exactly what happened. The Reuters story went on to quote a twit from the Brookings Institution, a think tank,

a sunny demeanor and quick smile ought to be confined for treatment

We already have too many smilers and sunny demeanors running for president. Pat Robertson is not only a smiler, but he's a giggler. I refuse to believe that God wants a giggler to lead this nation. Have you ever seen a statue that shows Jesus giggling? Did God have a cheerful demeanor when - zap! - He turned a lady to salt, or when He sent; down a flood and stuck Noah on a boat to sweep up after a bunch of smelly animals? If Richard Gephardt's smile gets any. bigger, we'll be able to see his vital organs.

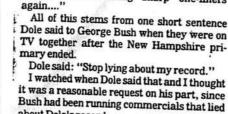
Bush always smiles like he's hoping to get a better grade from a teacher. At least Gary-Hart has finally stopped smiling, except when he thinks of those good old days. That's why I kind of like Paul Simon. He

smiles, but it always looks like it hurts. The twits are also concerned because Dole has a quick wit and occasionally throws out

sharp, clever one-liners. Does that mean that the ideal candidate is someone who is slowwitted or has no wit at all? Or possibly they would prefer a real yuckster who puts whoopee cushions on chairs.

To show the strange way the twits think, they consider it mean-spirited for Dole to say Bush was lying. But they didn't think it was mean-spirited for Bush to lie. In other words,it's OK to lie if you smile and are polite and gracious while lying. But it's bad form to scowl at a liar. I'm glad the twits didn't go into police work. We'd have "For Rent" signs they can come in and pick over our microon all the prisons. waves and snowblowers. The Japanese and

So I hope Dole ignores the twits and does it. Arabs trying to buy up all 50 states and make his way. If we do it the twits' way, we might wind up with someone like Pee Wee Herman in the White House. Again.



So, if Bush and his hired ad-makers lied

As the lead paragraph in a Reuters news

That's not the way I would have written it. I

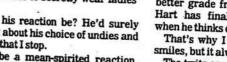
"Robert Dole told George Bush to stop

who said: "It's Bob Dole showing the mean-

TRIBUNE MEDIA SERVICES spiritedness he's been accused of. It's very counterproductive, very unattractive." That's the way they think in think tanks. It

must be the water. But let's imagine, for a moment, that I went around Washington telling everybody this guy from the Brookings Institution likes to secretly wear ladies' pink undies.

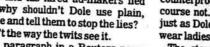
What would his reaction be? He'd surely say I was lying about his choice of undies and would demand that I stop.



Would that be a mean-spirited reaction, counterproductive and very unattractive? Of course not. His response would be justified, just as Dole's was. Assuming that he doesn't

wear ladies' pink undies. The story also quoted other analysts as saying: "Voters tend to dislike public nastiness in their politicians, preferring those with a sunny demeanor and a quick smile."

Not this voter. I've had enough of sunny demeanors and quick smiles. Any candidate with a sunny demeanor makes me suspect he doesn't know what's going on. Two superpowers poised to blow each other up, and a horde of Third World nations hoping we do, so



rocky times in his Republican presidential

to talk about drugs, and his handlers thought he had forgotten his mission when he grabbed the limousine microphone and began working the crowd like old times. Why not? This is the first year in 23

us pay rent. Our stock market turning into a **yo-yo** What's there to smile about? Anybody with

lines. "The next best thing to a snowstorm," said Speechwriter Tony Dolan. "Fate is in the hands of the American people, a force of nature. There is absolutely nothing we can Tommy Griscom, Reagan's communications director, and Baker, who was once a candidate himself, were watching Bush on TV shivering down the glacial campaign trail. Griscom ribbed Baker: "Just think, if you were a candidate

you'd be there." Baker smiled and looked lovingly at the 'George, when you see a microphone, grab it and tell 'em you burning logs in his White House fireplace.

His aides love watching the first battles from the side-

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