

345. 1988

## Bush

Continued from page 1

not a victory. The Republicans had primaries or caucuses in 17 states, selecting 712 delegates. Democrats had contests in 20 states and American Samoa, selecting 1,307 delegates. Factoring in early estimates of the Super Tuesday results, the vice president will have a total of 690 Republican delegates as the campaign moves to Illinois. Dole was expected to have 163, Kemp 39 and Robertson 20. It takes 1,199 Republican delegates to win the nomination.

An upbeat Dole, already in Chicago for the Illinois contest, sent a telegram of congratulations to the Bush camp Tuesday night, then went on television to challenge the vice president to a series of one-on-one debates across Illinois. Just as Illinois was the scene of his recovery from previous wounds he suffered in World War II, Dole said, it would be the road to recovery for his campaign.

Dole's campaign manager, Bill Brock, was less happy. He said Bush's Super Tuesday collection of more than 500 delegates "is high enough that it causes a lot of problems for us. The psychological hit of the Super Tuesday loss was very, very heavy, just as heavy as the hit in terms of the delegates."

Brock said the Dole campaign had hoped for a better performance, but planned to fight on in Illinois. On the Democratic side, the results were less conclusive. Democrats

apportion delegates on the percentage of the vote each candidate wins, with 15 percent being the make-or-break showing. Though the popular vote carries tremendous psychological advantages, the battle on Super Tuesday was for delegates.

Gore won the popular vote in at least five states: his native Tennessee, Kentucky and Oklahoma, Arkansas and North Carolina. Dukakis took his delegate-rich native state and was running ahead in Maryland and in Texas and Florida, which among the Super Tuesday states will send the largest delegations to the Democratic Convention in Atlanta in July.

Jackson was a big winner in Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia, and was running strong second across the South. Gephardt managed a win only in his native state, Missouri.

Adding the Super Tuesday estimates to the Democratic delegates already selected, Dukakis will come into Illinois with 401 delegates; Gore, 364; Jackson, 344; Gephardt, 166; and Simon, 36. It takes 2,082 delegates to win the Democratic nomination.

It was clear from the results that Super Tuesday did not achieve the goal anticipated by the Southern Democrats who conceived the idea. They wanted to offset the Iowa and New Hampshire contests and guarantee a moderate Southerner would take the Democratic nomination.

But they did not anticipate the addition of the Northern states to the contest. Dukakis went into the election guaranteed a large block of delegates from his native state and from the other Northern states that staged contests Tuesday: Rhode Island and Washington.

This has been a great night for us," Dukakis said. "To be able to take Texas and Florida, the two big ones, and to do well across the board demonstrates that this is a national candidacy, a national campaign."

Remember, this was a place



Everyone's all smiles as Jesse Jackson visits the Neighborhood Centers Inc., a senior citizens home, outside Houston Tuesday.

where the guy from Massachusetts

Nor did the creators of Super Tuesday anticipate the strength of the Jackson candidacy, which has been drawing a consistent 7 percent of support from white voters, and a rock-solid black vote that approached 95 percent in some areas of the South Tuesday.

"I've won Southern states today, either number one or number two, with a new Southern message," Jackson said. "And that message is, fundamentally, we the people must stop drugs from threatening our national security and our streets, we must fight to end economic violence. That message is getting through. We've gone from a narrow mainstream to a broad-based river."

In the wake of his performance, Gore said it was clear that only three Democratic candidates would be going to the convention in Atlanta, and that Gephardt would not be one of them.

"I think that three of us are going to go all the way to the convention,"

Gore said. "It will be a choice between the politics of the past and the politics of the future."

Gephardt, whose campaign was caught in a cross fire of criticism from Gore and Dukakis, sent his congratulations to Jackson, Gore and Dukakis. He blamed his failure Tuesday on a shortage of funds to buy television ads to counter the claims raised by Gore and Dukakis that Gephardt had flip-flopped on key issues over the years.

"I'm far from chucking it in because this is a long race," Gephardt said. "When we've been able to get my message across, as I did in Iowa and New Hampshire and South Dakota, we do well."

But Democratic Party official Robert Strauss told the Associated Press that the news on Tuesday was particularly harsh for Gephardt.

He said Jackson, Dukakis and Gore "are going north now, and we'll see how it comes out. ... I expect one of those three fellows will probably be the nominee."

"I think Dick Gephardt's in trouble. Certainly Dukakis and Gore each have a great deal to be happy about tonight."

Tuesday's results showed that Gephardt and Gore had been battling for the same block of voters: the moderate, blue-collar and conservative Democrats who would find little appeal in the campaigns of Dukakis or Jackson.

Simon, who abandoned Super Tuesday campaigning after a poor showing in the early primaries and caucuses, has decided instead to focus on Illinois, which holds its election next Tuesday, and the other Northern industrial states, where big population bases will provide large blocks of delegates to the Democratic convention.

Those states also will be the targets of the other contenders as Campaign '88 presses on.

## GOP

Continued from page 1

them had negative feelings toward him.

Dole, for all his political troubles, is popular with Illinois Republicans. "It's not a collapse of Dole," said pollster Peter Hart of the survey results. "It's a growth in Bush's strength."

In a Tribune-Hart poll in January, Republicans gave Dole a 57-17 percent positive-to-negative rating. In the new survey taken Wednesday and Thursday evenings, his rating was 60 percent positive to 19 percent negative.

Nor was there any change in the majority who think Dole would be a good president. But while 54 percent think he would be good, the figure for Bush was 71 percent.

Even one Bush backer, a Chicago lawyer, said of Dole: "I think he is a good guy. I like his wit. I think he can deal with Congress."

Following Bush's sweep of last Tuesday's primaries, even Dole campaign aides acknowledged that if their candidate cannot win Illinois next Tuesday, he will have to give serious consideration to dropping out of the race. With only Robertson hanging in as a symbolic contender, a Dole withdrawal would effectively end the fight for the Republican nomination.

The poll indicates that most Republicans in the state do not want that to happen, and recent political history contains several examples of voter "reconsideration," in which the front-runner for the nomination loses a primary or two as voters effectively choose to keep the process going.

But in those earlier cases the front-runner was not nearly as far ahead as Bush seems to be.

For the most part, people vote for the candidate they prefer, with little regard for political strategies. The burden seems to be on Dole in the last days before the primary to convince the voters not to end the race here.

Not that all the news in the poll was encouraging for Bush, at least in the long run.

Though the survey showed he was on the verge of winning the Illinois primary, it also revealed several future danger signs for the vice president in the general election.

Republican devotion to Bush appears to be restrained. Asked whether they chose him because he was "more acceptable" than his opponents or because they were confident he was the best man for the job, Bush voters split right down the middle.

Almost 60 percent of the respondents called him "a safe choice, not risky." And while almost three-quarters of the Republicans are confident he will "continue the Reagan tradition," fewer than half consider him a strong leader or think he will "get the country on the go again."

Furthermore, Bush scores most heavily with voters who like President Reagan. That's a great advantage in the Republican primary, where 80 percent of the likely voters think highly of the President. But among the broader electorate that will vote in November, Reagan is far less popular, and in order to win the election Bush may well have to find some way to appeal to those voters.

Jon Margolis

## Why Illinois should pick Dole

In an almost effortless sweep of primaries, Vice President George Bush has erased his fragile front-runner image and left Sen. Robert Dole, his only viable opponent, in desperate need of a big primary victory to keep the Republican primary nomination from being all over.

The Vice President's impressive qualifications and his commanding position notwithstanding, The Tribune hopes Sen. Dole gets that big win, and endorses him in the Illinois Republican primary on Tuesday.

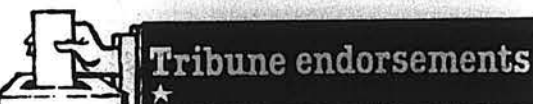
This is why: The combination of Mr. Bush's incumbency and the personal popularity of President Reagan has brought the Vice President to the brink of nomination without the kind of campaign test both he and the Republican Party need to have a chance in November. So far, the fight for the 1988 Democratic one, in which former Vice President Walter Mondale muscled out all the challengers early and sailed on to a mighty debate in the general election.

The Iowa and New Hampshire primaries were nothing more than prickly family arguments, the kind of Mother-always-liked-you-best stuff that settled nothing. Mr. Bush took a licking in one, Mr. Dole in the other.

Ever since, the Vice President has been flying high on the wings of his office, depending more on the money and organization it can muster than on the message of a Bush presidency. There is merit to Sen. Dole's complaint that since the first two primaries, he has been running less against Mr. Bush and his policies than against the unshakable idolatry for Ronald Reagan among the party faithful.

Nowhere have the Republican candidates asked or answered the kind of harsh questions the Democrats surely will raise in November about the Reagan administration, whose colors Mr. Bush has been able to wave more furiously than anyone else. Yet voter concern over these issues shows up in opinion polls that often reflect Sen. Dole as a stronger party standard-bearer than Mr. Bush in match-ups with Democrats.

For all its achievements in stopping inflation, lowering interest rates, renewing the American spirit and bringing the Russians to the bargaining tables, the Reagan administration nonetheless brought this country two major policy disasters—the tax and budget policies that put America trillions of dollars in debt and the embarrassing arms-for-hostages swap that nearly wrecked the foreign policy.



The next president, whichever party he represents, must be capable of extraordinary leadership, not only to find a way out of those ditches but also to steer a course over several more in the path to a stable economy and lasting world peace.

There is no question in this corner about Mr. Bush's personal qualifications for the job (few ever sought it with a stronger résumé) or about his thoughtfulness, sincerity and personal integrity.

Still, questions of leadership and direction remain. Only recently has Mr. Bush begun to address specifically the huge problem of deficit reduction. Only as he approached Chicago this week did he mention his working on an urban rehabilitation policy. And a lot of Americans, particularly the Democrats, believe he still has much to explain about his participation in Reagan administration decision-making.

If Mr. Bush is to be the nominee, there is no better way to get those questions answered and those programs explained than in a nomination fight matching wits, knowledge and political skill with the formidable senator from Kansas.

Mr. Dole's credentials for the nation's highest office are themselves quite impeccable. In 37 years of public life, he has become one of the most powerful and respected people in America. He is the consummate politician in the world's most exclusive political arena, the United States Senate, where he has been personally responsible for many of the very achievements for which the Vice President quickly claims credit.

What's more, as majority and minority leader of the Senate, Robert Dole often has been the lone Republican voice of reason and good sense on matters of budget and foreign affairs. When courage, candor or political muscle are called for, the Republicans always turn to Sen. Dole, who delivers it, usually with a coating of incisive and biting humor.

This Depression-era war hero from Russell, Kan., is a smart, tough, common-sense guy with the kind of political prescription perfectly suited and comfortable to the Midwest. The Tribune hopes that Robert Dole stays around long enough to get the Republican Party and its nominee square with America.

Tomorrow: Choices for Cook County judges.

16 Section 1 Chicago Tribune, Sunday, March 13, 1988

## Dole's hopes fade as Bush expands lead

Chicago Tribune

By a wide margin, Illinois Republicans prefer George Bush to Bob Dole—but by a small margin they want the fight to go on.

On that slender need rests Dole's fading hope of coming from behind, far behind, to overtake the vice president and save his candidacy.

A new poll taken for The Tribune by Peter D. Hart Research Associates of Washington contained only one comfort for the Senate minority leader.

When asked whether they agreed that it was "important for the Republicans that Bob Dole does well in Illinois so that the Republican presidential campaign continues," 56 percent said yes, while only 30 percent disagreed. Even Bush supporters narrowly agreed.

But there was little else in the survey to encourage Dole and his supporters. Not only was Bush way ahead, by a 62 to 28 percent margin, but he was ahead all over the state, with all kinds of voters. And he was ahead because Illinois Republicans think he would be a strong candidate and a good president.

In a typical comment, an advertising executive from Bloomington said Bush "is experienced in politics

## Campaign '88

Media critic Steve Daley and Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist Jeff MacNelly provide a guide to Illinois politics. Page 15.

It's Illinois' turn to play host to a political roadshow. Page 14.

The presidential candidates as cultural men. In The Arts.

and in foreign relations. He is even-tempered and level-headed."

Dole and his supporters have been arguing that the Kansas senator is the only Republican who can beat the Democrats. But Illinois Republicans do not agree. Two-thirds of them think Bush has the best chance to win the election, and only 19 percent called Dole the strongest contender.

Nor do the voters seem to be accepting Dole's argument that he is the stronger leader. Asked whether Bush, Dole or Pat Robertson best meets the quality of being "tough, a strong leader," 45 percent picked Bush, 32 percent chose Dole and only 5 percent selected Robertson.

The former religious broadcaster seems to have very little support among Illinois Republicans. Robertson was the first choice of only 6 percent of them, while two-thirds of

See GOP, pg. 16

Chicago Tribune, Friday, March 11, 1988

## Dole cuts his staff, Dole \$500,000 in TV ads

By Dorothy Collin and Mitchell Locin

Sen. Bob Dole's campaign trimmed staff and pulled some \$500,000 in television advertising Thursday as the Kansas senator prepared for what could be a final battle against Vice President George Bush. There was a strong denial from Dole that he was thinking about leaving the race.

The advertising move, confirmed by Dole communications consultant Larry McCarthy in Washington, touched off a round of rumors that the Senate minority leader was discussing plans to withdraw from the contest. But Dole and his aides said the candidate was working on another way to spend the money.

"People know better than to ask me about dropping out," Dole told The Tribune. "I'm not dropping out. I am not a dropout."

"We're going to use the

money in another way. I can't say how yet. We're wracking our brains trying to figure out what is out there. We just need to turn it around in the next four or five days," he said.

A Dole campaign spokeswoman in Washington told the Associated Press that more than half the staff of 300 was being laid off, but that some of the layoffs had been scheduled to take place after Super Tuesday, regardless of the outcome.

While Dole and his aides scrambled to find a strategy to counter the vice president's Super Tuesday landslide, Bush brought his campaign to Illinois, proposing new initiatives to cure the ethics and deficit problems that have plagued the Reagan administration.

In a speech designed to set the tone for his campaign in coming months, Bush said that as president he would create an ethics panel in the White House and that he would negotiate with

Continued from page 1

Congress from his first day in office to find an agreement that would eliminate the huge budget deficit.

Although Bush insisted he is not complacent about the Illinois election and will campaign hard around the state, his effort sounded more like a general election campaign than one aimed at winning a primary contest.

Bush started five days of campaigning in the state with luncheon remarks at the Chicago Hilton and Towers to the Governor's Club, a group of 1,000 contributors to Gov. James Thompson, by saying he wanted to talk about philosophy.

He said the Reagan revolution had achieved economic growth, strengthened defense and improved relations with the Soviet Union.

"But it's not a complete triumph. It's only a beginning," Bush said. For the first time, he addressed the ethical problems that have plagued Reagan's tenure.

"I am personally disturbed at the breaches of ethics I have seen the past few years in government," he said, without mentioning any names.

"When a congressman goes bad or someone in the executive branch

violates the public trust it hurts, and I'm tired of being embarrassed."

He said the ethics panel he would draft "a new and specific code of ethics" that includes a strict conflict-of-interest code to "avoid the excesses of the past."

Bush was careful to stress that he was not personally challenging the ethics of President Reagan, whose continued good standing with voters has played the major role in giving Bush the primary victories he has rolled up so far.

"I don't know of anybody who has a higher standard of personal ethics than the President," Bush said. "I'm just saying what my priorities will be in the future."

Bush's remarks were clearly aimed at trying to defuse a substantial issue, not only in the primary but for the later contest. The Reagan administration has been marred by a string of prosecutions involving conflict-of-interest and influence-peddling charges.

Indictments are also expected soon in the wake of investigation of the Iran-contra affair. Atty. Gen. Edwin Meese has also become the focus of investigation.

The rumor about a possible Dole withdrawal from the race boiled for a few hours before the candidate stepped in to try to quiet the speculation. It had apparently been sparked by a Dole staff meeting at

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