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Saturday, August 15, 1992 [2]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1992

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1992

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

CONVENTION '92

IT'S GRAND OLD PARTY TIME

HOUSTON.

DUST off your cowboy boots, pull on that string tie and hold onto your hat — get ready for the \$100,000 hoedown.

With just three days left before the 1992 Republican National Convention Gala, there's not much time to spare if you haven't already written your check, so here's the scoop:

For \$100,000 or more, you and your spouse may sit on the dais among the dignitaries honoring George Bush and Dan Quayle at

AMY PAGNOZZI



the George R. Brown Convention Center on Wednesday. For \$50,000, it's you or the spouse. And for \$25,000, you both sit with the rabble — but you still get that essential photo-op with the president and his sidekick.

The second floor of the Brown Center yesterday was a frenzy of last-minute planning for the barbecue luncheon. In one room, professional fund-raisers worked the phone banks hoping to boost the number of \$100,000 donors from the

17 who have signed on so far. In another, program planners worked with the talent.

Apparently, if you want to dance for the president, it takes far more than just shaking your pompons. Director Marilyn Magnus laid out the requirements for Alex Arizpe, choreographer of the Houston Oilers Dancers. "We want them to be real, real darling, because we're short on women in the show," Magnus told him.

After a Texas cowboy rides his horse through a marching band, that's the girls' cue to round up the crowd for lunch, ad-libbing such remarks as, "Howdy," "Come on down, folks," and "This guy needs a drink over here," Magnus explained. Arizpe assured her he would select spokesmodels who could simultaneously talk and ride atop chuckwagons.

"Should they bring their pompons?" he asked.

"Absolutely," Magnus replied.

The poms come in during the parade, when the dancers and the flag girls and the trombone-playing Texas T-Bones march in to an eight-minute "Best of the West" medley that starts with "Deep in the Heart of Texas," and ends with "This Land Is Your Land." After which, a genuine miniature-scale electric train will pull onto the convention floor, towing George and Bar and Dan and Marilyn along with the various Bush and Quayle offspring.

And you thought you'd seen everything during the Democrats' convention, watching Hillary and

Tipper boogie to Paul Simon's "Call Me Al"? You haven't seen Houston. Down here, they expect a very big bang for the buck.

While America teeters on the brink of a new war with Iraq to keep a president in power, all of Houston fiddles.

Saturday night, the Houston Chronicle and the Houston Post held dueling parties, and the masses of food wasted at each of them could almost save Somalia. Champagne grapes, baby vegetables, huge sides of beef and pork were dished out by the Post inside the Natural History Museum, while the Chronicle bash was spread over three separate venues, including a bank where bartenders dispensed drinks from the tellers' windows, the ultimate metaphor of conspicuous consumption.

Last night, it was the delegates' turn to feast upon six-foot crawfish and slurp margaritas from giant cacti at a never-ending round of house parties.

The biggest spreads by far are for Houston's GOP high-rollers, hosted at estates that have names of oil magnates and corporate raiders, philanthropists and art collectors. Money — that's what George Bush's re-election campaign is built upon — and if only that were enough.

But he also needs blood. When those who have money have given all they can, those who don't have money will have to give up their sons. That's how the GOP pays for its parties.

CONVENTION '92

BATTLE PLAN TO KEEP BUSH PREZ

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

HOUSTON — What George Bush has to do this week at the GOP convention is tell America why he deserves four more years — and find somebody else to blame for whatever went wrong with the first four.

"I've got to make clear where I want to lead this country," Bush admitted yesterday on ABC's "This Week" — even though he's been in charge of the world's most famous "bully pulpit" for more than three years.

More than six months after Bush went to New Hampshire and belatedly admitted he had failed to

show Americans he cares about their economic pain, that message hasn't gotten through.

So yesterday Bush was saying it again: "I know it, I feel it, we pray about it — I mean that literally — at night."

In case anyone doubts that he has a real problem, an ABC News poll last week found that 61 percent of Americans say they don't have much of an idea where Bush intends to take the nation if he's re-elected.

The president clearly needs a bounce in the polls — ideally, his staff would like to leave Houston not much more than 10 points behind Democrat Bill Clinton.

At the 1988 GOP convention, Bush

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— whose childhood nickname was "Poppy" — hit a home run with a speech in which he painted himself as a reassuring cross between "Father Knows Best" and Cary Cooper as he spoke of himself as "a quiet man" with deep beliefs.

After months where Bush, like the nation's economy, has seemed adrift, and his tone has often sounded querulous, he needs to change that tone to a more reassuring and less cranky one.

Above all, Bush needs to give the nation a sense he is in charge, that such public disasters as vomiting

at a Japanese state dinner can be laughed off rather than seen as warning signs.

The specifics — smoothing over abortion questions, explaining why he broke his no-new-taxes pledge — all are subsidiary to the broader issue of reassuring voters that things will get better, and not just by luck.

First Lady Barbara Bush doesn't have anything like the battle her husband faces. With a 75 percent favorability rating, she's by far the most popular member of the Bush family.

All she has to deal with is her prime-time "family values" speech Wednesday night — a theme in-

tended to touch off character questions about Bill Clinton while avoiding a backlash against Bush.

In the process, of course, Mrs. Bush is supposed to refute — without ever mentioning them — the questions touched off by a New York Post report last week raising questions about whether the president had an affair with longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald.

At the same time, Mrs. Bush — mother of five, grandmother of 12 — offers a neat counterpoint to the careerist image of Hillary Clinton, and is meant to stand as a contrast.

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Tax Cut Debate Erupts in GOP

■ **Convention:** Conservatives urge Bush to propose a reduction. Dole calls it 'bad medicine.' As delegates gather, President says he's eager to heat up campaign.

By JACK NELSON and DOUGLAS JEHL, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

HOUSTON—A sharp debate over whether President Bush should call for tax cuts in his all-important acceptance speech Thursday broke out among Republicans here Sunday on the eve of a national convention considered critical to his chances of uniting his party and winning reelection next fall.

Although conservative leaders pressed Bush to make a tax cut the centerpiece of his address accepting the GOP's presidential nomination, moderates argued against any such proposal.

Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas declared cutting taxes now would be "bad medicine" for the troubled economy. That brought a quick rejoinder from tax cut advocate Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, who said Dole's attitude made him glad Bush—and not the Senate leader—was in the White House.

Bush plans to use the acceptance speech to unveil a series of proposals to revive the economy, according to campaign officials. While the President has declined to disclose any details, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, who has discussed the matter with him and is a longtime proponent of tax reductions, has predicted that Bush will call for cuts.

Meanwhile, as delegates streamed into Houston for today's opening session of the four-day convention:

- The President angrily dismissed a news report quoting a government official as saying the White House is preparing to provoke a military clash with Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in part to help Bush's troubled bid for reelection.

- After insisting for months that he was not in the "campaign mode," Bush sought to rally Republican staffers by declaring he is now ready to "pick up the torch" and begin campaigning in earnest.

- The GOP prepared to brush aside scattered opposition among

Please see GOP, A7

cont.

GOP: Convention Opens With Debate Over Bush Speech

Continued from A1

convention delegates and adopt one of its most conservative platforms of modern times, including controversial planks opposing abortion and limiting the rights of homosexuals. The 1992 platform is to be approved today, and critics will have little opportunity to express their reservations.

- Stalwarts from the GOP's right wing, including former President Ronald Reagan and conservative commentator Patrick J. Buchanan, who lost a bitterly fought primary battle with Bush, polished speeches for tonight that convention planners hope will reignite the spirits of GOP rank-and-filers.

- Delegates, many of whom have joined party leaders in complaining about the negative tone of coverage of Bush's political plight, encountered a fresh round of discouraging reports. A Houston Post headline trumpeted a new Texas Poll that found Bush trailing Democrat Bill Clinton by 17 percentage points in the state, while national news magazines and a host of other publications carried critical assessments of the President's status.

Whether Bush proposes a tax cut could be one of the most important tactical decisions of his campaign. White House officials involved in the debate said it could force the President to choose whether to cast himself as a traditional fiscal conservative or a more activist proponent of supply-side economics in the spirit of his White House predecessor, Ronald Reagan.

Dole, a traditionalist who believes tax cuts by themselves could hurt the economy by aggravating the already soaring budget deficit, declared that such legislation "is not going to be enacted this year."

"If he can offset the tax cut with a spending freeze or a spending reduction," Dole said in an NBC interview, "that would make good economic sense. But a tax cut by itself, as some of the supply-siders might advocate, would be bad

medicine."

That prompted supply-side Weber to tell CBS that Dole's statement "just makes me all the happier that he's the Senate leader and President Bush is in the White House."

Weber said the possibility of proposing additional tax reductions to stimulate the economy is under active consideration. And Kemp suggested Bush is prepared to outline plans for a cut to benefit citizens at virtually all income levels.

Yet what Bush actually intends to do on the issue Thursday is "the most closely guarded secret of the convention," said one official.

Another source said "a large portion" of the economic plan has been approved by Bush.

Showdown With Iraq

Bush aides worried that the President's attempts to shift his focus from foreign policy and "target America," as one staffer put it, by addressing economic and other domestic concerns might be overshadowed by reports that the Administration is preparing for a military showdown with Iraq.

Not only did the President angrily dismiss any suggestion that politics would influence his decision regarding Iraq, but Mary Matalin, his deputy campaign manager, and other officials insisted repeatedly to reporters that Bush would never allow politics to shape his conduct on foreign policy.

In remarks Sunday after returning to the White House from Camp David, and later in a telephone talk to volunteers here, Bush signaled that he is determined to play the role of commander in chief, both in what now appears to be an imminent showdown with Iraq and on other foreign policy issues.

"We're not going to apologize for the time that we've invested in bringing peace to the world, and indeed in changing the world," he

declared.

The Clinton campaign quickly backed Bush on Iraq. "I have stated clearly, repeatedly, that we have to expect and demand and insist that Saddam Hussein comply with the cease-fire agreements. And I don't think we should rule out military force," Clinton said from Little Rock, Ark., on Sunday evening.

Asked to comment on charges Bush might initiate a military action in Iraq for political reasons, he said: "We know of no example where the commander-in-chief has used or would use the awesome power of military action for political purposes."

The Campaign

In his pep talk to volunteers here, Bush, reflecting an aggressive new campaign tone, said: "Now we're going to get our chance."

"We've got a good program. The American people do not know it. And when we get finished with this campaign, they will."

Although Bush actually began intensifying his campaign efforts soon after the Democratic convention last month, he has continued to slide in some polls. Both he and his top aides see the convention as

Cont.

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an opportunity for the President to make a new start, energize the campaign and narrow the lead Clinton enjoys in the polls.

In an ABC interview broadcast Sunday but taped Thursday, Bush, a World War II Navy combat pilot, used a Navy term in sounding a more confrontational note. He vowed to go to "general quarters" in challenging Clinton and said he would link the Arkansas governor to "the sorry record" of the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Asked how he could catch up with Clinton between now and the November election, Bush said: "I think the answer is that people will come to their senses and, in the final analysis, they're going to say, 'George Bush has demonstrated that he has the courage and the knowledge and the trust to sit in that Oval Office.'"

The Platform

Grumbling about the platform—and particularly its rigid language opposing abortions—echoed in lobbies and corridors of Houston hotels where delegates gathered Sunday night. Many expressed concern upon learning that Bush operatives would prohibit them from carrying abortion rights placards into the Astrodome.

Top convention and campaign officials insisted that the prohibition of handmade signs was nothing more than business as usual for a Republican Convention. "The rule is simple, and it's always the same," said Craig Fuller, convention manager and a longtime Bush loyalist. "You can't carry them in."

The rule is designed to create the impression of unanimity for those watching the convention on television, but it seemed likely to spur further efforts by delegates who back abortion rights to strip the abortion language from the platform.

There appeared to be little or no chance the efforts would succeed.

The abortion language, which the President's wife, Barbara, questioned in declaring last week that the issue should have been left out of the platform, continued to cause discomfort to some GOP officials. "It shouldn't be the centerpiece of anyone's campaign," Dole said.

The Media

Delegates arriving here Sunday for the convention found new reasons to bemoan the relentlessly dispiriting nature of news reports about the party's prospects.

Not only did national publica-

tions feature detailed reports on the President's political problems, but the two major newspapers in his adopted hometown—the Post and the Chronicle—were brimming over with unwelcome news.

The Post headlined a new survey: "Texas Poll: Clinton by 17%." In addition to lagging far behind in his own state, the President—a Chronicle headline blared—is "Badly Lagging in Electoral Support" nationally.

Convention Speakers

The convention's opening night shapes up as a salute to the party's conservative wing, featuring an array of right-wing cheerleaders whose job it will be to fire up a crowd that is looking hard for something to cheer about.

Reagan, who helped forge the broad Republican coalition that now appears in jeopardy, will take a turn at the microphone. Buchanan, another conservative crowd-pleaser, will explain why voters should throw their support to Bush, whom he attacked savagely during his own spirited bid for the Republican nomination.

Times staff writers William J. Eaton, Michael Ross and David Lauter contributed to this report.

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GOP Seeking to Rekindle Spark of Old Victories

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—As George Bush might put it: "Message: A big job. Too big for that other guy. Liberal in disguise. Cheeky wife. But you know me. Comfortable. Strong resolve. Experience. Trust. Traditional values."

That, in the fractured phrasing of the President and the jump-cut pacing of television, is the impression the Republican Party hopes to deliver to Americans over television, newspapers and radio during the party's national convention here.

The point will be to remind people of old things that they liked about the GOP, about the country and about Bush.

Under the general theme of "A Tribute to the American Spirit," the party has tried to arrange for

NEWS ANALYSIS

the television cameras as many elements as possible to put across that message, from classic red, white and blue colors to indoor fireworks.

Yet there is evidence that this year the Republicans are less tightly organized and, in some cases, less expert than in the past. Uncharacteristically, the camera sight lines are not great for television. And much like the Democrats, Bush campaign officials are not sure they will be able to review all the speeches beforehand to ensure they all strike the right themes.

The main message was recently spelled out by James Lake, the campaign's communications adviser.

"From the time of his acceptance speech [at the 1988 convention] through the first three years, I think we have learned a lot about George Bush's resolve, his steady-

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REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

WASHINGTON EDITION LOS ANGELES TIMES

IMAGE: A Reminder to Voters of the Things They Used to Like

Continued from A1

ness, his leadership," Lake said.

"But over the course of the last year this man has failed to convey his policies as well as we would like. We want to remind [convention viewers] of the tremendous character and resolve and integrity that this man possesses and persuade people that this is a man that they can feel comfortable with."

To accomplish that, the Republicans have picked a different theme for each of the convention's first three nights. Tonight's proceedings—featuring Ronald Reagan—will stress foreign policy accomplishments, as well as remind people of the party's traditions.

Tuesday's emphasis is on domestic policy and will feature various governors and cabinet members. Two future presidential prospects are among those delivering speeches: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and Texas Senator Phil Gramm.

Wednesday is family values night. First Lady Barbara Bush addresses the convention, and the Bush and Dan Quayle families will be spotlighted on a specially designed podium with glass sides so that the small children will be visible to the cameras.

Thursday night's focus will be squarely on the GOP ticket, as Vice President Quayle and Bush deliver their acceptance speeches.

Contrary to those who argue these affairs are no longer important, Republican officials believe political conventions have become the key events in the general election campaign—save for the nationally televised debates in the fall—because many Americans who normally don't pay attention to politics will be watching.

(PLEASE SEE NEXT PAGE)

Developments at a Glance

HOUSTON—An internecine battle over tax cuts threatened to mar the opening of the Republican convention today—and possibly derail efforts to unite the party and give President Bush a boost.

Bush dropped several hints over the weekend that he might unveil new economic proposals in his acceptance speech Thursday night. His secretary of housing and urban development, noted supply-sider Jack Kemp, predicted that the President would announce a proposal to cut income taxes.

But Senate GOP leader Bob Dole of Kansas entered the fray Sunday, declaring that tax cuts would be "bad medicine" for the economy.

Also in today's coverage:

- California Gov. Pete Wilson, who supports abortion rights, persuaded state delegates to avoid a floor fight over the issue. The party platform, to be adopted today, calls for a constitutional ban on all abortions. Wilson urged his fellow Californians to lift their gaze to 1996.

- Overall, the platform is markedly more conservative than the Democrats' document—and more conservative than Bush on some issues. But he apparently is willing to accept the conservatives' manifesto in the hope that they will rally to his standard. The platform is likely to be signed, sealed and delivered hours before the commercial networks start televising the convention. It's scheduled to be introduced at 12:44 p.m. CDT—and approved by 1:27 p.m.

- Bush's erstwhile conservative challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, arrived in Houston and did something completely different: He didn't say a word to reporters. His speech tonight is scheduled for 8:55 p.m. CDT. He will endorse Bush and bash Democratic nominee Bill Clinton—but what else he will say is a closely guarded secret.

- Bush's political benefactor, former President Ronald Reagan, will speak after Buchanan. But whether he can pick his former vice president up off the political floor is problematic. "He's the past and voters are looking to the future," said Edward J. Rollins, Reagan's 1984 campaign manager.

- The convention will serve as a giant commercial for Bush—that is, if everything goes according to plan. Experience, trust and traditional values will be among the hoped-for messages. But this year, the Republicans seem less adept than usual at getting their theme across. The camera sight lines are less than ideal, for example. And, perhaps more worrisome, the party may not be able to review all the speeches beforehand to be sure they hit the same note.

TONIGHT'S HIGHLIGHTS

- Patrick J. Buchanan speech 9:55-10:15 p.m. EDT
- Ronald Reagan speech 10:20 p.m. EDT

—CONNIE STEWART

Cont

8-16-92

viz.

A GLOSS
FOR THE
PERPLEXED*"Train up a child in the way he should go
and when he is old he will not depart
from it."*—Republican Party Platform, 1992, quoting from the
Book of Proverbs

Talking the Plank

By Charles Paul Freund

Big Tent. Phrase attributed to the late Lee Atwater, who called for the Republican Party to be a Big Tent; that is, more accommodating to a wider range of opinions. However, those Republican moderates attending the convention this year have been invited to take their seats at the back of the tent. Perhaps the GOP has learned from the example of the multi-opinioned Democratic Party, viz., the bigger the tent, the more likely it is to be housing a circus.

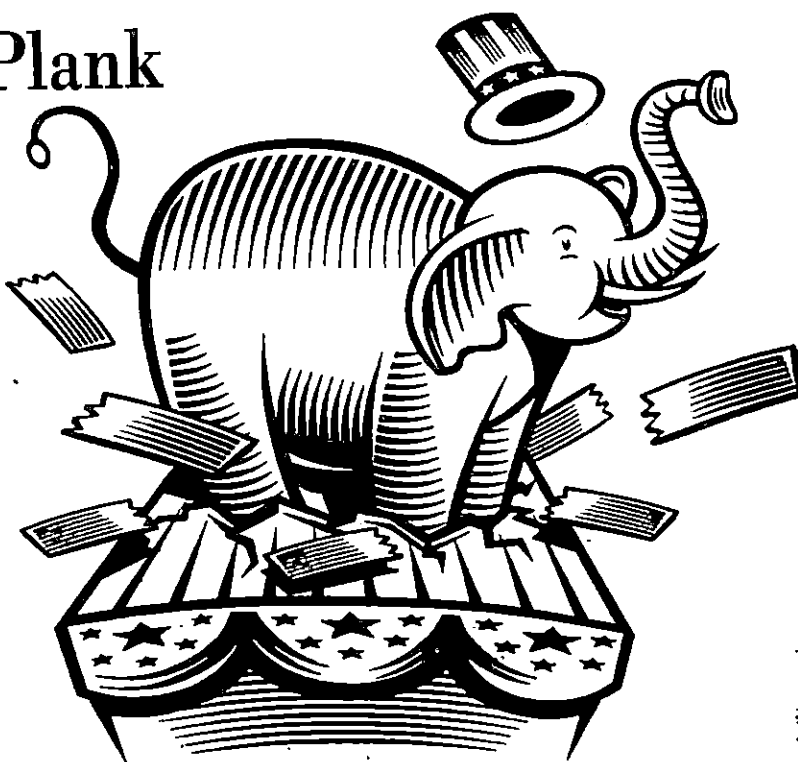
Following the adoption of a strikingly conservative platform, the GOP platform committee issued a Big Tent statement that noted, "We respect the honest differences of opinion of those Republicans who debate our positions on important issues..." The platform's most controversial plank condemns abortion under all circumstances, and this statement of respect was presumably intended to mollify GOP pro-choicers.

Republicans who debate the platform's position include the president and vice president, who have each indicated that abortion is an acceptable alternative for their relatives. They also include the First Lady, who has quite publicly condemned having any platform position on abortion. It also includes, by some polls, nearly three-quarters of all living Republicans.

One conservative has shrugged off recent moderate statements on abortion as a "rhetorical bone." But some wonder whether the GOP's leadership is staging a more moderate public performance under a different Big Top—the Democrats'.

Hope, n. The belief in the efficacy of desire over probability.

"In choosing hope over fear," reads a passage from the GOP's platform, "Americans raised a beacon, reminding the world that we are a shining city on a hill; the last best hope for man on earth." According to press accounts, the



BY PETER HOEY-THE WASHINGTON POST

passage occasioned two quarrels. The first was over who it is we are the last best hope for, the second over whether we are indeed the last best hope for whoever that is.

The first quarrel was much the shorter: an effort was made to substitute the word "humankind" for the word "man," but this spurt of PCness quickly fizzled. The second, more hotly debated question was whether Americans represent that last best hope, or whether that hope is Jesus Christ. Americans prevailed, and the clause, which would otherwise have been deleted, stood.

Interestingly, the only line from Bill Clinton's 53-minute convention speech to get much replay time also dealt with hope. "I still believe in a place called Hope," he said, combining a reference to his hometown with an effort at poetic allusion. "Hope"'s political usage bears watching.

Mexico. According to the GOP platform, a Spanish-speaking nation of North America requiring a fence.

Moderates, n. Presumably, Democrats and Independents.

GOP moderates unhappy with the tone and content of the platform have already purchased

billboard space in Houston to advertise their displeasure. Utterly unconfirmed reports indicate that a moderate Republican rock band, The Rocking Ripons, will soon release a parody of the Democrats' campaign theme song, Fleetwood Mac's 1977 hit, "Don't Stop," directed at the platform committee:

If you read this and don't want to smile,

If you find some of our attitudes vile,
It doesn't matter 'cause we can't fail:

We've taken our text from "The Handmaid's Tale!"

Don't stop complaining about the Congress!

Don't stop, everything's its fault!
We're offering you an extremist fate:
Yesterday's great! Yesterday's great!

Platform, n. The declaration of dependence. A rhetorical flirtation or tease directed at any attractive interest group that may catch the eye of a lonely platform-writing committee. A set of deeply held beliefs that, in the aggregate, no one is known actually to hold. A document that is not known to be read by anyone not paid to do so.

Charles Paul Freund writes regularly for Outlook.

A Couch Potatoe Primer

Everything From A to Z on How to Watch the GOP

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Think of it as "Houston," the Republicans' prime-time soap opera.

Will the aging cowpoke holding forth at the campfire—Pops Reagan—be able to conjure up morning in America one last time? Will the blustery town marshal—"Texas Phil" Gramm—draw a bead on Slippery Bill and his sinister sidekick, Liberal Hillary? Can Miss Barbara put a stop to the bickering among the grumpy GOP family? Will that troublesome Quayle boy straighten up and fly right? And how about Mister George? Does he have what it takes to hold on to what he has?

Tune in this week and see.

Despite their acknowledged mastery of the political image business—and their peerless professionalism in the stifling of strife—the Republicans' national convention in the Astrodome promises all the twists and turns of a four-night TV melodrama.

The attentive couch potato—presumably, that means you—can thrill to the narrative power of two clashing story lines: One, scripted by the Grand Old Party, is an inspiring saga of leadership, in which the president of the United States shows the way to the future and vanquishes the unworthy adversary. The other, to be improvised by the television networks, is a disquieting tale of existential angst, in which a wounded

politician and his panicked hangers-on strive to rescue themselves from disaster.

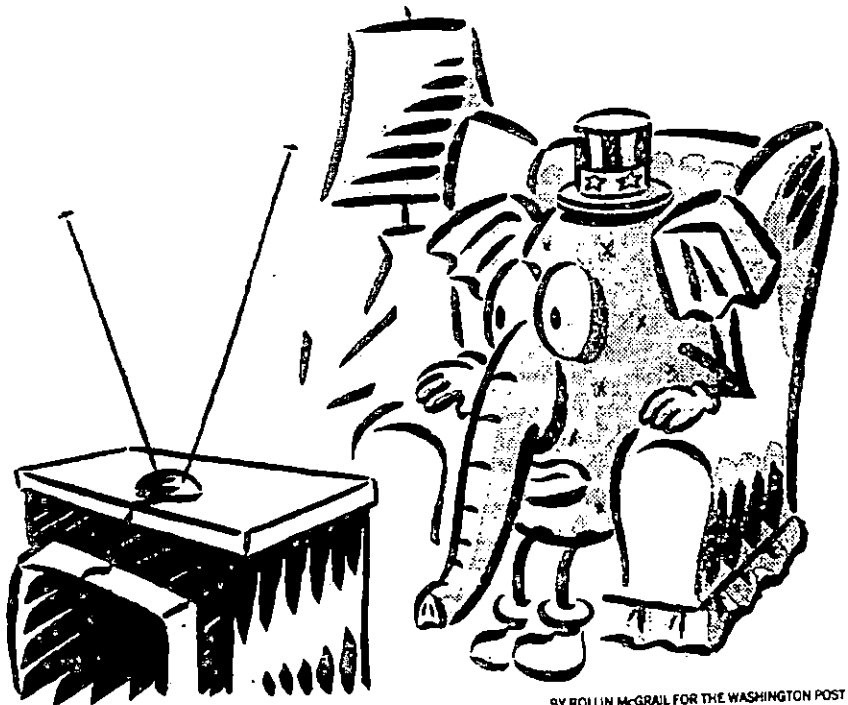
Which story line prevails is anybody's guess. Either way, George Bush will be the star.

Those of you trying to sort it out at home would do well to remember the lesson of 1988, when the Republican convention was a fiasco. TV-wise, right up until the moment of Bush's cathartic acceptance speech. "I am that man," he told the world,

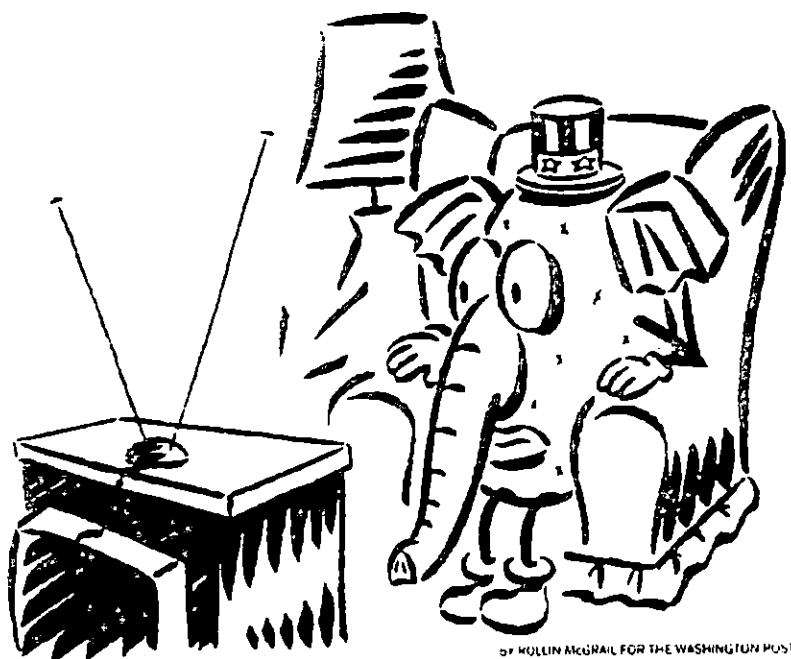
magically cleansing the screen of The Running Mate Who Ate New Orleans. As things turned out, Bush was that man. Dan Quayle, in the end, was a mere media sideshow.

It's a fair bet, then, that Bush's performance Thursday night—never mind all the noise and confusion that may serve as preamble—will leave the single biggest impression, and perhaps the only lasting one, on millions of viewers trying to figure

See GUIDE, F3, Col. 1



BY ROLLIN MCGRAIL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



BY MULLIN MCGRAIL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The GOP Soap Opera

GUIDE, From F1

out whether to trust him again. It's his only chance in Houston to talk to the voters without the noxious interference of the talking heads.

Look for a magisterial Wise Man, confident yet combative—and not the frenzied Wild Man shouting, "Don't cry for me, Argentina!" Look for passion. Look for vision. Don't look for "Read my lips."

Bush's oration will crown an evening set aside by convention organizers to celebrate "The Presidency" (not, repeat not, the *vice* presidency) and will cap a conclave devoted, by turns, to "The World," "Our Nation" and "Our Families." The whole show is meant to convey "The American Spirit," the extravaganza's designated theme, and the myriad ways in which Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton lacks it. For instance, you're apt to hear more about the Democratic standard-bearer's secret plan—exposed last week by Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond—to invite Jane Fonda to numerous state dinners honoring Fidel Castro.

With their zeal for message management, the Republicans have gone to extraordinary lengths to ensure a minimum of static, even to the point of requiring advance approval of signs to be carried into the hall. But you can assume that ABC, CBS and NBC will do their best to subvert these good intentions in the 1½ hours each night, on average, they've committed to broadcasting from the Astrodome. The continuing alienation of abortion-rights delegates, for instance, might still prove a diverting angle in the small-screen's endless quest for drama and conflict. And even if there's only one facard bearing the words "Dump Quayle," the cameras are sure to find it.

The first attempt at discipline likely to go by the boards is an edict from on high discouraging politicians on the floor from granting interviews during major speeches. As one network producer laughingly asked last week: "Can you imagine Al D'Amato [the pugnacious junior senator from New York] walking away from a live microphone?"

You might want to grab your pocket calculator, meanwhile, to gauge the GOP's good-faith effort to convince you that it's not just a party of rich white males. The Bush campaign's communications director, James Lake, promises, "Over 55 percent of the speakers will be minorities, women and disabled." See if they deliver on that interesting statistic.

Monday, designated "World" night, might be the place to start—though, unless you're watching C-SPAN or CNN (the only two outfits offering gavel-to-gavel coverage), you're unlikely to see much ethnic and gender diversity beyond Pat Buchanan and Ronald Reagan. First the president's nettlesome opponent from this year's primary race, and later on Bush's 1980 nomination foe, can be expected to relate how the Republicans won the Cold War despite the Democrats' earnest attempts to lose it. Bring out the applause meter for Brother

Buchanan's homily: He'd like to run for president in 1996.

Indeed perhaps the most engaging subplot of the 1992 convention—one rife with tension and intrigue—will involve all the jousting for attention and position among the GOP's White House wannabes. On Tuesday, "Nation" night, watch for who gets the better reception—Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp or the keynoter, Sen. Phil Gramm. Teammates today, they're likely to be bitter rivals four years hence. Compare their stemwinders to that of Vice President Quayle, who'll be hoping to use his Thursday night appearance to lend some credibility to his own ambitions. Of course, he'll also be saying nice things about his friend and protector, the president.

Wednesday is supposed to be "Family" night, but it might be a good time to send the children to bed early. It won't be pretty, as the Republicans launch brickbats at Clinton—and probably at his wife too—as purveyors of moral turpitude and social decay. Look for TV preacher Pat Robertson to decry the advent of homosexual marriages, which he'll want you to believe is the cornerstone of Clinton's "family values," and watch for others on the rostrum (maybe Rich Bond again) to attack Hillary for her suggestion that kids have the right to sue their moms and dads.

Assuming your kids haven't already filed suit, you might want to get them back out of bed for the evening's highlight—Barbara Bush. The question for the GOP is whether the First Lady, one of America's most popular public figures, can transfer some of that surplus affection to her widely reviled husband—who, by the way (she'll doubtless tell you), is one terrific family man. Then, to nominate the president, comes Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who can be expected to talk about Bush's deep feelings for working people and his general all-around compassion. Message: He cares. And if Martin doesn't tell you she's a "pro-choice Republican," the networks surely will. There'll be lots of TV time for piercing instant analysis during the roll call vote that puts Bush over the top.

"Houston," the soap opera, approaches its moving denouement as Sen. Bob ("Stop lying about my record") Dole assumes his accustomed role of good soldier, taking the podium Thursday to sing the praises of his fearless leader. Sorry, don't look here for any bitingly hilarious quips (though it might seem, from the expression on Dole's face, that he's thinking of a few). Dole's job will be to welcome the hero.

But it will be up to Bush to send the ratings through the roof, and then wait to see if his own show is renewed or canceled.

8-16-92

Anxious GOP Set to Convene

*Party Renominating President
Is Shadow of 1980 Powerhouse*

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 15—When Republicans gathered in Detroit 12 years ago to nominate Ronald Reagan for president, they were a party on the move. Ebulient, optimistic, audacious, they gleefully heaped scorn on President Jimmy Carter, shamelessly stole Democratic symbols and began to talk hopefully about the possibility of a realignment in American politics.

But on Monday, when the Republicans open their national convention here in Houston, the contrast with 1980 could not be more vivid. The party assembles to renominate President Bush in an anxious mood, suffering a case of locker-room jitters over the coming campaign.

Bush has fallen farther faster in approval ratings (from 90 to 33 percent) than any president in modern history, while the Democrats bolted from their convention last month with unexpected unity and confidence; Bill Clinton has a lead of 18 to 25 percentage points over the president.

Despite winning five of the past six presidential elections, the Republicans assemble in Houston facing an agonizing self-appraisal: After a dozen years in control of the White House, they must answer whether they have lost their vitality or their political appeal.

Given the hothouse political climate of midsummer, it would be foolish to write off the Republicans' chances this fall, and most Republican officials dismiss suggestions that they have run out of energy or ideas.

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Strained by Doubt and Tension, GOP Set to Convene

They agree that history and worldwide trends are moving in their favor, but they have the more dramatic domestic agenda.

It is they are far from the confident band that gathered in Detroit. "The state of the party is not very good at this point in time," said Linda DiVall, a Republican pollster. "There's a real sense of nervousness at all levels. The clear objective of this convention has to be a surge of energy and enthusiasm for the task at hand."

The announcement Thursday that Secretary of State James A. Baker III would resign and move to the White House and run the campaign provided a first boost to party regulars.

But under the surface of the convention here is a question that may not truly be answered until the 1996 elections: What kind of party will the Republicans become?

There are plenty of competing visions: A return to pure Reaganism on economics and social issues; aggressive fiscal conservatism combined with more liberal views on social issues; more moderate economic policies and a mixed appeal on social issues; or some new hybrid for the 1990s. All of these viewpoints will have articulate advocates in Houston, although the goal of the convention will be to point out differences with Democrats, not among themselves.

With the Democrats running their most aggressive campaign in years, few Republicans underestimate the difficulty of the fight ahead, and they recognize how things have changed in 12 years.

"I don't think we're at the end of a cycle," said Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), who was elected in 1980 and is quitting out of frustration. "[But] I think there is clearly a difference [between 1980 and 1992]. There were so many things that sort of came together in 1980 to give us a tremendous sense of excitement."

The choice of Detroit alone gave an insight into the mood of the Republicans that year: they were ready to compete with the Democrats on their own turf for the very voters who had been the heart of the New Deal coalition.

Proposition 13, the California tax-cutting initiative, had signaled the anti-tax, anti-government mood that was gathering strength; the 1978 midterm elections revealed how much liberalism had fallen into disrepute with the voters; gas lines in the summer of 1979 symbolized America's stagnant, inflationary economy; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan reinforced the dangers of the communist threat; and the Iranian hostage crisis showed off America's weakness to the rest of the world.

At the same time, the GOP benefited from a growing cadre of grass-roots conservative activists—particularly evangelicals and anti-tax protesters—while a lively intellectual debate helped recast the party's image into a forward-looking confident institution.

Compare that with the events of the past two years and the Republican challenge becomes more clear.

The lingering recession has punctured the appeal of Reaganomics; the Supreme Court's decision to allow states to restrict abortion has made clear to voters, especially women, that additional Republican appointees to the court may remove constitutional protections; Bush's reversal of his no-new-taxes pledge and the debate during the 1990 budget summit gave Democrats an opening to the middle class that they had not had through much of the 1980s; and the disintegration of the Soviet Union took away the menace of the bear in the woods.

Only the Persian Gulf War was an unqualified success for Bush and GOP policies. Voters have yet to deliver a clear verdict on the other underlying trend of the past two years, a growing disgust with gridlock in Washington.

Some Republicans suggest the party's problems are mostly a function of Bush's current weakness, or point to Vice President Quayle as a liability to the ticket and the party. Conservatives mutter privately the party might be better served by a Bush defeat that would let the debate about the future begin immediately.

But some outside the party say the trouble runs deeper. "The GOP coalition is fracturing," said Stan Greenberg, who polls for Democratic presidential nominee Clinton.

The single biggest reason is the weak economy. "If the economy had stayed good, we wouldn't be sitting here talking about George Bush being weak," said Illinois' James Edgar (R). "The problem is, it's not getting better fast enough."

At the party's uncompromising position on abortion and Bush's broken tax pledge helped weaken, even divide, the Republican coalition, while the end of the Cold War and the end of the Vietnam War have removed the glue that bonded its often conflicting constituencies.

The result is a coalition whose constituencies are cast-

ing about for alternatives. Two groups that helped bring success to Republicans in the 1980s—young voters and so-called Reagan Democrats—already appear ready to jump to the Democrats in significant numbers. Others voters, particularly upscale, suburban Republicans, many of them women, may be at risk this fall because of abortion and other social issues.

Some Republicans were shaken this past month by polls that showed Democrats with a double-digit advantage when voters were asked which party they favored in House races this fall. GOP analysts also are edgy over a sudden surge in the polls in the number of voters who identify themselves as Democrats.

Some of these findings no doubt are artificial, representing the spillover effect of Clinton's convention "bounce." But many Democratic and Republican analysts say the figures hint at underlying problems the party must contend with.

For the past 40 years, the Gallup Organization has asked voters which party will do a better job of keeping the country prosperous and which will keep the country out of war.

In September 1988, the Republicans held an 18 percentage-point advantage on prosperity and a 10-point margin on peace. Measured last month before the Democrats convened in New York, Gallup found the two parties almost even on prosperity and the Democrats holding a 10-point lead on keeping the peace. Immediately after the Democratic convention, the GOP took a further nosedive on the prosperity question.

The parties have undergone, temporarily at least, a role reversal: Clinton and the Democrats are presenting cheerful and upbeat images and appropriating the Republicans' symbols, while the GOP is nervous and defensive over the strength of its coalition.

In 1980 the upbeat Republicans swept 44 states, captured control of the Senate and gained 49 seats in the House. In the intervening 12 years, most of those gains have been lost. The Senate returned to Democratic hands in 1986 (and the Democrats are now back at virtually the same strength they enjoyed in the late 1970s), while all but 10 of the GOP House seats have been surrendered back to the Democrats.

Still some important shifts have been more long-lasting. While talk of partisan realignment has subsided ("dealignment" or "unalignment" are more in vogue today), the Republicans have made significant progress in achieving parity with the Democrats in partisan identification.

Over the past 12 years, the Republicans have gone from a deficit of about 9 percentage points in party identification to being only a few points behind the Democrats earlier this year, according to Gallup figures.

Among key groups, their progress is more striking, according to Fred Steeper, who polls for the Bush campaign. In 1980, Democrats held a 20-point advantage among Roman Catholics. By 1988, the two parties were virtually even. Among white southerners, the Republicans went from a 20-point disadvantage in 1980 to an 18-point advantage in 1988. Churchgoers, whose partisanship was never too evident in previous decades, swung solidly behind the GOP. And young voters, a Democratic stronghold for several decades, turned Republican in the 1980s.

Republicans argue it would take a Clinton landslide this fall to produce a dramatic, long-term shift away from the GOP. "What we're going through is a short-term downturn," Steeper said.

As a presidential party, the Republicans have proven remarkable. In winning five of the past six elections, they have won 21 states every time, 17 other states five times and five states four times. They averaged 417 electoral votes to the Democrats' 113 in the six elections.

But signs of trouble emerged in 1988, even as Bush was disposing of Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis after trailing by 17 points in midsummer. The Democrats won 10 states and the District of Columbia and saw their raw vote increase over 1984 in 47 of the 50 states, in some cases by 25 to 35 percent, according to figures compiled by the Democrats.

The economy's performance has made things noticeably worse for the GOP. In one solidly Republican Long Island congressional district, the Democratic polling firm of Garin-Hart asked voters to choose between a Republican candidate who supports the president's economic program and a Democrat who opposes it. The generic Democrat was preferred by 53 to 32 percent.

Among those most affected by the economy are "Reagan Democrats," principally urban ethnics and Roman Catholics in the Northeast and Midwest. Democrat Greenberg extensively studied Reagan Democrats in Macomb County, Mich., and believes the economic realities of the past four years have convinced many that the rich have benefited at their expense.

"They feel betrayed," he said. "They used to feel betrayed by the Democrats. That's what drove them to the Republicans. They now feel betrayed by the Republicans. It's overwhelmingly economic."

Greenberg said that in his polls, Reagan now is almost as unpopular with "Reagan Democrats" as is Jesse L. Jackson.

But Bush is also bleeding in his base, symbolized by a recent poll by the Orange County, Calif., Register showing Clinton ahead in that citadel of Republicanism. No one expects the Democrats to win Orange County this November, but the fact that it is now competitive suggests the scope of the Republicans' problem.

As the Democrats over the past decade found it difficult to reach out to moderates while maintaining their liberal base, some Republicans worry that the party may have limited its appeal by writing an extremely conservative platform last week.

Now, Republicans are trying to point out the problems of the Democrats. "We have two problems," South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. said. "The economy is not as strong as anyone would like it and we have not defined ourselves or the Democrats well enough for the American people to differentiate. . . . The question is, do we have enough common ground to win? I think we do."

But there is little agreement about how the basic GOP doctrine of limited government, freer markets and empowerment of individuals should be interpreted for the future: Quayle emphasizes "family values"; Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp offers radical tax cuts; Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.) would further cut government; California Gov. Pete Wilson, whose state is in economic and fiscal turmoil, wants to balance higher taxes with cuts in welfare; Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld combines fiscal conservatism with support for abortion rights and gay rights. The jury is still out on which approach could command a majority of voters.

While Democrats charge Republicans are having difficulty reacting to a changing world, Weld said the party is "in a yeasty phase. It shows a certain intellectual vitality."

Rep. Weber, a key Kemp ally, argued that the Republicans more effectively represent the trends elsewhere in the world away from centralized government and bureaucracy and toward market economics. "I believe strongly that the mood of the voters in the United States is not isolated from the rest of the world," he said.

Jim Pinkerton, a leading architect of the empowerment agenda that includes school choice and home ownership for public housing tenants, contends that "the Republicans have a much more attractive program in 1992 than in 1980 on domestic policy."

The catch is that Kemp and other conservatives have been far more committed advocates of these policies than the president.

The abortion debate has received the most attention from the news media. Republicans like Sen. Gramm argue that party divisions are overstated, but don't tell that to Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.), who is fighting for his political life and fears that the issue may defeat him.

In reality, the Republicans held the line on their platform plank because to change it would threaten massive erosion among the religious right. But with a number of leading governors and senators openly in favor of abortion rights—not to mention the more moderate tone set by the president and Barbara Bush—debate will continue within the party.

Some party moderates fear the conservative social agenda ultimately will shrink, rather than enlarge, the Republican tent. Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa) said the definition of conservatism has changed for the worse over the past decade from Barry Goldwater's emphasis on individual liberty to Reagan's and the religious right's emphasis on social values.

"The great vulnerability of the party is whether it's going to maintain any confidence of the center and whether the center will hold," Leach said.

But as they prepared to depart for Houston, a number of Republicans found solace in the Conservative Party victory in Great Britain earlier this year. The Labor Party, Gramm said, preached change and the voters wanted change, but the Conservatives warned that Labor represented a change for the worse.

"And the voter got right up to the edge of the cliff, looked over and stepped back," Gramm said. "I think we do our job, that's what's going to happen here."

But with a weak economy and weakened president, even the most optimistic Republicans recognize that stitching together the strained coalition will be far trickier than in the past.

Senior polling analyst Sharon Warden and staff researcher Mark Siencel contributed to this report.

Wash. Edition
8-17-92**THE TIMES POLL**

Party Coalition May Be Fracturing Under Bush

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—President Bush heads into the Republican Convention facing rejection by substantial elements of the coalition that powered his party to three consecutive presidential victories during the 1980s, The Times Poll has found.

As Republicans gather here, Bush faces widespread defections in three critical groups that Ronald Reagan cemented into the GOP coalition during the 1980s: independents; older, culturally conservative "Reagan Democrats;" and

younger, more moderate GOP partisans who favor abortion rights.

Overall, the poll found Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton leading Bush by a resounding 56%-33% margin, with 9% undecided; that represents a slight widening of his lead since the end of the Democratic Convention, when The Times Poll showed the Arkansas governor with a 52%-32% advantage.

No Democrat since Jimmy Carter in 1976 has held as large a lead on the eve of the Republican Convention as Clinton enjoys to-

Please see POLL, A5

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POLL: Key Elements of GOP's Coalition Defect From Bush

Continued from A1

day. And his success at maintaining such a large advantage over Bush stands in stark contrast to 1988, when Democrat Michael S. Dukakis saw his 17-point post-convention lead cut substantially by the time the GOP gathered for its session in New Orleans.

The survey suggests the magnitude of the task Bush faces this week in changing voter perceptions of his own performance. Fully 82% of those surveyed said they already know enough about Bush to decide whether he deserves reelection—an ominous number for a candidate trailing so badly. By a 54%-42% count, those surveyed said it was unlikely that conditions in the nation would "improve substantially" if Bush was reelected; only 9% said such improvements were "very likely."

The Times Poll, supervised by John Brennan, surveyed 1,146 registered voters from Aug. 12-14; it has a margin of error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Since the Democratic Convention, Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have intensified their efforts to shift the debate to the qualifications of the Democratic ticket, arguing that Clinton is untested and "risky"; such arguments are likely to be a major focus of the GOP convention this week.

At this point, voters view Clinton favorably by a 57%-26% count. Just one out of five say his views are too liberal; twice as many say they are "about right." Voters give him roughly the same marks for honesty and integrity as the President, and more see him, rather than Bush, as likely to "bring about the changes America needs." By 65% to 27%, those surveyed say conditions are likely to improve if Clinton is elected.

Americans also give him at least as high grades on leadership as Bush: By 55% to 16% voters say Clinton has strong qualities of leadership, a differential actually better than Bush's 62%-33% score.

But the poll indicates that there may be room to change those glowing perceptions: 53% of those polled say they still need to know more about Clinton to decide whether he could be a good President; 51% of his supporters share that view. And 44% say they aren't sure whether Clinton would display good judgment in a crisis.

Even so, the poll strongly suggests that, at this point, the race is still primarily a referendum on Bush's performance and the nation's direction—and voters remain extremely unhappy with both.

For Bush, the equation is brutally simple. Most of those satisfied with his performance and the country's direction are voting for him; most of those dissatisfied with his handling of the job and the

nation's course are voting against him. His problem is that the second group is much larger than the first.

In the survey, for example, just 16% of those polled said the nation was moving "in the right direction," while 78% said things were "seriously off on the wrong track." That stands as the most pessimistic assessment of the nation's course during Bush's presidency; it also equals the level of malaise evident in the last year of Carter's presidency.

Among those who think the nation is moving in the right direction, Bush leads Clinton by a 62%-31% margin. But among those dissatisfied with the nation's course, Clinton leads 63% to 26%.

Similarly 44% of those polled approved of Bush's job performance as President; 52% disapproved.

Two-thirds of those who approve of Bush's job performance favor him over Clinton; but those who disapprove of Bush's record prefer Clinton 85% to 6%.

The same pattern is evident in voters' views on the direction of the economy. A fifth of those polled say the economy is only in a mild recession or not in recession at all; nearly 60% of those voters back Bush.

But three out of 10 say the country is in a moderate recession, and they prefer Clinton by a 53%-36% margin. And 44% of those surveyed call the recession "serious"; they provide the backbone of Clinton's support, preferring him over Bush by 72% to 18%.

All this unhappiness at the nation's economic performance has erased the GOP's key advantage during the 1980s: In the new survey, Democrats hold a 44%-30% lead over Republicans as the party best able to produce prosperity; Republicans held an 18-point lead on that question during the last months of the 1988 campaign.

Historically, Democrats have only won the White House when they hold a substantial lead on that measure.

On that crucial question, Clinton's lead over Bush is even greater. Asked who would do a better "job promoting economic prosperity" voters picked the challenger over the President by 56% to 26%. Nearly three out of five of those surveyed said Bush deserves a good amount of great deal of blame for the nation's economic problems—a slightly higher percentage than those who blamed the Democratic Congress.

With this widespread economic discontent acting as the hammer, the poll shows severe cracks opening in the modern Republican presidential coalition first assembled by Richard M. Nixon in 1968, then reaffirmed by Reagan in 1980 and maintained, despite some ero-

sion, by Bush in 1988.

At this point, Bush faces substantial defections from at least three critical groups, whose interests in many cases diverge. The difficulty of balancing their competing interests is probably one reason for the mixed signals emanating from the White House this past week on divisive social issues such as abortion and gay rights—with the President and First Lady Barbara Bush sending signals of tolerance in interviews even as the GOP approved a platform expressing hard-line sentiments on both questions.

Among the key groups Bush must reclaim to climb back into the

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loyal to Bush, they are more likely to be young, better-educated, female and affluent; above all, they are almost twice as likely as other Republicans to describe themselves as liberal or moderate.

On abortion, they present a stark contrast with the rest of the GOP. Clinton Republicans are much more supportive of legalized abortion than other Republicans—or for that matter, the population as a whole.

Overall, Americans favor the Roe vs. Wade decision guaranteeing legal access to abortion by 58% to 29%. Clinton Republicans support legalized abortion by more than 10 to 1; the rest of the GOP opposes legalized abortion by a 47%-39% count.

Bush's decision to raise taxes is also hurting him with these voters: More than a third say they are more likely to vote against him because he reversed his "no new taxes" pledge.

But for these Republicans, like most voters, the principal gripe with the President is his handling of the economy: Asked in an open-ended question why they don't like Bush, nearly a third cited the weak economy, far more than chose any other factor.

Reagan Democrats: In 1988, Bush carried nearly half of the Democrats who had voted for Reagan in 1984—a group that represented about one out of eight voters overall.

Now Bush faces overwhelming rejection from the so-called Reagan Democrats. In the survey, Democrats who voted for Reagan preferred Clinton over Bush by 73% to 16%.

As Reagan did, Bush has tried to appeal to these Reagan Democrats—who are culturally conservative, older and often Catholic—by stressing divisive social issues such as school prayer, abortion, welfare reform and the distribution of condoms in schools.

At the moment, it's doing him little good: Democrats who oppose legalized abortion are still backing Clinton—an abortion rights advocate—at a rate of almost seven to one.

Moreover, moderate and conservative Democrats prefer Clinton over Bush by almost nine to one.

During the Democratic primaries, Catholics displayed clear reservations about Clinton, a Southern Baptist. But for now they have moved strongly toward him: Clinton leads Bush among Catholics by 62% to 27%. Four years ago, Bush carried half of Catholics—which helped him win key battleground states such as Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan.

What's driving the Reagan Democrats back toward the party they abandoned? Three factors appear to stand out. One is enormous

dissatisfaction with the country's direction: Reagan Democrats are even more pessimistic than voters overall, with fully 86% of them considering the nation on the wrong track. Reagan Democrats are more likely than other voters to blame Bush for the economy's problems; and more than 7 in 10 say Clinton would do a better job than Bush at producing prosperity.

Second is anger at Bush for raising taxes: 46% of Reagan Democrats say the tax hike makes them more likely to vote against him. By a 52%-20% margin, these voters say Clinton would do a better job of "holding down taxes" than Bush.

Finally, Reagan Democrats are more likely than other voters to see Bush as out of touch with the concerns of average Americans. Nationally, 37% of those surveyed said Bush "cares about the problems of average Americans" a good amount or a great deal; just 26% of Reagan Democrats felt that way.

On one tangible measure of empathy, Reagan Democrats by 78% to 8% say Clinton is more likely than Bush to provide Americans with affordable health care; with all voters, the Democrat led 62% to 16% on that question.

Independents: In each of the past two elections, Republicans have carried at least 55% of independents, roughly a third of the electorate.

Now, though, Bush is lagging—though his problems don't appear nearly as severe as among Reagan Democrats. Independents favor Clinton over Bush 49% to 39%.

On most questions, they mirror the electorate overall, but the poll suggests greater opportunity for Bush here than among some other disaffected groups. In contrast to the population overall, independents are almost evenly split between Republicans and Democrats on the question of which party can better ensure prosperity—suggesting lingering doubts about the Democrats' economic stewardship.

On other questions, the poll suggests that Bush's strongest suit—his record in foreign policy—is doing little to offset voter unhappiness with his domestic record. By a 61%-22% margin voters still believe he would do a better job of handling foreign policy than Clinton. And they give him a 62%-32% positive grade on his foreign policy performance.

But, despite the end of the Cold War, Americans hold an equivocal view on whether Bush's policies has "made the world a safer place": 47% say yes and 42% say no. More strikingly, by 48% to 43% they say they do not consider the Gulf War a success. And in any case, just 5% of those surveyed cited foreign policy as an issue they wanted to hear the candidates address.

race:

Clinton Republicans: Four years ago, Bush carried 92% of Republicans. At this point, the President leads Clinton among self-identified Republicans by a margin of only 67% to 25%. (By contrast, Democrats favor Clinton by 85% to 6%.)

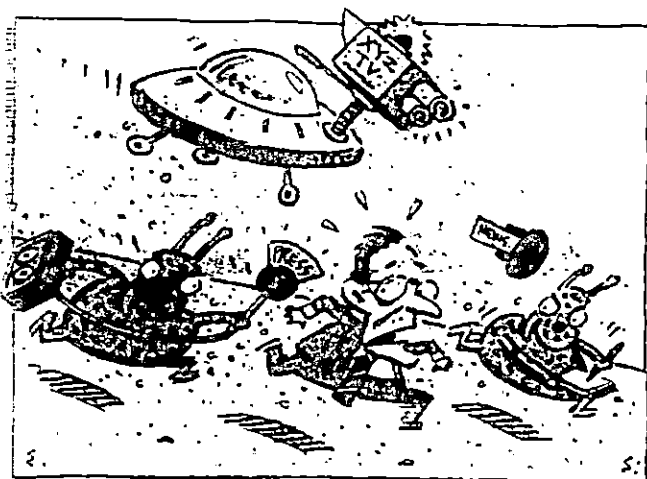
Bush's numbers among GOP partisans almost certainly will improve after the convention. But he may face an uphill climb recapturing enough of the Clinton Republicans—who constitute about 8% of the overall electorate—to unify the party as completely as he did four years ago.

Who are the Clinton Republicans? Compared to Republicans

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ESSAY

Pauli Gray



Just Suppose ...

Scene: The Oval Office. The television lights and cameras are ready.
Disembodied voice: "Five, four, three, two, one."

Q. Good evening, Mr. President. Thank you for allowing us and our viewing audience to join you here.

A. My pleasure, I'm sure.

Q. For openers, Sir, let's suppose you have a grandchild ...

A. I do, plenty of 'em ...

Q. And that grandchild came to you and admitted that he had once smoked marijuana while listening to a bootlegged Megadeth tape on a Sony Walkman, and that he had passed the joint on to a multicultural friend of uncertain sexual orientation, and that a spaced-out biker at the same party had cursed all politicians who favor crash-helmet laws ...

A. Ummm ...

Q. And that as a result of this experience, your grandchild confessed to feeling that life is meaningless, just one darned inconsequential thing after another, and that maybe the best thing for him to do would be to go to beautician school. How would you counsel him?

A. [Lengthy pause] I'm not sure I follow the drift ...

Q. O.K., let me try it this way. Suppose you had a different grandchild ...

A. Oh, boy, another grandchild ...

Q. No, Sir, a girl this time. And this grandchild told you that she believed her body had been won in an intergalactic lottery by an extraterrestrial named Zonk whom she had met at college, and that where Zonk came from, "family values" had a far different meaning than they do here on earth. For example, on Zonk's home planet consensual simultaneous polygamy was regarded as pretty much standard operating procedure, and so, for that matter, were intimate, but carina, relationships with plants. Now ...

A. [Looking to his side] Are we on live?

Voice offscreen: Yes, Mr. President.

Q. Now, Sir, this grandchild asks your permission to go on with Zonk and pay a visit to his planet. She explains that she wants to see and experience these different family values for herself, the better to be able to make an informed judgment on the life-style of her choice. What would you say to her, or to any young person faced with such a situation?

A. Isn't all that a little, er, hypothetical?

Q. Does that mean you won't answer the question, Sir?

A. [Edgely] No, no, all it means is I've never had a grandchild come to me and say that someone named Wink ...

Q. That's Zonk ...

A. Whatever. No grandchild of mine has ever asked my advice about taking a trip to another planet. How can I possibly respond ...?

Q. I understand, Mr. President. The old vision thing, I suppose, rearing its ugly head. Permit me to go at this from another slant. Suppose that Mrs. Bush ...

A. Now just hold on here a minute. I don't see why we have to drag Bar into this ...

Q. [Insistently] Suppose that Mrs. Bush has been kidnapped by a band of Aleut separatist terrorists who are demanding that the island of Attu be towed by a reclamation team under the auspices of the United Nations southward to the San Diego harbor, where the climate is warmer and where the islanders can paddle onshore to catch a movie or a meal at McDonald's. Furthermore, these international criminals say that if their ultimatums are not met within three days, Mrs. Bush, your wife of 47 years, will be set adrift on the Bering Strait in a rubber dinghy with nothing to sustain her but some frozen whale blubber and a complete set of Jane Fonda exercise cassettes. What would be your response? Would you put your arm around her?

A. [Eyes skittering] This is a joke, isn't it?

Voice offscreen: Easy, Mr. President. Some 30 million potential voters are zapping past right this minute, waiting for an answer.

Q. To reiterate: Would you put your arm around her, Sir? Would this deeply intense, deeply personal, deeply deep family crisis change in any way your commitment to the rule of international law and to the principal that islands, all things being equal, should stay where God put them?

A. [Digging a finger into his shirt collar] Well, of course I'd put my arm around Bar. Only, if she's in a rubber raft somewhere off Alaska and I'm here at the White House, I don't quite see how I could ... I mean ...

Q. [Huffily] Thank you, Sir. That clarifies that.

A. Well, could I at least add something about God and islands?

Q. I'm sorry, Mr. President, our time is almost over. One final question, if I may. Suppose that you are a venerable Douglas fir somewhere in the wilderness of the Pacific Northwest. And further suppose that your upper branches provide home and shelter for the endangered spotted owl. And then one day you hear the sound of approaching chain saws. The owls start to flap around you in alarm. And then you see the lumberjacks approaching your trunk, and you realize that the foreman of the crew is actually Elvis ...

8-17-92

Bold Plan By Bush Discounted

Aides Seek to Dampen Expectations for Major Economic Initiative

By Dan Balz and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

HOUSTON, Aug. 16—Senior advisers to President Bush today sought to dampen expectations that the president would unveil a dramatic new economic program as part of his acceptance speech Thursday night, a move that has been urged on him by Republicans concerned about his reelection prospects.

On the eve of Bush's arrival here for the opening of the Republican National Convention, there was a flurry of speculation about how far the president would go in presenting a bold tax or spending cut proposal to spur his lagging campaign. Among the ideas debated by Bush aides has been a reduction in income tax rates paired with a new value-added tax.

Bush comes to Houston this week badly trailing Democratic nominee Bill Clinton in the polls, and Republicans said today he needs a substantial boost from the convention to put himself back within striking distance in the fall campaign.

In a phone call from the White House to the convention floor in the Astrodome, Bush sought to rally his troops, pledging that when the convention is concluded, the American voters will know "we've got a good program" for economic growth.

"We're going to talk about our approach, which encourages economic opportunity for all Americans through policies that reduce the burden of government on our people and on their pocketbooks," he said.

"I pick up the torch tomorrow," Bush told his political team gathered for last-minute instructions before the convention is gavelled to an opening.

Because of the sluggish economy that has sapped public confidence in the president, many Republicans believe Bush faces a greater challenge this week than he did four

See REPUBLICANS, A17, Col. 1

Bush Advisers Discount Bold Economic Plan

REPUBLICANS, From A1

years ago in New Orleans. In planning the convention, party officials have scheduled a four-day smorgasbord of speeches designed to contrast Bush and Clinton, round up straying Republicans and give voters a clearer picture of what Bush would do in a second term.

Central to that picture is what Bush will do to stimulate the economy. The discussion about a new economic proposal was triggered in part by an interview with the president in Time magazine, in which Bush suggested he would have new economic proposals soon, and reflected the unresolved economic debate that has been raging inside the party the past four years.

"There's not going to be anything like that in the speech," a senior campaign official said today when asked about several far-reaching initiatives that have been under discussion. "This is an acceptance speech, not a State of the Union speech. It's going to have some policy direction to it and it will certainly sharpen the differences."

"I don't think we need a big economic package now," another senior official said. "It would look like panic."

While playing down specific proposals, campaign officials said Bush's speech would be a fiery, thematic kick-off to the general election campaign. They said he would use the speech to highlight his successes in foreign policy, contrast his philosophy with the Democrats and fire up the party faithful with rhetoric rather than specifics.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond pointed to last week's speech by incoming White House chief of staff James A. Baker III as the outline for the president's campaign message.

"I thought Jim Baker's speech was remarkable," he told reporters. "That same distillation of message... has got to be made by George Bush starting [Thursday] and repeated as often as possible."

The speculation about whether Bush would propose something dramatic on Thursday reflected the nervousness within the party and disagreement about what it will take to win the election in November.

Republican sources said Bush and his advisers have been discussing a variety of proposals in recent days, either for inclusion in the acceptance speech or sometime later in the campaign.

10P 12

One proposal discussed recently calls for a 3-percentage-point reduction in personal income tax rates. It would be coupled with a value-added tax—a kind of national sales tax, which would include exemptions for lower-income people—to offset the funds lost by the income tax cut.

That comes on the heels of proposals by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and other conservatives for a series of tax cuts, including reductions in income tax rates and immediate indexing of the capital gains tax.

Kemp's proposal would add substantially to the deficit, and Bush has told his aides he does not want to do anything that would increase the deficit or harm the economy.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), appearing today on NBC's "Meet the Press," said, "The president needs to make some dramatic statements, propose some dramatic programs." But he criticized the proposal by Kemp, with whom he has long feuded on economics. Cutting taxes without offsetting spending reductions, he said, would be "bad medicine" for the economy.

Despite efforts by senior officials to play down expectations for Bush's speech, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, in whose department the value-added tax proposal originated, said, "I am not going to

upstage anything the president might say at the convention. . . . But he feels very strongly that the American people are overtaxed."

Another version of the same idea would be a more dramatic restructuring of the tax code designed to encourage savings and investment through new tax exemptions.

Emphasizing the linkage that Baker made between Bush's foreign policy successes and the domestic scene will be a major objective of the carefully scripted convention.

Speaking to his forces here today, Bush borrowed a line from Baker's speech when he said, "We're not going to apologize for the time that we've invested in bringing peace to the world and, indeed, in changing the world, encouraging freedom."

Convention planners have built the week around the theme "The American Spirit," and each night will focus on a different aspect of that theme.

"We face a challenge similar to four years ago," said Craig Fuller, the convention manager. "We have to define for people what George Bush has accomplished, which is he helped reshape the world . . . and he has to define where he wants to lead the country the next four years."

Opening night Monday—which includes speeches by former pres-

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ CNN, 2 p.m.
Live interview with Bernard Shaw

■ PBS, 8-9 p.m.
Tape of complete interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw. Excerpts on "NBC Nightly News"



ident Ronald Reagan, Govs. Jim Edgar of Illinois and Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of South Carolina, U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills and former National Security Council staffer Condoleezza Rice—is "world" night, and Republicans hope to remind people that the dramatic changes of the past four years did not come by accident or without work and vision by the president.

Tuesday night, the Republicans will showcase members of the president's Cabinet, along with several more governors, to make the case that their party has a bold and dramatic series of domestic proposals on education, welfare overhaul, housing and other areas. By focusing on action in the states, convention planners said, the GOP will

draw a contrast between what Republicans have been able to do where they have the power to implement their ideas and what has been done with a Democratic Congress in Washington.

Tuesday night also will include the keynote address by Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, which Bush campaign officials are pointing to as a particularly important speech that is likely to offer a biting critique of Clinton's economic plan.

Wednesday night, with First Lady Barbara Bush as the star attraction, is "family night," an opportunity for the Republicans to make their "values" case against the Democrats. Other speakers include Marilyn Quayle, former national drug policy director William J. Bennett, religious broadcaster Pat Robertson and Govs. George Voinovich of Ohio, John Ashcroft of Missouri and, by satellite, Pete Wilson of California.

Thursday is Bush's night, with convention planners saying other speakers will underscore the importance of the office of the presidency and the person who occupies it. Through these speeches, the Republicans hope to remind people of Bush's experience compared to Clinton's inexperience.

"I think people are waiting to take a real hard look at the two individuals," Fuller said.

2079

8-16-92

GOP Scrambles to Shore Up Sinking Support

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—The Republican Party, its back against the wall, is groping for a way to buck the tide of voter discontent that threatens to end the era of GOP resurgence that began with Ronald Reagan's 1980 election.

Some Republicans put the blame for this peril squarely on their party's leader, President Bush. "His record is a total damned disaster over the last four years," says party consultant Eddie Mahe.

But the GOP's problems appear far more complex, and their solution may well require an overhaul of the party's traditional formulas, now that the Cold War has ended and economic growth has slowed to a crawl. The threat from the Soviet Union was a unifying issue for Republicans for almost half a century, and the booming economy of the Reagan years helped the party attract new recruits.

"Right now you have an election where the issues that went the Republican way in the past are gone from the scene," says Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., who led the party during the Reagan presidency.

With the issue of anti-communism neutralized, Republicans were left mainly to rely on what Fahrenkopf calls "that old standby, that Republicans will cut taxes and spending while Democrats will tax and spend."

But, adds Fahrenkopf, "when George Bush took back his pledge to the American people of 'Read my lips, no new taxes,' to all intents and purposes that bedrock issue went out with him."

In all, the party is facing a grim array: declining influence in state legislatures and the Congress, fewer voters identifying with the party and possibly a crisis of faith.

"People have disconnected themselves from conservatism,"

Please see GOP, A8

10F3

GOP: Unifying Issues Slipped Away

Continued from A1

conservative activist Paul W. Meyerich, "because they associate conservatism with Republicans and Republicans with George Bush."

Perhaps even more fundamental, the critics say the Republicans failed to meet a major challenge during their 12-year stand in the White House, largely because of their inherent suspicion of government. That challenge was the creation of an alternative approach to the Democratic reliance on government to respond to the day-in-day-out needs and aspirations of the citizenry.

Polling data indicates that voters are now most concerned about issues centered on the problems of employment, education and health care. "These are issues voters believe that Democrats have tried to do something about, and on which they are perceived as better performers," says UCLA political scientist John Petrocik.

"The Republican Party prospers in part because of the times when Democrats fail to do well with their issues and something else pushes them off the stage," says Petrocik, himself a Republican who was a consultant to the 1988 Bush campaign. "We are an alternative when the first choice doesn't work."

Bush's defenders claim that the President has sought to promote a pragmatic agenda aimed at meeting grass-roots concerns. They cite proposals ranging from a capital gains tax cut aimed at spurring the economy to tax credits to help meet the costs of health insurance.

Republicans still can make a claim to be ready to campaign vigorously on the so-called value issues—those relating to social mores and personal behavior. But given the nation's prolonged economic difficulties, such issues appear to have lost much of their arresting nature. It is unclear, for example, that the Republican Party's rigid opposition to abortion will result in anything more than an even break, considering the sharp divisions among the electorate on this question.

Further hindering Republicans has been their failure to achieve a political realignment that would have established the GOP as the majority party.

At the state level, where voters tend to put a premium on the problem-solving ability of politicians, Republicans have lost ground. They now control 20 governorships, three fewer than in 1981, when Reagan began his first term in the White House. And they have full control of only nine state legislatures, compared with 15 in 1981.

On Capitol Hill, the Republicans controlled the Senate with 53 seats when Reagan entered the White House. Now the GOP has only 43. On the House side, the Democratic majority has swollen from 50 seats to more than 100.

The most significant GOP gains came in party identification—the percentage of voters who view themselves as Republicans, regardless of their actual registration. In 1980, before Reagan won the White House, Democrats had a 22% advantage over Republicans in party identification, according to Gallup opinion surveys. But in 1985, aided by Reagan's personal popularity and his 1984 landslide reelection, the margin narrowed to five percentage points.

But that was as close as the Republicans have come to catching up with the Democrats. In fact,

they have since lost a little ground. By 1991, the Gallup survey showed the gap had widened to nine points. In the Los Angeles Times Poll conducted late last week, the Democrats had an 11-point edge.

Especially agonizing to GOP stalwarts is that less than a year ago, the party—coasting on the momentum from Bush's Gulf War triumph—seemed to be on top of the political heap. With Bush's approval ratings at honeymoon levels, a sketch on the "Saturday Night Live" television show satirized the eagerness of prominent Democrats to find excuses for *not* challenging him in 1992.

Not only were Republicans supremely confident of Bush's reelection, they were also already counting seats they expected to gain in the House and Senate, aided

2/2/92

ention. GOP platform writers ought to wring the maximum benefit from their party's past achievements. "Contrary to statist Democratic propaganda," their preamble reads, "the American people know that the 1980s were a rising tide, a magnificent decade for freedom and entrepreneurial activity."

But while the economic tide was rising for at least some Americans during the eight years Reagan was in power, economic statistics show that it began to ebb when Bush took over in 1989. Through the first quarter of 1992, economic growth during Bush's tenure in the White House has been a mere 2.5%, compared with the 14% average growth of gross domestic product during the Reagan years. The figure for the Bush years is the lowest mark by far of any post-World War II chief executive.

This extended period of economic drift is having an impact on GOP support, particularly on the young voters who were attracted to Republican ranks by the growth of the Reagan years.

Fahrenkopf notes that starting with the Great Depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, "for 50 years, when young people reached political maturity, about two-thirds went Democrat. One of the changes Reagan wrought was to turn that around."

But now Fahrenkopf is worried.

"I'm seeing some preliminary polling numbers which indicate that the hold Republicans have had is slipping" on young voters.

GOP pollster McInturff sees the threat from slow growth cutting across the demographic spectrum.

"The Republican coalition is enormously dependent on a good economy to hold it together," he says. "During the Reagan era, lots of people under 30, particularly men, were attracted to the Republican Party because we had a solid, decent economy, and Republicans were seen as defending our interests abroad."

In addition to facing the danger that these younger voters will drift away with the economic slowdown, McInturff says Republicans must also worry about older voters, many of them white Southern males who were drawn to the GOP because they perceived the Democrats as "the party of giveaway to special interests."

by Bush's coattails, reapportionment and the mounting public disgust with the Democratic-controlled Congress.

But as the 1992 fall campaign approaches, gloom hangs over Republican prospects across the board. A battery of polls shows Bush trailing Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton by 20 percentage points or more; the new Times Poll puts the margin at 23 percentage points. In congressional competition, meanwhile, Republican pollster William McInturff reports recording a six percentage point drop in generic support for Republican candidates in less than two months, giving Democrats a 49% to 32% advantage nationally.

In April of 1991, McInturff found support for the two parties even.

As they readied for their con-

Now, McInturff fears that these voters, many of whom came of age right after World War II, will go back to their Democratic roots because "there was one kind of thing they learned early in life, and that is that you don't vote Republican when times are tough."

Another, more general reason for the GOP difficulty is simply that they have held the White House for so long. During such a long tenure, as conservative analyst Kevin Phillips has pointed out, voter patience with unkept promises grows short, and incumbent excuses for not meeting expectations grow stale.

Some Republicans, however, feel Bush has made things worse by failing to set goals and pursue them with vigor.

GOP consultant Mahe, who served as executive director of the party when Bush was its chairman in 1973, condemns the President's record "on spending, on taxes and on regulation, from a conservative perspective, from a Republican perspective and from an American perspective. I can't figure out how anybody can be enthusiastic about George Bush, up to and including Barbara Bush."

2023



HEY, PEANUT BREATH: TV crew interviews elephant as GOP pours into Houston. **HARRY HAMBURG DAILY NEWS**

TODAY — Theme: The American Spirit and the World

10:00 a.m. Welcoming Remark; Bob Lanier, Mayor of Houston; Sally Atwater, wife of the late Lee Atwater, Former chairman, Republican National Committee.

Adoption of GOP platform.

7:00 p.m. National Anthem; Tanya Tucker. Speakers: outgoing National Republican Congressional Committee chairman Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.); Sen. Phil Gramm (Texas); Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (Fla.); Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson (Wyo.); U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills; Sen. John McCain (Ariz.) and Pat Buchanan.

■ Ex-Sen. Paul Laxalt (Nev.) introduces former President Ronald Reagan.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18 — The American Spirit and the Nation

10:00 a.m. Speakers: Republican Reps. Barbara Vucanovich (Nev.) and Nancy Johnson (Conn.); U.S. Conference of Mayors President Bill Altheide (York, Pa.); Hispanic Chamber of Commerce President Jose Nino.

7:00 p.m. Pledge of Allegiance; "Dick Tracy" actor Charlie Korsmo. Speakers: House Minority Leader Bob Michel (Ill.), Cabinet members Jack Kemp (Housing and Urban Development); Lamar Alexander (Education); Barbara Franklin (Commerce); William Reilly (Environmental Protection); Louis Sullivan (Health and Human Services) and James Watkins (Energy).

■ Governors William Weld (Mass.); Tommy Thompson (Wis.) and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.).

■ Keynote address: Sen. Phil Gramm (Texas).

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19 — The American Spirit and the Family

7:00 p.m. Pledge of Allegiance; Singer Lee Greenwood. National Anthem; Wynonna Judd. Speakers: Televangelist Pat Robertson; Marilyn Quayle, Barbara Bush and ex-drug czar William Bennett.

■ Labor Secretary Lynn Martin nominates President Bush.

■ Seconding speeches: Sen. Mitch McConnell (Ky.); Small Business Administration administrator Pat Salk; Corporation Commission member J. Watts and Colorado delegate Gloria Gonzales Roemer.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20 — The American Spirit and the Presidency

7:00 p.m. National Endowment Health chair Lynne Cheney; Colorado Attorney General Gale Norton; former President Gerald Ford.

■ Dan Quayle accepts vice presidential nomination.

■ Sen. Bob Dole (Kan.) introduces President George Bush.

■ Bush acceptance speech.

8-16-92

NETWORK TV

Monday, Aug. 17

■ ABC* and CBS 9:30-11 p.m.

■ NBC 10-11 p.m.

Tuesday, Aug. 18

■ ABC*, CBS and NBC 10-11 p.m.

Wednesday, Aug. 19

■ ABC* and NBC 10-11 p.m.

■ CBS-10 p.m.-12:15 a.m.

Thursday, Aug. 20

■ ABC* and CBS 9-11 p.m.

■ NBC 9:30-11 p.m.

*Additional coverage on "Nightline"

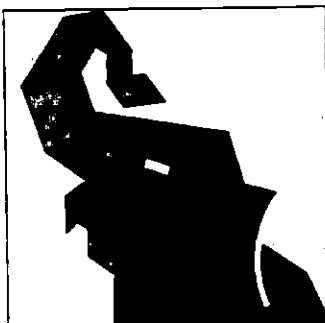
■ PBS 8-11 p.m. nightly. NBC will join with PBS during early evening coverage.

CABLE TV

■ CNN 5 a.m.-1 a.m. daily. Includes talk shows and recaps.

■ C-SPAN Uninterrupted gavel-to-gavel coverage, without editing, commentary or commercials.

■ Comedy Central 9-11 p.m. nightly.



Monday, Aug. 17

11 a.m.

■ Call to order

Chairman Richard N. Bond;

■ Welcoming remarks

Ken Lay, chairman of Houston Host Committee; Ben Love, co-chairman of Houston Host Committee and chairman of Houston Convention Fund; Houston Mayor Bob Lanier; Judge Jon Lindsay, Harris County Court; Sally Atwater, wife of the late Lee Atwater, former chairman of Republican National Committee

■ Adoption of platform

8 p.m.

■ Speakers

Ray Kim, California candidate for U.S. House of Representatives; Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), chairman of National Republican Congressional Committee; Sarah Flores, assistant county supervisor; Los Angeles County, Calif.; Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.), chairman of National Republican Senatorial Committee; Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (Fla.); State Treasurer Kay Bailey Hutchison (Tex.); Sen. Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.) U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills; Illinois Gov. Jim Edgar South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr.

■ Entertainment

Tanya Tucker

■ Speakers

Sen. John McCain (Ariz.); Patrick J. Buchanan; Former senator Paul Laxalt (Nev.); Former president Ronald Reagan

Tuesday, Aug. 18

8 p.m.

■ Speakers

Rep. Robert H. Michel (Ill.), House minority leader; Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson; Lamar Alexander, education secretary and former Tennessee governor; Barbara H. Franklin, commerce secretary; William K. Reilly, administrator, Environmental Protection Agency; Michigan Gov. John Engler; Louis W. Sullivan, secretary of health and human services; Massachusetts Gov. William Weld; Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), House minority whip; Jack Kemp, secretary of housing and urban development; Catalina Vasquez Villalpando, U.S. treasurer

■ Keynote Speaker

Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.)

Wednesday, Aug. 19

8 p.m.

■ National anthem by Wynona Judd

■ Speakers

Pat Robertson, president, Christian Broadcasting Network; Ohio Gov. George Voinovich; California Gov. Pete Wilson; Marilyn Quayle; Barbara Bush

■ Nominating speech for President Bush by Labor Secretary Lynn Martin

■ Seconding speeches by Sen. Mitch McConnell (Ky.); delegate Gloria Gonzales-Roemer (Colo.); Small Business Administration chief Patricia Saiki; J.C. Watts, member of Corporate Commission (Okla.)

■ Nominating speech of Vice President Quayle by William J. Bennett, former education secretary

■ Roll call of states

Thursday, Aug. 20

7 p.m.

■ National anthem by Sandi Patti

■ Speakers

Lynne V. Cheney, chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities; former president Gerald R. Ford

■ Acceptance speech by Vice President Quayle

■ Introduction of President Bush by Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.)

■ Acceptance speech by President Bush

8-17-13

INNER TUBE

Dot's Politics...

CNN anchor **Bernard Shaw** will do a live interview with President Bush today at about 2 p.m. Bush will be via satellite from Indianapolis; Shaw will be in CNN's anchor booth at the Republican Convention in Houston. . . . CNN has lined up groups of mostly Republican voters in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania for live reports on what they think about the convention, to air at 8 p.m. and 11 p.m. this week during convention coverage. . . . **Treach**, of the rap group Naughty By Nature, will contribute reports to MTV's coverage of the convention, along with **Ted Nugent**. . . . WNYW/Ch. 5 will carry convention updates throughout the evening this week, and live coverage of key speeches in its 10 p.m. newscasts, with **Jack Cafferty** anchoring from Houston. . . . CNBC is bumping its 6 p.m. "Business Insiders" all week for "Money Politics," which will be devoted to convention coverage. . . . Guests on tonight's "Charlie Rose" (Ch. 13, following convention) include Rep. **Newt Gingrich** (R-Ga.) and former Texas Gov. **John Connally**. . . . NBC "Today" show co-anchor **Katie Couric** heads to Houston Wednesday and Thursday for live convention coverage. Among those scheduled for interviews are First Lady **Barbara Bush** and Vice President **Dan Quayle**. — **Elizabeth Jensen**

For Some Conservatives, Reagan Has Lost His Appeal

REAGAN, From A15

district, said the collapse of support for Bush has been "like a plane crash. It happened quickly."

Pennsylvania state Rep. Joe Uliana (R), from the Bethlehem-Lehigh area, said Bush "looks markedly worse here" compared to 1988. "There is tremendous feeling for change, and right now the president is not seen as the agent of change."

In the long range, another development that may prove even more significant is the virtual collapse of strong Republican and Bush support among voters 18 to 30 years old.

This group was supposed to become the leading edge of an evolving Republican realignment, as the population of older, more Democratic voters declined. But in the most recent Washington Post-ABC News poll, the group that most favors Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and opposes Bush is likely vot-

ers 18 to 30 years old, among whom Clinton has an extraordinary 43-point margin, 70 to 27 percent, compared to an overall 26-point margin among all likely voters.

Just as key demographic support has eroded for the GOP among such groups as white working-class voters and the young, the Republican coalition is under geographic assault.

Public polls taken since the Democratic convention show Clinton holding leads of varying sizes in every southern state—the region of the country that is supposed to provide the core of a decisive Republican electoral college advantage.

And in California, the most populous state, which has voted for the Republican presidential nominee in six consecutive elections, Clinton holds such a strong lead—62 to 28 percent according to a Field Poll late last month—that Republicans are considering writing the state off.

John McClintock, a California state assemblyman now running for the House seat held by Rep. Anthony C. Beilenson (D), spoke almost nostalgically about the Reagan coalition in his state:

"They were the middle class, the working people of the state. They were solid for Reagan in the 1980s, and the majority were looking at [Ross] Perot when he was running. Now they represent a very broad and very weak portion of Clinton's voters who are there not so much because they like Clinton, but because they have given up on Bush."

... The core of the Reagan agenda was to contain the growth of the federal bureaucracy, and to resist further tax increases and, of course, both of those policies have been reversed."

McClintock is part of the conservative revolution whose commitment was based largely on economics. While Bush commands significant support from the moral and

religious right—another key Republican constituency—even there his backing is far more fragmented than it had been for Reagan in 1980 and 1984 or for Bush himself in 1988.

As Bush and his wife, Barbara, struggle to bridge deeply felt divisions on such issues as abortion and gay rights, their own contradictory statements provoke worry and doubt on the religious right that could well reduce the enthusiasm essential for a strong turnout Nov. 3.

"In the religious world, someone who is an apostate is viewed with more suspicion than someone who is a heretic," said Richard Cizik of the National Association of Evangelicals. Bush made "an overt attempt to identify with the evangelicals on religious and moral issues, and thus when the president is perceived to depart from those stands which he took, the effect is all the worse."

10F2

WASHINGTON POST
5-17-93

THE 1992 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Gipper Tries to Win One More for Bush

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 16—On opening night, Republicans will call once again on Ronald Reagan, the founder of the conservative revolution that has fallen into disarray under President Bush.

Reagan will lead off the featured speakers as the Republican National Convention celebrates Bush's foreign policy successes. The sight of the 81-year-old former president on the podium Monday night will surely make the hearts of ideologues beat faster. But there is also strong evidence that among a crucial segment of conservative voters, the memory of Reagan has soured—that the Reagan message will play far better here inside the Astrodome than on the outside.

The Reagan magnetism that pulled working- and middle-class voters into the Republican fold—a coalition Bush desperately needs to revive—has lost some of its appeal with those voters, polls and interviews show.

One of the most important political legacies Reagan left Bush and the Republican Party was the Reagan Democrat: the socially conservative, working- or middle-class, often Catholic, often ethnic, white voter who provided crucial margins in state after state.

For Bush—the only Republican president elected after the New Deal whose roots are upper-class and

patrician, not middle-class—Reagan Democrats were the lifeblood of his 54 percent victory in 1988.

They were the men and women persuaded to abandon blue-collar Democratic roots to vote for a blue-blood Republican by Willie Horton, the ACLU, the death penalty and the promise not to raise taxes. Heirs to the George Wallace voters of 1968 and the hard-hat backers of Richard M. Nixon in 1972, these voters provided an edge of muscle and grit to a Republican coalition widely perceived as dominated by the rich and corporations.

This year, in contrast, the Reagan Democrats show the greatest potential to return to the Democratic Party. In a study of Reagan Democrats in the key states of Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, Michigan Researchers Associates found that Reagan had the highest unfavorability rating of a wide range of public officials, 63 percent, higher even than Jesse L. Jackson, who had a 55 percent negative rating.

Democratic pollster Geoffrey Gartin said his survey data show that "a lot of voters, particularly working-class Democrats, now think of the Reagan administration as the time when we started to get into our economic mess. Reagan is now singularly remembered as the president who cared more about the rich than the

middle class. . . . In the politics of 'us' and 'them,' Reagan has come to represent 'them.' "

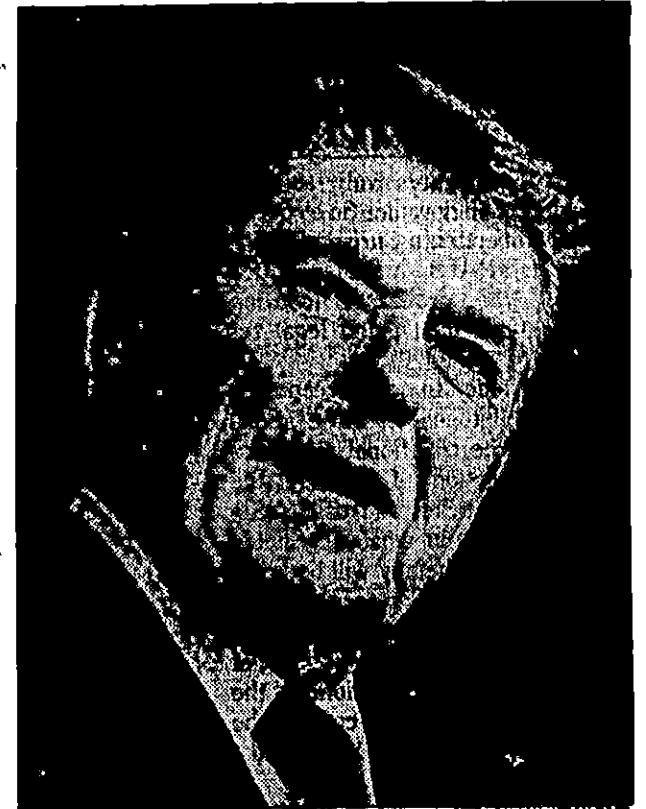
Republican sources, who did not want to speak on the record about such a GOP icon as Reagan, generally confirmed these findings, and a new CBS News-New York Times poll shows that 45 percent of voters nationally have an unfavorable view of Reagan, compared to 37 percent with a favorable opinion.

"For those of us who helped build the conservative movement, there are two heroes, [former Arizona senator and 1964 Republican presidential nominee] Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. There is no way that a party that has owes Reagan so much could not give him a key spot at the convention," said a prominent Republican. "But," he added, "that doesn't mean having him here is going to help for the general election."

The loss of the Reagan mystique is being felt throughout the country, particularly by local Republicans in the North and South who were swept into office from working-class districts during the conservative revolution of the 1980s. They were less reluctant to voice their concern.

While contending that Bush can pull it out in the long haul, North Carolina state Rep. Leo Daughtry (R), who faces a tough fight after redistricting of his Smithfield

See REAGAN, A16, Col. 1



Surveys show that Reagan, who is to speak tonight, has lost some appeal among working- and middle-class voters.

2062

Enter the new deputy president

Woodrow Wilson heavily depended upon his friend Col. Edward House to be his link to Europe during the early days of World War I. Franklin Roosevelt cared so much about his ailing friend Harry Hopkins that he invited him to live at the White House during the period he was sending Hopkins overseas to talk with Churchill and Stalin. Jack Kennedy wanted Bobby around so keenly that he defied the critics and made him attorney general. But for George Bush, Jim Baker may be more indispensable than any of them.

Baker is soul mate, closest friend, younger brother, Dutch uncle, campaign manager, chief lieutenant, tennis partner and occasional rival to Bush. Last week the president also made him deputy president, at least for a while.

Whether Baker can pull the Bush campaign out of its deep hole is problematic. When he gave up his Treasury post in 1988 on his last rescue mission, his friend was only seven points behind heading into the GOP convention, and opponent Michael Dukakis proved an easy target. This time, Bush goes to the GOP convention 21 points behind in the latest U.S. News poll against an opponent who is running the strongest, hungriest Democratic effort in years.

What Baker will do in the short term is rejuvenate a White House staff so mismanaged in recent months that it has lost confidence in itself.

Despite solid accomplishments in other posts, Sam Skinner was wholly miscast as chief of staff. Aides last week described scenes of chaos and indecision, especially in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, when Skinner was said to be sprawled on a couch, wavering between a hard response and a compassionate one (typically, Bush split the difference and was politically damaged). Some junior aides were literally crying at the welcome news of Baker's return, expecting him to bring crisp, competent leadership. Baker is coming, too, with his own brain trust from State. The Baker Four—Bob Zoellick, Margaret Tutwiler, Dennis Ross and Janet Mullins—will now be running a good deal of the government as well as the campaign.

The truth-sayer. Bush clearly preferred to leave Baker at State—who wants a rescuer?—but he also wants to win and he is more comfortable with Baker nearby. A few days before the Baker announcement, George W. Bush spoke bullishly of GOP prospects, saying that his dad was now focusing on the campaign and beginning to connect again on the stump. Still, he added, Baker has brought a special

quality to every Bush campaign over the past 20 years. With the exception of Barbara Bush, no one else can tell Bush when he is wrong—and expect another audience.

What makes this roundup different from the past is that Bush the campaigner is also sitting president and, in his hour of need, is snaring an unprecedented amount of power with his friend. Baker is not only to be chieftain of campaign and White House; Bush also wants him to draw up a policy agenda that will be the centerpiece of the next four years. It's Baker who will help the president decide what meat to

put in his acceptance address at the GOP convention (the day Baker was named, the meat was still missing). It's Baker who will look for ways to goose up the economy. Baker who will fend off Congress. Baker who will continue to oversee Middle East talks.

Dan Quayle will remain Bush's running mate, but he must wonder whether Baker will now eclipse him in the public eye. Could he indeed become a surrogate running mate? Relations between Quayle and Baker have been strained since the last convention, and associates say privately that Baker has worked to clip Quayle's wings in foreign affairs. In recent weeks, Quayle has often been the most effective spokesman for the administration, but that role, too, could fall to Baker. Some even envision a bigger responsibility. Asked last week whether Baker



'Bush must make it plain to voters he and Baker will now devote the next term to changing the country.'

was now to be the administration's answer to Al Gore, a top Bush adviser smiled. "No, he'll be going toe-to-toe with Clinton." Of late, the Democratic candidate has had almost free rein to let Bush speak and then attack in the same news cycle; now the White House has someone who can take on Clinton in return, and in the same news cycle.

The unanswered question is how long Baker will stick around the White House. A person close to him says he hates to give up foreign policy—and even thinks it unfair—because he has become a statesman and loves working with Bush to change the world. Who would want to become a grubby "pol" again? If Bush wins, by this theory, Baker will quickly help him assemble a team for a second term and then return to State. No, argues another friend, Baker over time accepted the inevitability of this move. Soon, he will realize that in order for the president's second-term plans to be politically credible, Bush must make it plain to voters that he and Baker together will now devote the next term to changing the country. However reluctantly, Baker may be deputy president longer than he wants.

First Lady rips GOP attack on Hillary Clinton

By Janet Cawley
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—A stern Barbara Bush took direct aim at the chairman of the Republican National Committee Thursday, chastising him for attacking Hillary Clinton and declaring, "I don't like that kind of campaigning."

Speaking to a small group of reporters in the family's sitting room overlooking the Rose Gar-



den and the Oval Office, the first lady was adamant that the campaign should be fought on the records and characters of the two candidates and not their wives.

■ Clinton: U.S. economy the key in foreign affairs. Page 5.

■ Despite health concerns, Eagleburger a survivor. Page 5.

■ Bush campaign boss Mary Matalin pulls no punches. Tempo.

"I mean there are two people running this year, period," she said.

But her husband, in an interview with Scripps Howard News Service, sounded a little less cer-

tain that GOP Chairman Rich Bond had been wrong.

Bond claimed Wednesday in Houston that if Bill Clinton were elected, it would mean "ad-

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Bush

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vising Clinton on every move [would be] that champion of the family, Hillary Clinton, who believes kids should be able to sue their parents rather than helping with the chores as they are asked to do. She has likened marriage and the family to slavery. She has referred to the family as a dependency relationship that deprives people of their rights."

To back up his remarks, Bond aides distributed copies of a 1974 essay by Hillary Clinton that appeared in the Harvard Education Review. But Clinton aides said Bond had twisted her words into "lies."

If Bond thought Hillary Clinton was too independent, he didn't reckon with another independent woman, Barbara Bush.

Asked about his remarks, Bush said, "I don't like it. I'm not going to lie to you about that. I don't like attacking. I think he's got a great candidate to push and I hope he will. ... I'm devoted to Rich Bond but ... if you're going to knock [someone] you ought to knock the other person running."

Asked if she had phoned Bond to convey her displeasure, she replied, "I don't have to. I'm talking about it to you."

In the Scripps Howard interview, the president stepped more gently. "I think what Bond was



Tribune photo by Ernie Cox Jr.
Barbara Bush speaks her mind Thursday at the White House.

doing [in criticizing Hillary Clinton], as I understand it, was quoting positions that she had publicly taken," he said. "... If it was factual and stuff then that's quite different from just attacks on my wife. I think if you're going to

be in the issue business, it's fine to talk about issues. Barbara Bush is not in the issue business. She's in something else."

The difference of opinion between Barbara Bush and Bond follows close on the heels of another Republican upheaval over a vituperative press release by political director Mary Matalin that the president eventually disowned.

During the session, Bush was at times exasperated, at times resigned, at times combative as she took reporters' questions.

On other topics Bush:

■ Said she thought the coverage earlier this week of a report—based on a book footnote quoting a man now dead—that the president may have had an affair with an aide was "ugly." She told reporters, "I think you ought to be ashamed of yourselves [for] even printing those things or asking them."

She called it a "lie in every way, shape and form. ... And I felt the same way—I don't have a double standard—I felt the same way about printing the Bill Clinton story [claiming he had an affair with Gennifer Flowers]."

■ Dismissed rumors that the president was ill as "nutty ... I mean he's the strongest man in the world."

She said she was particularly amused by a rumor that he was going to have open-heart surgery after the election. "Do you think I would let the person I love more

than life run for public office if he was going to have open-heart surgery after the campaign?"

■ Said she thought several recent articles critical of her, particularly one in Vanity Fair, were attempts to get at the president. "We've got four months before the election," she said. "How do you get to George Bush? Clobber his wife."

■ Described her convention speech on family values next week as "sort of a little Mighty Mouse. I mean it's nothing. It's very short, I mean like five minutes. ... Don't expect anything 'cause you're not going to get it."

■ Declined to answer questions about her position on abortion, adding, "When I run for office you ask me and I'll tell you." Asked if she would support the conservative abortion plank drawn up this week in Houston, she replied, "I'm going to answer that next week."

■ Said she agreed completely with the president's remark that if a granddaughter said she wanted to have an abortion he would try to counsel her against it, "but of course I'd stand by my child."

The best thing to do, she said, is to teach children to abstain from sex. "I'm not sure in my own mind whether it's worse to get AIDS or whether it's worse to be a 14-year-old who has to quit school, have a baby, can't take care of it and knows that she is locked into poverty the rest of her life."

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Mrs. Bush chides GOP

Barbara Bush chides GOP chairman

head on tactics

By John W. Mashek
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - In another sign of disagreement among Republicans about campaign tactics, Barbara Bush expressed her disapproval yesterday of Richard Bond, the party chairman, for his criticism of Hillary Clinton, the wife of the Democratic presidential nominee.

"I don't like it. I'm not going to lie to you about that. I don't like attacking," Mrs. Bush said in a 30-minute interview with several reporters in the White House.

In a separate interview Wednesday, she suggested that abortion should not be in the Republican platform.

"First," she said of Bond's remarks, "I don't like that kind of campaigning. And secondly, when you have a superb candidate of your own, I don't think you need to knock other people."

Bond, speaking on Wednesday in Houston, where the Republicans hold their convention next week, had accused Hillary Clinton of equating marriage and the family with slavery. Bill Clinton's aides said Bond had turned her words, from a Law Review article, into lies, and Clinton himself said the GOP was "getting piti-

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■ BUSH

Continued from Page 1

ful" with its campaign rhetoric.

Mrs. Bush said she had not conveyed her feelings to Bond, to whom she said she was devoted. "I don't have to. I'm talking about it to you," she said with a smile. Asked if she thought Mrs. Clinton was seeking to be a copresident with her husband, Mrs. Bush said, "I don't even know her."

Despite numerous attempts to draw her out on the question of abortion, Mrs. Bush was adamant about not revealing her feelings on the subject - except to say that she supported her husband. "I don't know the answer, so don't ask. I've had it with abortion," she said.

She said children should be taught to abstain from sex, because with the danger of AIDS, promiscuous sex has become a death threat in society. "We should be saying to our children: Wait... don't have sex. Wait until the time is right, until you're educated and you can take care of your children."

In an interview Wednesday with news magazines, Mrs. Bush suggested that the question of abortion should not be in the Republican platform. "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, pro or con," she said. "It's a personal choice, is what I'm saying."

Yesterday, Mrs. Bush said she would disclose her views on abortion if she were running for public office. She also said there were more important issues for the nation in the election, such as peace, security, the economy, health care, crime and education. And she criticized the Democratic-controlled Congress for not doing more about them.

She also barely contained her anger over a story earlier this week alleging that George Bush, then vice president, had had an affair with an aide eight years ago in Geneva.

"It is ugly, and the press ought to be ashamed of themselves, printing some-

thing that is a lie. I felt the same way - I don't have a double standard - about printing the Bill Clinton story, from a woman who was paid" for the story.

"I thought that was disgusting. It has not been the best of political times," she said, referring to articles during the Democratic primary season about Clinton's alleged affair.

Later, however, Mrs. Bush said that Clinton "never denied he had a fling, did he? That doesn't mean George Bush shouldn't be smeared with the same brush when he didn't."

Mrs. Bush also said she was incredulous about rumors of the president's health. In recent weeks, a variety of reports have circulated, including one that he might drop out of the race because of poor health.

"There were stories that he was going to have open heart surgery after the campaign," Mrs. Bush said. "That's nutty. He's the strongest man in the world. Then, there was the report that he had lupus. The dog has lupus. The president is in great physical shape."

Mrs. Bush, whose popularity in a Boston Globe poll was 75 percent, or about twice Bush's rating, expressed surprise that her planned speech at the convention next week has raised so much interest. It will, she said, be a five-minute address on family values, which she defined as "decency, honesty, sharing, caring and loving."

In the interview, Mrs. Bush played down her popularity and her role. "I make no decisions," she said. "I don't have to say no to anyone."

Mrs. Bush's comments about Bond are the latest in a series of disagreements about campaign strategy. Yesterday the president appointed James A. Baker 3d as chief of staff, in a move widely thought to be aimed at reinvigorating the campaign. And last week, Bush appeared to pull back from aggressive tactics, characterizing a campaign worker's reference to Clinton's "limbo eruptions" as "across



GLOBE PHOTO / PAM PRICE

Barbara Bush meets with reporters yesterday in the White House.

the line."

Although Mrs. Bush has enjoyed favorable publicity during her years in the White House, a few highly critical accounts of her life, such as an article in a recent issue of Vanity Fair magazine, have appeared. Asked about the Vanity Fair article, which portrays her as mean-spirited, she said: "How do you get

George Bush? You clobber his wife."

Mrs. Bush said she expects her husband to win in November - but she will not be devastated if he does not. "Of course I'm not going to be broken-hearted. I'm going to be with the man I respect and like most in the world," she said. Eventually, she said, the Bushes plan to settle in Houston.

BOSTON
GLOBE
11/17/92
D-1

DESPITE BARBARA, GOP VEERS RIGHT

HOUSTON.

AT the Friday morning meeting of President Bush's convention staff, senior political adviser Charlie Black expressed relief that Barbara Bush had chosen to come out of the closet as pro-choice on abortion only after the most conservative Republican platform ever had been locked up.

Anti-abortion activists suspect that the First Lady publicly espoused the position of abortion-rights Republicans — that the GOP platform ignore the issue — in order to calm the party's angry pro-choicers.

Whether or not it was Mrs. Bush's goal, her outburst came as a shock to her husband's political counselors. Black was blindsided Thursday night when a television interviewer asked him about her statement.

The hard truth is that Barbara Bush, for all her popularity as a mother figure, is irrelevant to the internal dynamics of the president's comeback at-



**ROWLAND EVANS &
ROBERT NOVAK**

tempt and the future of the GOP. Republicans are not going to lurch leftward to the middle because Bill Clinton and Al Gore paint themselves as centrists.

There is no ideological warfare between the campaign and the Republican right, because the president's team has chosen not to fight such a self-defeating struggle.

The return to the White House of James A. Baker, once abhorred by conservatives as the high priest of pragmatism, was welcomed by the right, because he

would bring order and discipline to the campaign without plowing new ideological ground.

The abortion question shows how much the GOP has become the party of the right. Whatever errant thoughts of softening the pro-life stand might have been entertained by Bush strategists over the past four years, they have come to understand that anti-abortion activism is now integrated into the GOP's nervous system.

Most pro-choice Republican politicians realize there is no sense in fighting this reality. Maine Gov. Jock McKernan decided not to come to Houston last week to use his seat on the Platform Committee to lead the pro-choice cause. McKernan, along with Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, agreed to a watery resolution devised by Black which called for all parties in the dispute to back the ticket.

What, then, was Barbara Bush up to? "This is her last campaign," one of her hus-

band's aides told us, "and I think she wants to have her say about what should be said."

Actually, she is reported by campaign insiders to be far more upset about Republican National Chair-

Quayle aide helps draft party's most conservative platform

man Rich Bond's attack on Hillary Clinton than about the platform's abortion clause. She delivered a scorching Washington-to-Houston telephone rebuke to Bond, whom she has known since his early 20s.

But if the president is to be re-elected, his campaign cannot possibly please old-



Associated Press

BARBARA BUSH: Out of the pro-choice closet.

fashioned Republicans of the First Lady's social class and generation. The arbiter of how moderates Bush and Baker will seek to retain power will not be Mrs. Bush but that remarkable platform.

This document was not sneaked in at the last minute by a right-wing cabal. On the contrary, it has been in preparation for months under the direction of somebody from the heart the Bush administration official family: William Gribbin, Vice President Dan Quayle's legislative aide, who has been involved in drafting increasingly conservative platforms starting in 1980.

Beyond its abortion language, scarcely a page of the 1992 edition fails to leap to the right of Bush policy: oil drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf, no homosexual marriages or adoptions, implicit abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts and even a

"structure" to stop illegal Mexican immigration.

"George Bush won all the primaries, but Pat Buchanan could have claimed that he won the platform," a Bush platform aide told us.

But from Bush's high command comes not one hostile word. His campaign aides, many personally pro-choice and generally moderate, are delighted. They believe that only an aggressively rightist tone can mobilize the conservative base and prod Clinton-Gore into attacks on them that undermine the Democratic ticket's centrist pretensions.

Whether Bush wins or not, the Republican future points to the right. While it is fashionable to say nobody reads platforms, the document will not go away. "Looking toward 1996," Gribbin told us, "it will sit on the tummy of the Republican Party like an undigested meal."

It surely will outlast Barbara Bush's sentiments

8-16-92

THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92

POLITICS**Barbara Bush Letter on Gays Cited**

■ A major gay rights organization has discovered some silver lining in the Republican National Convention's "traditional family values" night Wednesday.

Despite use of family values as "a shorthand phrase by conservatives to indicate opposition to gay and lesbian civil rights," the Gay and Lesbian Voice '92 contends that the keynote speaker that night, Barbara Bush, has "in fact expressed support for gay rights and 'compassion for all gay Americans and their families.'"

The gay organization has produced a 1990 letter Barbara Bush wrote to Paulette Goodman, president of the Federation of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays.

"I firmly believe that we cannot tolerate discrimination against any individuals or

groups in our country," Barbara Bush wrote. "Such treatment always brings with it pain and perpetuates hate and intolerance. . . . Your words speak eloquently of your love for your child and your compassion for all gay Americans and their families."

GRAND OLD PARTY TIME

In city of whited sepulchers . . .

HOUSTON — These people are so disorganized, why, you might even think they were Democrats. Old-style Democrats, from 1972, maybe.

As the Republicans gathered in Houston yesterday, they were all over the lot. They couldn't agree on tax cuts, abortion, whether Vice President Quayle is a help or a hurt to the ticket, or even whether it would be prudent to bomb Saddam Hussein.

"You could argue either side of that," campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher said when asked about the political benefits of bombing Baghdad.

The argument for bombing: President Bush, down 17% against Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, needs a dramatic boost in the polls. On the other hand, suppose some U.S. pilots were captured — and were then displayed on Iraqi TV from now until Election Day. That would be Jimmy Carter all over again.

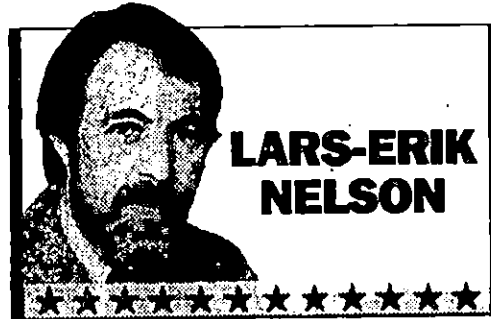
Neither the President nor First Lady Barbara Bush agrees with the party platform, which wants to outlaw abortion in all circumstances. Bush would permit abortion in cases of rape or incest; Mrs. Bush thinks abortion shouldn't be in the platform at all.

No matter. Regardless of what any-

body thinks, the President is not going to do much about abortion if he is re-elected. Bush keeps ducking when he is asked whether he will propose a constitutional amendment to outlaw it.

Cut taxes, but cut spending?

On taxes, GOP conservatives nostalgic for the Reagan era are calling for



a dramatic, across-the-board cut in top rates. But mainstream Republicans like Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole and former Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher warned that a tax cut would do no good unless Congress also cut spending. Without spending reductions, the tax cut would just increase the federal deficit.

The party is even divided over the wisdom of Democrat-bashing. Some of its cleverer strategists realize that in the current economic sluggishness Bush cannot win without a strong pos-

itive message on jobs, health care and education. The childish political operatives of the Bush campaign, however, continue to issue press releases that simply denounce Bill Clinton as "Slick Willie." This is as deep as they dare think: Win by trashing the opponent.

Rich Bond, the Republican national chairman, seems almost to have given up hope that Bush can beat Clinton. He keeps trying to run Barbara Bush against Hillary Clinton.

For the record, everyone has rallied around Vice President Quayle, but Newsweek magazine reported yesterday that Secretary of State Baker, newly named as the savior of the Bush campaign, had tried to winkle Quayle off the ticket.

Four years ago, it was so much simpler. Then there was a clear, even though hybrid, ideology: Sununu-Noonanism. Bush's first term in his own right would be a continuation of Ronald Reagan's conservative philosophy, as interpreted by Gov. John (No New Taxes) Sununu, plus a veneer of compassion as provided by speechwriter Peggy (Kinder and Gentler) Noonan.

In addition, the Republican Party had a glue that both held it together and attracted Democrats and independents: Revulsion at a soft-on-crime, overly tolerant, Big Government, weird-lifestyle, weak-defense,

flag-hating, prayer-scorning, high-tax Democratic Party — as perfectly exemplified by candidate Mike Dukakis.

Two things changed: One, Bill Clinton seized control of the Democratic Party and threw out a lot of its old orthodoxies. Two, middle Americans finally realized that the Reagan-Bush promises on crime, taxes, jobs and schools weren't paying off for them.

Lesson in the worst

You need only come to Houston to see what went wrong with the Republican Party. All the worst traits of America are here: Great wealth and great poverty squeezing the middle class from both ends, tax hikes for working people coupled with a deterioration of public services, luxurious but underoccupied office buildings built with speculative loans from collapsed S&Ls, nightmarish violence in the streets and destructive urban sprawl.

At a pre-convention reception Saturday night, guests walked past a cordon of police into an air-conditioned fortress — a bank, actually — and sipped their drinks as homeless men in the squalid street outside literally pressed their noses against the windows.

And this is the town Bush calls home. All his friends are doing fine. Unfortunately for Bush, there are not too many of them.

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★ MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Life

The Washington Times

Houston does its best to give a warm howdy

By Elisabeth Hickey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON
George Bush and the Republican Party could use some of that famed Texas hospitality about now.

Delegates to the Republican National Convention arrived here after a week of dispiriting squabbling over abortion that showcased the party at its most schizophrenic, and reports that the bash might be eclipsed by a U.S. attack on Iraq.

The delegates need to get in a good mood, convention coordinators say, so they will put on a unified show, cheer real loud for the president and refrain from trying to smuggle pro-Buchanan or pro-choice signs past security guards at the seven entrances to the Astro-

dome.

"But we can always slip Magic Markers in our waistbands and turn around the signs they give us and write what we want," a California delegate says with a mischievous grin.

Houston's official hosts tried to give arriving delegates a warm howdy. They want to play up the fact that this is not, thank God, New York.

As delegates step off planes at Houston Intercontinental Airport they are greeted by about 150 volunteers wearing star-spangled red, white and blue vests.

Although Houston has been fighting mightily to shed its image as a cow town and showcase itself as a cosmopolitan, sophisticated city, host to the Economic Summit in

see TEXAS, page D2

cont-

TEXAS

From page D1

1990, many volunteers wear denim and bandannas, boots and brightly colored cowboy hats.

Delegates, oblivious to Houston's identity crisis, chatter happily about rodeos and electronic bulls and spotting cowboys on the street.

They are in for a rude shock. Such sightings are virtually unknown, unless you go to a country music club. Gilley's, the cowboy bar made famous by John Travolta in "Urban Cowboy," is long gone. If delegates want a whiff of that cowboy aura, they can stop by the hall adjacent to the Astrodome where the media have set up shop. It's used for livestock shows during the annual rodeo and still carries a faint, fragrant reminder.

But whatever works.

When the delegates check into their hotels, they get a gift bag stuffed with goodies and "survival tools," including T-shirts and sunglasses, a jalapeno sucker, vitamins, antacid, aspirin and lip balm. Each delegation was to be welcomed with an informal party last night, many at private homes.

"We're trying to make everybody very excited about being in Houston. We're happy to have them," says Stacey Pierson, director of airport operations for the Republican National Committee.

"A lot of people here are from somewhere else and we're very open and friendly," says Elizabeth Lusk, a salesgirl at Neiman Marcus and a convention usher.

Well, maybe not everyone.

Houston, which got up and dusted itself off after the '80s oil bust only to be knocked down again by the national recession, is rather cranky lately. Maybe it's just August, with the unbearable temperatures. But a recent Rice University poll shows the city's mood at its lowest in years. The famed can-do spirit seems a tad forced.

Complains one cabbie: "I'll be polite and nice. But to the common man, what is it going to do for me and mine? Absolutely nothing. Judging from the Republicans' past performances, what do you have to be excited about?"

The talk on radio programs is how to avoid the traffic.

Traffic is a four-letter word in Houston, a city of 581 square miles of unruly urban sprawl erected without benefit of zoning laws. The downtown is not the center of things; there is no center of things.

You can't walk to the Astrodome, really, because no one walks in Houston, unless it's in the underground tunnel system. And besides, the Astrodome is six miles from downtown (a \$10 cab ride) and surrounded by miles of parking lots.

Protesters are not really demonstrating around the Astrodome this week. All rallies are at a trampled field a quarter-mile down the street.

But bad moods and heat and traffic aside, Houston has embraced at least one potent symbol of the Republican Party: elephants.

They are everywhere: at the Hermes store at the Pavilion, where an elephant tie can be had for \$100.

At the Hyatt, headquarters of the Republican National Committee and the New York delegation, where all day long folks pose for pictures in front of an 11-by-7-foot chocolate elephant that required 356 man hours and 227 pounds of milk, white and dark chocolate.

At the bankrupt Houstonian Ho-

tel and Conference Center (the Bushes "live" in suite 271), where two topiary elephants adorn the entrance like Chia pets and a 12-pound chocolate elephant stands in the lobby.

Elephants trimmed from bushes adorn the entrance to the Astrodome.

And for exclusive backyard parties in tony River Oaks, an elephant named Tamba has been shipped in from Dallas. She plays the harmonica.

Despite the obvious pandering to the symbol of the Grand Old Party, some delegates complain about what promises to become the Great Sign Controversy: They will not be allowed to bring their own signs into the Astrodome, unlike the Democratic bash in New York, which was sprinkled with homemade creations ("Let Jerry speak!")

In a huge warehouse next to the Astrodome, armies of young volunteers have been busy painting thousands of "approved" signs for the delegates to showcase on national television. They include the generic ("Kinder, Gentler"), those targeted to prominent speakers ("We Love Ron," "We Love Barbara" and "We Love George") and the improbable ("Pat Loves George").

But a Friday visit to the sign-painting operation reveals a few renegade signs amid the virtual love-fest of cardboard drying on the concrete floor.

What's this? "We need a White House, not a flower house." "Keep Bill out of the [drawing of flowers]."

A volunteer hurried over to explain that those signs are "just for fun" and will be used at College Republicans rallies at hotels, not on the convention floor.

"We don't like to Democrat-bash," says coordinator Pat Murphree, 17, a senior at Houston's St. John's High School, who eschewed a paid summer job to spend the past five weeks, five days a week, painting signs. "I hope I'm helping out."

The president won't have to worry about any nasty surprises from "Miss Annie" Sofka, owner of his favorite barbecue joint, Otto's.

"I feel sorry for him," Miss Annie says of her famous customer's political malaise. To cheer him up, she plans to drop some of his favorite ribs by his hotel.

"The security is a bit too much when he comes here," Miss Annie says. The Secret Service closes off the restaurant, and Mr. Bush sits in the back, at a table beneath seven framed notes he's written to Miss Annie over the years.

Otto's appeals to Mr. Bush's desire to be down-home and unpretentious. He stands in line at the counter like everyone else; then piles on the pickles, onions and white bread at the end.

The media staked out Otto's long before the president's scheduled arrival in town tomorrow night. Many reporters are overdosing on barbecue, not to mention chocolate chip cookies.

Nestle and Family Circle magazine delivered 2,500 cookies to the media and delegates. The cookies were made with Barbara Bush's now-famous recipe — which she borrowed from longtime friend Patsy Caulkins (2 cups rolled oats, 1 cup butter).

Some reporters work them off Rollerblading around the cavernous media city, while more sedentary scribes are content to continue tooling around in golf carts.

A stop sign sits in the center of the hall to prevent motoring journalists from crashing into each other.

WASHINGTON TIMES

8-17-92

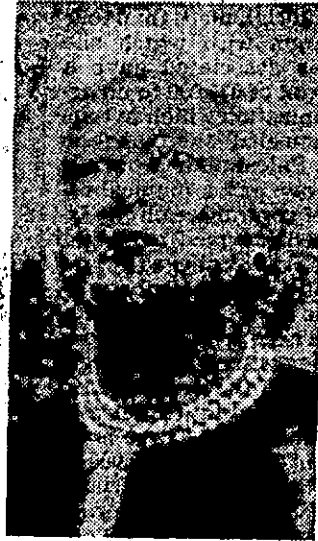
2 of 2

INSIDE THE '88 CAMPAIGN

As the Republicans gather in Houston this week for their convention, *The Post* will present excerpts of a new book chronicling the tumultuous 1988 campaign. "What It Takes — The Way to the White House" is Pulitzer Prize-winning author Richard Ben Cramer's incisive and funny look at the personalities and events of that race. Today's excerpt takes a look at George Bush on the stump in June of that year.

On June 9, 1988, George Bush strode on stage at the huge convention center in Houston — a concrete megabox, brand new — filled, for the first time, with the faithful of the local GOP. There were Bush buttons on a thousand lapels, Bush stickers on plastic straw hats, thousands of blue and white Bush signs dancing in clenched fists over the heads of the delegates and alternates and hangers-on who filled the floor. It was the 1988 Republican State Convention — a crowd made to order for the VP, and for the special message he'd brought, that day.

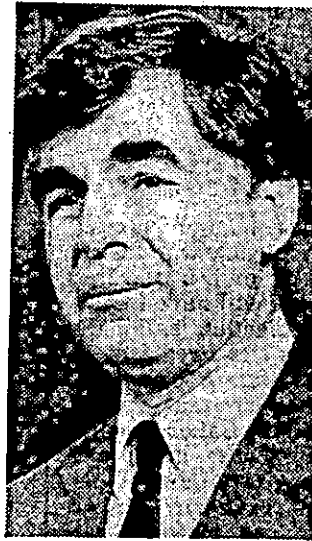
"Our campaign may have seemed quiet these



BARBARA BUSH

past six or seven weeks . . . but today, it's a new ball game! . . . Spring training is over! . . . The season has begun, and there's no reason to wait till the World Series to . . . start swinging!"

Bush was shouting. He shouted though his whole



MICHAEL DUKAKIS

speech, like he was mad at someone. Maybe he was.

"First, on taxes . . . He [Dukakis] imposed the biggest tax increase in Massachusetts history . . . despite a campaign pledge not to."

It didn't take the crowd long to catch on. They



TED KOPPEL

started whooping in derision at Dukakis and his taxes, urging Bush on with pep-rally screams. Ladies in flowered dresses were yelling Woooooweee!

"Just two days ago, Governor Dukakis said this, in California: 'No serious

candidate for president would rule out raising taxes.' . . . Well . . . I've ruled out taxes. And you bet I'm serious!"

Woooooweee! Gittem George!

"On foreign policy, my opponent . . . says he would rely heavily on multilateral organizations, such as the Yeww Ennn . . .

"A president can't subordinate his decision-making to a multilateral body — he can't sacrifice one ounce of our sovereignty . . . We are the United States of America."

Yowooooowheeeeeee!

They were stomping the floor as they screamed — stopping Bush with cheers. He looked up from his speech, and stared back at the crowd with a gap-mouthed grin that showed his top teeth.

"Governor Dukakis — his foreign-policy views born in Harvard Yard's Boutique — would cut the muscle of our defense . . .

"Michael Dukakis on crime is standard, old-style, '60s liberalism . . . He has steadfastly opposed the death penalty . . . He supported the only state program in the whole country — the only one! — that gives unsupervised weekend furloughs to first-degree murderers!"

By the time Bush had finished with Dukakis that day, the crowd in Houston was yelling: Bush! Bush! Bush! Bush! Bush! Bush!

They sang to him, for his birthday, three days hence . . . while Barbara Bush joined her husband on stage, pointing out friends so he could make goofy faces of delight.

He did feel goofy. He'd done three time zones in the last 24 hours — still had to stay up to do "Nightline" (three times, he'd call Ted Koppel "Dan") . . . and he'd be up early the next day — flight to Denver . . . The Houston speech had been late — they had to fax it to his plane . . . barely got a chance to read the thing before he found himself on stage, shouting it out.

He heard that crowd.

Gittem George! Yowoooooweee Bush! Bush! Bush! Bush!

The next morning, in Denver, in the car from the airport, he would say for the first time, to his son Neil: "You know, I feel . . . I can sort of see the target. I think we're gonna win this thing."

From the book "What It Takes — The Way to the White House" by Richard Ben Cramer. Copyright © 1992 by Richard Ben Cramer. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Random House Inc.

3-15-93**CAROLINA LEAGUE**

Keys Fall To Chiles, Bulls, 4-0

By Dave Sternberg
Special to The Washington Post

With President Bush and First Lady Barbara Bush in attendance, the Keys dropped their fifth straight game, a 4-0 loss to the Durham Bulls last night in front of 6,205 at Harry Grove Stadium in Frederick, Md.

The Keys, who have played before the president in the past, put on an uninspired performance. Frederick (24-29), which entered having won 13 of 16 games against the Bulls (27-24), were blanked for seven innings by Barry Chiles (5-7).

Durham, which leads the Carolina League in home runs (101) and batting (.257 entering the game), twice used the long ball to take control.

Andre Johnson of Baltimore got the first run with a bases-empty homer to right in the fifth inning off Rick Krivda (3-1).

Tyler Houston added a two-run blast in the seventh to make it 3-0.

Meanwhile, Chiles handled the Keys. After a shaky first inning, he allowed only two hits over the next five innings.

THE BEST DAYS OF THEIR WIVES

Though still the adoring spouse, Barbara Bush speaks her mind on abortion, thus joining Marilyn Quayle in sharing the spotlight—and the microphone—with their husbands

By MICHAEL DUFFY WASHINGTON

THE MORNING AFTER THE NEW York Post published charges that George Bush had an extramarital affair, Noelle Bush, 15, asked her grandmother what all the fuss was about. As the two sat by the White House pool Wednesday morning, Barbara Bush explained that the newspapers were reporting that Noelle's grandfather allegedly had a fling with a former staff member eight years earlier. "Come on, Ganny," said the girl. "That's what they're saying," Mrs. Bush replied. When Noelle broke into giggles, the First Lady upbraided her in mock horror. "That's sort of insulting to your grandfather." Replied Noelle: "That is so funny." Recounting the exchange a few hours later, the First Lady concluded, "Well, I guess he looks ancient to her."

Score one more for Barbara Bush, master of the self-deprecating gesture—particularly in the midst of a crisis that might cause other political spouses to lose their sangfroid. In the course of two days, her husband faced accusations of adultery, backpedaled on abortion and overhauled his political team. Mrs. Bush leaped into the fray herself, staking out a position on abortion well to the President's left, criticizing a top Bush aide in public, and then getting in a lick or two of her own at Bill Clinton. "I'm feisty as the dickens," she said in an interview with newsmagazine correspondents.

In a year when both parties are trying to appeal to disenchanted voters, Republican officials are hoping that Barbara Bush—who is roughly twice as popular as

her husband—can bring back many of the disaffected when she speaks in Houston this week. Convention planners say they are counting on Mrs. Bush's 10-minute remarks—and a five-minute talk by Marilyn Quayle—to be nearly as appealing to female voters as her husband's much longer make-or-break address. "We sometimes

fantasize," said a campaign official. "What it would be like to have Barbara and Marilyn on the ticket."

Ever since the Clarence Thomas hearings last fall, the Republican Party has been struggling to overcome the perception that its regard for women is only a notch or two higher than that of the Navy's Tailhook Association. The hearings galvanized a long-struggling movement to put more women into the House and Senate, and Democrats have rushed to showcase a sizable ballot of women candidates. But the G.O.P. is woefully short on female office seekers, which is one reason why it is calling on Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Quayle to take high-profile convention roles for the first time. In addition, the two women can play the party's family-values card in a way their husbands cannot.

By an ironic quirk of timing, Mrs. Bush was preparing her speech when the latest round of adultery stories erupted. But she was bearing up proudly in an interview the next day. "You know, we're talking about people's lives," she said. "It's really not a very nice thing. I should quickly tell you that the fact this comes up every four years is not an enormous surprise to me but it's a disappointing one... I know it's a lie, so it doesn't bother me. But it bothers me that we've come to this."

BARBARA BUSH

Campaign officials hope the popular First Lady can help bring disaffected women back under the Republican tent



with a child at a homeless center in Houston

TIME, AUGUST 24, 1992

Asked to explain more fully her husband's relationship with Jennifer Fitzgerald, a former appointments assistant who now serves as deputy chief of protocol at the State Department, Mrs. Bush described it as "employer-employee." Says Mrs. Bush: "She's a good friend of mine. I mean, it's so ugly, the whole thing. And it's been very deceitful and harmful and ugly. I haven't seen Jennifer, but my heart goes out to her. This is just mean." She said the two had not spoken because Fitzgerald was out of the country.

Mrs. Bush then dropped a bombshell of her own. The decision to have an abortion, she said, is a "personal choice, personal thing." The day before, the President had said he would support a granddaughter who decided to terminate a pregnancy—although his own party is trying to outlaw the procedure unless the mother's life is endangered. Mrs. Bush went well beyond that, saying all discussion of abortion should be removed from the political arena. "The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms at conventions . . . You can argue yourself blue in the face, and you're not going to change each other's minds. It's a waste of your time and my time."

Mrs. Bush had been suspected of harboring pro-choice views for years, but she never before said it publicly to avoid unnecessary skirmishes with the Republican Party's conservative wing. Coming the day after the Fitzgerald boomlet, the pronouncement's timing was curious and set off a round of political speculation. Some thought the abortion comment was an attempt to change the subject from the infidelity flap. Others believed that G.O.P. campaign officials were attempting to have it both ways by having Mrs. Bush woo independent and Republican women who find the party's pro-life platform unrealistic.

Whatever the motivation, Mrs. Bush's remarks put her at odds with Marilyn Quayle. The Vice President's wife last month contradicted her husband's public comments by insisting that if their 13-year-old daughter ever became pregnant out of wedlock, she would "carry the baby to term." Mrs. Bush had little use for this inflexible logic. Said she: "You can't pin a child down and say, 'You can't have an abortion; that's against the law.'" But the First Lady quickly added that any differences between the two women were a measure of the G.O.P.'s diversity. "[Marilyn] does it differently. That's what's big about our party."

In fact, Mrs. Quayle differs from the President's wife in many ways. While the First Lady's image is cuddly and grandmotherly, Marilyn Quayle can seem hard, intolerant and combative. "I'm a great devil's advocate," she explained in an interview with *TIME*. "I can pierce holes through anything." Convention organizers will try to turn her tough-as-nails rep-

MARILYN QUAYLE

The Vice President's wife can seem intolerant and combative, but convention planners hope to turn her tough reputation into an asset



LYNN JOHNSON—BLACK STAR FOR TIME

utation into a political asset. Her midweek address on health care and education will mark the first time a Vice President's wife has ever given an actual convention speech. "The idea," said a planner, "is to show women voters that you can be a Republican and not just wear Talbots and pearls and join the Junior League."

Ever since a *Washington Post* series on her husband last winter depicted her as a power-mad spouse who once kicked to shreds a framed picture of her husband playing golf, Mrs. Quayle has been trying to soften her Cruella De Vil image. She is cooler in interviews and slower to anger. She proudly announces that she saves money by shopping monthly at the Price Club and that her kids come home and eat tuna "right out of the can." Normally careful to shield her children from public scrutiny, she now admits the abortion gaffe was unfortunate and "embarrassing" to her daughter Corinne. "We have reared our daughter so this would have to be a hypothetical situation," said Mrs. Quayle. But, she added, the girl "was not pleased."

But Corinne's mother has her independent streak as well. She takes issue, for example, with the President's wish that philandering charges have no part in a political campaign. "That's all part of the character issues," she insisted. "And any-

Relaxing on the lawn of the family's official residence with her dog Chili

one who is going to be President—you do look at the character of the person. That's what makes a person whole." Such remarks led a party official to quip, "She's our answer to Hillary."

The our-wife-can-top-your-wife game can be carried too far. No sooner had Bush been accused of infidelity than G.O.P. chairman Rich Bond attacked Mrs. Clinton for likening marriage to slavery—a gross distortion of an educational review article she wrote in 1973. But Mrs. Bush, as if she were waging a one-woman campaign to court the political middle, publicly chastised Bond for his remarks. "I didn't like it," she said. "She's not running for office." Mrs. Bush added, "I know a lot of wonderful men married to pills, and I know a lot of pills married to wonderful women. So one shouldn't judge that way."

But it is bound to happen. In an era of sound bites and short attention spans, when complex issues like deficit reduction and health care often seem too difficult to understand, many voters will simply choose the candidate who best fits their "values." And one way to judge a man's values is to look at the woman he married.

—With reporting by Ann Blackman/Washington

SURVIVAL

How Quayle Stayed on the Ticket



Baker and Teeter tried to squeeze Quayle out with some subtle gamesmanship. The play fizzled.

Dan Quayle is standing in the aisle of Air Force Two, dressed for church. A slight paunch bulges under his starched white shirt; he is 45 years old now, and the golf game can't quite hold off the banquet circuit. This Sunday morning, he will attend a service at Briarwood Presbyterian in Birmingham, Ala., then court the down-market half of the Bubba vote in nearby Talladega, where he'll be honorary starter at the Die Hard 500 stock-car race. He's looking forward to it. "I've attended Indianapolis 500s since 1962," he says, ever the proud Hoosier. "That's Formula One, not stock car, but the idea is the same. You don't want to hit the wall. That's how you get killed. They tell me it's better to keep rolling, over and over, on the track. It looks awful, but you're more likely to survive that way."

Talk about survivors: Dan Quayle has been rolling, over and over, on the race-track of politics ever since he bounced off the media guardrail in the first lap of the 1988 Republican convention. His "approval" rating in some polls is lower than ever. Republican insiders and conservative columnists have begged him to quit—and begged George Bush to dump him. Yet here he is, on his way to Houston, alive on the GOP's Die Hard ticket. How has he endured? From interviews with his top advisers and travels on the campaign trail, NEWSWEEK has pieced together the story of how Quayle, in his guileless way, survived coup plots and his own bumbling:

It wasn't fair. He was reading from a cue card forwarded to him by his staff. And lots of people—including lots of reporters—have trouble with the O and E thing. But even conservative friends now label the period after Quayle's spelling-bee stumble in a Trenton, N.J., elementary school on June 15 as "AP": After Potatoe.

Did Quayle blame the advance man who handed him the card? No way. He just grinned and shrugged. White House aides have always marveled at Quayle's placid im-

munity to embarrassment: you can never ignore him so much that he'll get up and leave the room. He seems to hold no grudges. All that remains is an impenetrable sur-
niness—and an underestimated need to win, to be there.

But AP, Quayle's enemies in the GOP high command, both those who consider him a dolt and those who fear him in 1996, saw a real chance to kill him. Master of the Universe James Baker and his sidekick, campaign chairman Robert Teeter, decided to try to squeeze him off the ticket by a subtle bit of gamesmanship. In July, Teeter commissioned a hush-hush poll, surveying other veep prospects. The aim was to gather ammunition to convince the Old Man that Quayle was dragging him under. The play fizzled. The poll did show that Quayle on the ticket could cost Bush three or four points—enough, in a close race, to doom the ticket. But most of the replacements wouldn't help the ticket much, if at all. So Baker told Bush on their fishing trip in Wyoming: may as well keep Quayle.

Still, the pressure built on the outside. Some leading conservatives, including columnist William F. Buckley Jr., called for Quayle to leave—one of the most serious defections he faced. It was time for some heart-to-heart conversations with top advisers like savvy chief of staff William Kristol. Quayle polled his inner circle. Everyone already knew Marilyn's view: spit in their eye. But

Quayle, in the words of another close adviser, game-planned "all options." Should he risk clearly offering to resign, hoping that Bush would say no? Should he stonewall? Would stepping down be better for his career, long term? Could he pacify the media, and how?

On July 22, Quayle went to his regular early meeting with the president. His strategy: modified limited hangout. "Obviously, if you want me to step down, just say so," said Quayle, according to a close-in administration source. The assumption was that Bush was too loyal and decent—and too wary of the "flip-flop" charge—to say so. "It goes without saying Dan, of course not," Bush replied.

But that night Quayle complicated matters for himself. On "Larry King Live," he did a sloppy job of slamming the door on the matter. He maundered on about how if he thought he was hurting the ticket, he'd leave. He forgot to say that he didn't think he *was* hurting the ticket, and that he'd never leave on his own steam. Quayle also seemed to bungle an abortion question, suggesting that he'd support his own daughter's right to choose. It took Marilyn to set the record straight the next day.

Early Friday Quayle convened a break-fast war council in his conference room in the Old Executive Office Building. The question: how to kill the speculation, especially since Bush himself hadn't done much to help. The president's public statements have been few, tepid and subject to the interpretation that he wouldn't object if Quayle disappeared. They decided he must confront Bush one more time.

Alone, Quayle walked the short course across West Executive Avenue to the White House. He got one more assurance from Bush, a trifle heartier than the last. When Quayle returned to his office, he told his friends: "The door should now be considered closed." A story in The Washing-

★ ★
Which one is the most important reason you would not vote for Bush? (Based on Clinton supporters)

53% His handling of the economy

20% His ability to understand the problems of people like you

7% His failure to keep his 'no new taxes' pledge

6% His position on abortion

5% His record on other domestic problems

3% His health

1% His choice of Dan Quayle

NEWSWEEK Poll, Aug. 13-14, 1992

BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND CLARA BINGHAM

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THEO WESTENBERGER

ton Post the next day reported the same thing.

It only remained for Quayle to find a serviceable line to feed the public. Quayle rehearsed his explanation as if he'd memorized a mnemonic device: OMH. The pressure, he said repeatedly, had come only from "the opposition [the Democrats], the media and the hand-wringers [just about everyone else in the Republican Party]." Traveling to Birmingham and Talladega, he courted the kind of folks he's likely to see from now through November: Southern and Midwestern white conservatives who should have long since been in the Republican column.

Those are the only people the White House would like him to see. Bush's operatives want to keep Quayle safely on the country-fair circuit, flying under the Big Media radar. It is inevitable that Quayle will get more coverage than your ordinary vice presidential candidate. But under

The Quayles: Dan, Marilyn, Corinne, Tucker and Benjamin

Baker, campaign bosses will send him to events that are so predictable, so safely white middle class, that the chance of a confrontation is almost nil. Indeed, Baker and Co. don't even want Quayle to show up at the Republican convention until he has to in order to accept the nomination. (Quayle will defy them by sitting in the Indiana delegation to hear Ronald Reagan's speech on Monday night.)

Quayle may be schmoozing with farmers and starting stock-car races, but he doesn't seem to mind. He's biding his time. He knows he has one thing Bush lacks: a consistent conservative message. And he knows his own strengths. He has the drive, thick skin and perpetual enthusiasm he'll need for the *real* race: the one for the presidency in 1996.

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INTERVIEW

'I'm Here. And We're Gonna Win.'



ROBERT KUSEL

Sparking a debate on family values: The campaigner works a crowd in Chicago

CAMPAIGN
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'Al Gore and I played basketball in the House gymnasium. But the similarities really stop there.'

NEWSWEEK's Howard Fineman and Clara Bingham interviewed Vice President Dan Quayle in his office in the Old Executive Office Building. Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: How do you think James Baker will change the campaign?

QUAYLE: I guess most of us cannot visualize a campaign without Jim Baker. I'm looking forward to him coming over to the White House. Contrary to what has been printed in NEWSWEEK and other publications, Jim Baker and I are good friends.

But didn't Marilyn complain in '88 that you were badly treated by the campaign, and blame some of that on Baker?

Obviously I would have liked to have seen things handled differently in the 1988 campaign. But that does not, nor did it ever, affect my friendship with Jim Baker. I will accept mistakes that I made. And I'm not going to repeat them in 1992: 1988

was my first national campaign and I just deferred to the so-called experts. I'll never do that again. I'll be the expert. Obviously there is one campaign to be run and it's the president's. I am the vice president and I will do what we call the second most important thing of that particular day.

When you gave your "Murphy Brown" speech, did you have any idea you would spark a debate about family values?

Well, obviously I put that line in there to trigger a debate. I did not anticipate the reaction. And what happened is that the first 24 or 36 hours many in the media tried to ridicule it, tried to joke about it, tried to dismiss it. As a matter of fact, one network said that we blamed the L.A. riots on Murphy Brown. That's just outrageous, ridiculous. And the American people saw right through it. They started calling in on radio talk shows. They started writing let-

ters to the editor and all of a sudden instead of just being a one-day or two day story, it became a story for a whole week. We even have Bill Clinton spending 15 minutes of his convention speech addressing family values.

Can the Clintons claim to understand and embody family values themselves?

Oh, sure. We just have different approaches, I think, to how we want to implement family values. I think Bill Clinton is far more dependent on the government for family values than the president. We are the ones that want to empower people—we want to cut taxes; we want to get the government off people's backs. We don't want the government to be heavy-handed or involved in the family. He's much more in mind to use the government to help families.

If role models like Murphy Brown are important, how can you let an unapologetic unwed mother like Tanya Tucker sing at the convention?

Well, let me just tell you what role models should be. Role models, I think, are a mother and a father—a mother and father and a child. There are different family arrangements today. You have divorce. I have a sister that recently went through a divorce. A family arrangement can be more or other than just a mother, father and a child. [But] I do not believe that unwed mothers are a proper role model.

So why put somebody like Tucker on-stage and in effect lionize her when she embodies everything you think is wrong with society?

From what I've heard, she's a very good singer.

How would you summarize the differences between you and Al Gore?

I can tell you where we're similar. Our families are similar. We played basketball in the House gymnasium when we were in the House. But the similarities really stop there other than age. You can name just about any issue you want to and we're going to disagree.

A few weeks ago, many Republicans were saying that you were a liability to the president. Did you consider leaving the ticket?

As I have said, if I thought that I was a liability or would hurt the reelection prospects of the president I'd be gone. I'm here. I'll be the nominee and we're gonna win.

INTERVIEW

'The Media Isn't Doing Its Job'

In an interview at the vice president's residence, Marilyn Quayle greeted NEWSWEEK's Ann McDaniel and Clara Bingham with barely a smile and a limp handshake. She made no secret of her dislike for the press as she talked about a wide range of issues. Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: You will be the first vice president's wife to speak at the convention. Does this signal a new role for you?

QUAYLE: I do what I'm asked to do.

Did your daughter have a reaction to the recent debate over abortion? Was she aware of it?

Of course she was aware of it. She thought it was rather stupid first of all. Her first reaction was, I'm not dumb enough to get pregnant, and that really sums it up. You raise your children a certain way, you raise them to understand the importance of a decision like that, and the responsibility you have, and the self-respect you have to have for yourself. She thought it was a little ludicrous when each different position was explained to her. She has very little respect for the media consequently.

Yesterday (Republican National Committee Chairman) Rich Bond criticized Hillary Clinton on a host of issues, including that she advises Bill Clinton too much. That's a criticism that has been laid on you in the past.

I don't think that's what Rich Bond said. He said you have to look at what she stands for because she does advise him and they've said that she advises him so it is fair game to look at what she's written and what she stands for because they have said she advises him. He criticized her because of her liberal stands, her radical stands on some issues. She is an adviser to her husband, which is fine, but as such, you need to look where she stands to understand the kind of advice he's getting, the kind of people he will have around him. And his [Bond's] criticism is that her advice is very radical.

Do you agree with Rich Bond's criticism?

The things I've read, I must admit, I have not studied Hillary Clinton and what she stands for. The things that I have read, profiles I have read, it would be of some concern.

Did you feel that it was fair when the media were looking at your past and your family's background?

When they lied about them I thought it was rather inappropriate.

But I thought you just said it was perfectly appropriate to look at Hillary

vice president or president of the United States.

No it's not. You don't know what people have picked up from their parents. What education lessons that they have gotten from their parents. What was done to me and my family was basically a great deal of untruths. And I don't think anyone should have to go through what Dan and I went through in 1988, which was a pack of lies. And they continue today and that's not right. It's sleazy and it's very, very irresponsible journalism.

Do you think Hillary Clinton has been treated fairly in the sense that people have complained about how active an adviser she has been to her husband?

Nobody has complained about how active an adviser Hillary Clinton is.

Do you feel that Republicans in Washington supported your husband during



JAMES COLBURN—PHOTOREPORTERS

Quayle will speak at the convention: Making a point in Washington last week

Clinton's background because...

Not her background, it's what she had written. He [Bond] didn't look at how she was raised, he didn't look at her parents. He looked at what she has written as a professional woman that guides her opinion-making process. What she has done. That's totally different. That's not personal. Don't you understand that? There's a total difference between what you have written as a professional and how you were brought up.

But I think if you are looking closely at how a spouse might influence a

the period when there was a lot of talk about getting him off the ticket?

What more do you want? The president of the United States says not only in the Oval Office but in a cabinet meeting, "no discussion, he's on the ticket," and yet the press won't believe him. It's Washington that feeds on itself. It happens every time. It's a rather interesting phenomenon to watch. I know this town. It's one of the most fickle towns in the world, so you leave town and go with people who truly understand what's important in this nation. You certainly don't get it from inside the Beltway pap.

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'I don't think anyone should have to go through what Dan and I went through in 1988, which was a pack of lies'

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Life

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

The Washington Times



Photo by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times

Marilyn Quayle, in the library of the vice president's residence, complains she and her family have been the target for the press all summer.

cont.

Marilyn's long, hot summer

By Anne Gowen
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

One warm night in July, watching the Democratic National Convention on television, Dan Quayle turned to his wife, Marilyn, and gave her a warning.

"Be prepared," he said. "Be ready."

And the onslaught began.

"We knew that as soon as the Democratic convention was over the first story was going to be 'Dan was off the ticket,'" Marilyn Quayle recalls in an interview last week.

Mrs. Quayle, 43, is sitting in the library of the vice president's resi-

Vice president's wife takes shots at news media, rumors, 'sleaze'

dence, surrounded by pictures of her family engaged in various sports, a needlepoint definition of the word "Hoosier," and plenty of good Republican books, former President Gerald R. Ford's "A Time to Heal" among them.

Mrs. Quayle blames the controversy on the news media, which hashed and rehashed whether her husband would remain on the Republican ticket in the fall despite continued White House avowals he would stay. Mrs. Quayle does not like the news media. It is a favorite theme.

"There is nothing to do [between] the Democratic convention and the Republican convention. . . . The only story left is the vice president and why not start it again? Which is exactly what happened."

The Dump Quayle Movement, as Mrs. Quayle calls it, "was an inside-the-Beltway creation."

So the vice president and his wife sat down and had a Quayle family summit.

"Just ignore it. As long as the president wants him, he's there," Mrs. Quayle says they counseled Tucker, 18, Benjamin, 15, and Co-

rinne, 13.

The Dump Quayle Movement may have been a predictable capper. But it has been a long, strange summer for Dan and Marilyn Quayle.

First, in June, the vice president received a public mashing for coaching 12-year-old William Figueroa to add an "e" to the word "potato" at a Trenton, N.J., spelling bee.

Then, after the convention, Washington became rumor central: Marilyn was sick. The president was sick. Barbara was sick. Baker was in. Skinner was out. Quayle was out.

Daughter Corinne became an unwitting symbol in the abortion debate when Mr. Quayle told CNN's

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QUAYLE

From page D1

Larry King on July 22 that if she became pregnant and terminated the pregnancy, "I'd support my daughter."

Mrs. Quayle then said in a radio interview: "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term," and that the couple would make that decision "with her."

As the issue continues to confound the public — especially now that first lady Barbara Bush says that an anti-abortion plank should not be in the Republican platform because the issue is a "personal choice" — Mrs. Quayle states firmly, "I'm pro-life."

But she declines to elaborate on whether she would support abortion in cases of rape, incest or when the mother's life is in danger, or whether she agrees with the Republican Party's platform.

"Where I look at limitations and inclusions is really my concern," she says.

Rumor-wise, what hurt most during these tough three months were the stories that Mrs. Quayle herself was ill, especially given the fact that her mother, Mary Alice Tucker, died of breast cancer in 1975 and Mrs. Quayle herself had a partial hysterectomy due to a pre-cancerous condition in 1990.

"One day people were calling the office asking if she had breast cancer, the next day it was ovarian cancer," says her chief of staff, Marguerite Sullivan. "She just rises above it all. Those rumors were ridiculous."

Sheila Tate, a former Nancy Reagan press secretary, Bush staffer and Quayle friend, remembers seeing Mrs. Quayle one recent weekend during the height of the hubbub.

"We remarked on how good she looked for a person who was supposedly on her deathbed," Ms. Tate says. "She was laughing about it and teasing, but I'm sure it's unsettling to read those kind of rumors about yourself. It's ugly."

No sleaze, please

So Mrs. Quayle simply up and left town.

She has been on the road most of the summer, campaigning for Republican candidates in "29 states in 44 days," she says.

Her staff reports that she helped — by attending a variety of fund-raisers — pull in more than \$1 million for Republican state and national campaigns.

And Mary Matalin, Bush-Quayle deputy campaign manager, might have some competition in the Republican pit bull area: Bill Clinton had better watch out.

Mrs. Quayle calls "outrageous" news reports questioning President Bush's marital fidelity, based on a longtime rumor that surfaced again last week in the New York Post. "What a bunch of sleaze!" she says.

Although she is critical of the mainstream press for reporting the story, the blame really lies, she says, with the Clinton campaign.

She blasts journalists for "not [laying] the blame where it should be, which is with Bill Clinton's campaign, who daily has been peddling this story for two months. Talk about sleaze! They've got one of the dirtiest, sleaziest campaigns we've seen and nobody's covering it!"

Distinctions

There is a difference, she says, between allegations by Gennifer Flowers, the lounge singer who claimed she had a 12-year affair with the Arkansas governor, and the renewed rumors surrounding Mr. Bush and longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, now at the State Department.

The Democrats have an actual person in Miss Flowers, Mrs. Quayle notes, while the New York Post report is about a book that quotes an ambassador who died in 1988 as say-

Cont.

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ing he arranged a tryst between Mr. Bush and Miss Fitzgerald at a Swiss chalet in 1984.

"Gennifer Flowers is alive and Gennifer Flowers has tapes," Mrs. Quayle says. "And the governor spent a lot of time talking to her on the phone. And he admitted having affairs."

When Mrs. Quayle is asked to suggest some similarities between herself and Hillary Clinton — another well-spoken lawyer, political wife and mother — she speaks only of differences. She goes as far as to suggest that Mrs. Clinton would advise her husband on Supreme Court and other judicial appointments if he's elected.

"From what I understand, she's taken a separate path from her husband except for judicial appointments, and she's always screened them for him. Which I presume she is going to continue to do if he would be elected president," Mrs. Quayle says. "I've been more involved with Dan on overall strategy and policy."

"And obviously," she adds, "I have three children and have taken the time out to help them in their schooling and do a lot of volunteer work."

Mrs. Quayle names activities including putting on a sixth-grade graduation party, staging Shakespeare plays and serving as "a room mother more times than I care to count."

Her point seems to be that she stayed home with her children. Mrs. Clinton did not. Mrs. Quayle makes it clear she resents being criticized for her choices by "radical feminists."

Family matters

Despite being in campaign-speak mode, Mrs. Quayle relaxes when talking about her brood. Her blue eyes light up and her tanned, angular face moves its way into a wide smile.

This summer, she reports, has been busy. Corinne went to basketball camp and has played in a league. The boys played lacrosse. All three held summer jobs — Tucker at MCI, Ben at the Senate as a page, and Corinne at a private company that regulates Washington tour information.

She was surprised, she says, at how much needs to be done to help Tucker off to Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pa., where he will start in the engineering program in the

fall.

"Just the little things," she says. Like, she can't seem to find a decent can opener.

Although, she says, brightening up even more, "There's a Wal-Mart in Manassas now. It's right across the street from the Price Club."

"I know all these things," she says, laughing. "It's right near the Dairy Queen. We go out to Manassas so I can have a Dairy Queen and we can go to Wal-Mart and the Price Club. This is uptown shopping with Marilyn Quayle."

A pragmatic Indiana native and superorganizer with "enormous energy" (as her chief of staff puts it), Mrs. Quayle is an inveterate jogger and Rollerblader. She and the vice president were spotted recently out for a 6 a.m. run along the C&O Canal, Secret Service in tow.

She continues on with her two pet causes — breast cancer research and disaster preparedness. The Quayles are honorary co-chairs of the Race for the Cure, the fundraising walk/run held each June in support of breast cancer research.

Writing on the fly

And talk about a supermom. Not only is she busy as a full-time campaigner, pit bull and second lady, she's writing another novel with her sister Nancy Northcott, a Tennessee housewife.

The duo's first effort, "Embrace the Serpent," featured a do-nothing Democratic president, a good Republican senator from Georgia and — alas — no steamy sex scenes. It was released in March.

The two apparently were undeterred by reviewers such as Roy Blount Jr., who wrote that the novel was "presented as a thriller but isn't one, if thrillers may be expected to have semi-rounded characters, surprising twists, nice turns of phrase and, hey, thrills."

Mrs. Quayle writes whenever she has a spare moment, usually on the plane, and communicates with her sister via computer modem.

All these wholesome activities serve her well for her moment in the spotlight, her five-minute address set for Wednesday night at the Republican National Convention. She

precedes Mrs. Bush, who will give a prime-time speech on family values surrounded by her 12 grandchildren.

"The theme for the evening is basic values, traditional values and the community, so it will follow along those lines," Mrs. Quayle says.

She says she's "working on my umpteenth draft upstairs" and that "five-minute speeches are very difficult. I would much rather do 20 minutes. That's easy because then you can just throw everything in."

How about 52 minutes, like Mr. Clinton?

She laughs.

"That's too long. Then you get bored with yourself."

Fewer surprises

With Mr. Quayle's spot on the GOP ticket seemingly secure, things are different this time around compared with the media circus that was the Republican convention of 1988. Back then, Mr. Bush's dark-horse vice presidential choice of Sen. Dan Quayle surprised the country and sent the media scrambling.

There they were at the Spanish Plaza, the riverside New Orleans dock where Mr. Bush introduced his running mate and Mr. Quayle responded, some thought, over-enthusiastically. The news media really didn't take much notice of Marilyn, standing by his side, waving coolly. They just narrowed their eyes and wrote that Dan was acting like a cheerleader.

Not that she was really paying attention.

"Everything happened to us so quickly. Our children weren't down in New Orleans and there was so little time to get things done," she says. She remembers "looking at the crowds and at the same time thinking, OK — do my children have the clothes that they need? Are they going to be able to get their bags packed? How are they going to get down? Have the boys outgrown their pants?"

"You had to focus on getting the job done, moving to the next and the next, getting ready for a total upheaval of your life on two hours' notice," Mrs. Quayle says. "While there was excitement of the moment, you couldn't savor it, because there was just so much to do."

CONT.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION



In August 1988, Marilyn Quayle playfully waves her finger at then-Vice President Bush as Dan Quayle looks on.

AP



1992 PETER—DAYTON DAILY NEWS

Quayle plans bus caravan a la Clinton

HOUSTON (AP) — Vice President Dan Quayle plans to climb into a bus for a post-convention campaign swing through central Florida meant to start pulling up the Republican ticket in the state, GOP sources said yesterday.

Mr. Quayle plans to fly into Lakeland on Sunday, Aug. 23, then travel by bus through Lakeland, Leesburg and Ocala and possibly other central Florida cities.

Earlier, Jeb Bush, the president's son and chairman of his state campaign, said he had proposed bus campaigning in Florida by Mr. Quayle and others. The younger Mr. Bush said he favors such an approach because it's a way to reach different audiences in smaller cities while still attracting media attention from the major markets.

But he and other Republican strategists denied that Mr. Quayle is copying the successful small-town bus tours of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and vice presidential nominee Al Gore. They said Mr. Bush campaigned by bus in 1988.

Marilyn Quayle, the vice president's wife, and Jeb Bush will be among those campaigning with Mr. Quayle, Republican strategists said.

4A • MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992 • USA TODAY

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION '92



By Jeff Robbins, AP
FAMILY ARRIVES: Bush's daughter Doro Koch walks through Houston's airport with husband Bobby and daughter Ellie.

8-16-92

Not Since Hoover . . .

By Kevin Phillips

WASHINGTON

The Republican National Convention, meeting this week in Houston, is shaping up as the most skittish to endorse a sitting GOP President since the 1932 convention crossed its fingers and renominated another unpopular and failed economic policy-maker—Herbert C. Hoover. Even if George Bush, now at 30% approval in the polls, gets a short-term boost from a good speech on Thursday, the precedents are about as chilling as Texas' August air conditioning. The problem is that Bush comes to Houston about 20-25 points behind his Democratic rival Bill Clinton. Since no presidential candidate has ever overcome a late summer deficit this big, it's a race many Republicans worry cannot be won—despite James A. Baker III's taking the reins of the campaign—unless Bush and Baker turn in performances of a lifetime.

For the other three Republican presidents elected since World War II—Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan—renominating conventions were triumphs en route to landslide reelections. Only Gerald R. Ford, an appointive President, suffered through a divisive convention and lost in November. It's this history that's crumbling around Bush's feet.

Economics, obviously, has been the critical new ingredient. The GOP's big winners got recessions out of the way early and enjoyed surging economies in time for reelection. Bush, by contrast, has produced his economic surges in bankruptcies, foreclosures, deficits and unemployment lines. Indeed, Clinton correctly charges Bush with presiding over the lowest economic growth rate of any President since—who else?—Hoover.

This Bush-Hoover parallel is no coincidence. Bush has fallen afoul of the same economic cycle—a debt-and-speculative boom that becomes a bust—that defeated Hoover and scuttled the GOP coalition in 1932. Bush, like Hoover, was a man who didn't understand what was happening as he watched the economic downturn linger and spread. Bush's economic recovery, like Hoover's prosperity, is always just around the corner. Like Hoover, Bush blames everybody else—but voters blame Bush, now giving him less than 20% approval for managing the economy. Hoover probably commanded even less respect in 1932, but there were no polls.

Hoover had lost credibility, like Bush today. Huge numbers of voters are looking for a change. Please see **HOOVER, M6**

Kevin Phillips, publisher of the *American Political Report*, is the author of *"The Politics of Rich and Poor"* (Random House).

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Hoover

Continued from M1

Republicans disapproved of him and leading newspapers called on him to retire. Then as now, the dominant GOP coalition showed signs of collapsing. In recent polls, for example, about 40% of Republicans disapprove of how Bush has handled the economy, about 30% disapprove of Bush's overall performance, 25%-30% are disappointed enough with Bush to vote for Bill Clinton. That's not poll data; that's disgust.

It is telling that 30%-40% of GOP members of Congress have decided to skip the Houston convention. Much more is involved than family squabbles, as Bush officials contend. If the convention cannot rise above Bushdom's recent stale rhetoric and shrill fear-mongering, today's GOP voter disaffection could turn into autumn's disintegrating coalition. The last time an aging GOP governing coalition had so many members moving toward the exits was, of course, 1932.

This explains the Houston convention managers' obvious preoccupation with old icons—not least, former President Reagan—and slotting speeches by the factional leaders of disaffected conservatives: Jack F. Kemp, Patrick J. Buchanan and religious right stalwart Pat Robertson. White House fears that the coalition is breaking up underlie the kowtowing to the right on platform issues. Most GOP presidential campaigns have been free to target Democrats; Bush has to work to keep one-third of his party from straying.

Yet he and his advisers fail to understand that stronger conservatism is not necessarily the remedy to keep a conservative coalition intact. It wasn't in 1932, when moderate and progressive Republicans led the bolt to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democrats, and it isn't now. Sure, prominent conservatives have taken the lead in dismissing Bush's presidency, but the millions of angry Republicans preparing to vote for Clinton represent a more centrist viewpoint. They could harden against Bush if he courts the right with anti-abortion platform planks and further tax cuts for the richest 1% of Americans. Democrats made a related mistake when the liberal coalition was breaking up in the late 1960s: They swung left to cement their appeal to dissident liberals—and wound up conceding a redefined center to a generation of Republican presidents.

Bush and the GOP, in turn, are in danger of losing part of their coalition in the form of erstwhile Ross Perot supporters realigning to Clinton. A generation ago, the Democrats' majority presidential coalition shrank to minority status when supporters of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in 1968 became presidential Republicans four years later. Now, polls in such states as California, Colorado and Arizona suggest Perot's short-lived campaign may have a similar effect: Republicans who first shifted to Perot are likely to move to Clinton. Most would be pro-choice on abortion and centrist on tax policy, so the GOP platform's extremist tilt could reinforce their switch.

In addition to specific conservative issues, Bush and his strategists have

decided to emphasize "family values" in Houston. The Bush strategy: First, to posit the Democrats as the foes of family values by attacking their permissiveness and second, to argue that the decline of the family, not the decline of the economy, is the root of national problems.

A risk for the GOP, though, is that aspects of Republican economics mock "family values" almost as much as the 1970s counterculture liberalism did. Keeping down taxes on the rich while letting the total 1991 federal tax burden on the average family set a record of 28 cents on each dollar hardly exemplifies family values. Neither does nonchalance about soaring costs of health insurance.

More to the point, if there's any shared set of "values" in the Bush family, it lies in recurrent attempts to trade on the family name—whether it's son Neil Bush and the savings-and-loan practices for which he was fined \$50,000; or brother Prescott Bush, who became a consultant to a Japanese investment firm later identified as a mob front. No other First Family has had so many sons and brothers on the make.

However, the larger threat to Bush's ability to portray himself as exemplifying "family values" is the escalating press attention to the longstanding rumor that Bush, too, has a "Jennifer." Last week, the New York Post lit a fire under a reluctant press Establishment by running a front-page story on America's "First Mistress"—the woman with whom then-Vice President Bush allegedly shared a Swiss villa during 1984 arms-control negotiations. Democrats have been chortling over this prospect for months, and it creates a stand-off in the 1992 "Bimbo Wars." Bush's "family values" campaign could wind up rivaling Quayle as a joke-line on late-night talk shows.

Yet the Republicans do have a tried-and-true theme: Change is risky. Even when voters want change, there is always a risk, a reluctance, in turning to a party long out of power, and to candidates who may not have the experience to deal with international crises.

By some important precedents, in fact, Clinton shouldn't win. This is the first time he's run for President, and with the exception of Jimmy Carter in 1976, no person elected President in the last half-century has won on his first try. In addition, Clinton hails from a small state, and that's another historical no-no. People from minor states usually don't have the experience or stature to win.

Thus, while the Republicans meeting in Houston this week do have a raft of problems that no GOP convention or elected President has dealt with in 60 years, that's not the whole story. There are precedents that favor the GOP. If the convention succeeds, it's less likely to come from restoring the laurels of the incumbent President than from fanning natural fears of change, not least among the huge numbers of Republicans now leaning to Clinton.

Focusing these doubts is a great challenge. Counterattacking incumbents in such predicaments often seem strident or out of touch, and nominating conventions, after all, are better platforms for boosterism than cynicism. □

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The Convention

REPUBLICANS IN HOUSTON

The New York Times

For Sure, Politicians Of a Different Stripe

Republicans and Democrats Aren't Alike,
And Elephants May Look Odd in Plaid

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 16 — Is it genetic? No one really knows if Republicans and Democrats are created by nature or nurture. But as the Republican National Convention gets under way here, the evidence mounts that the differences between the parties go beyond philosophy and platform. They just plain look different, act different and favor different color combinations.

When the Democratic response team — David Dreyer, an aide to Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, and Mark Steitz, a Democratic National Committee official — hit the Astrodome today, they sported pony tails and T-shirts under their baggy sport jackets. The shaggy, bearded Mr. Dreyer also wore a bicycle pouch and Ray Bans. It was sort of a late '60s anarchist, early Cheech and Chong look.

"It's too hot here for mink," said Mr. Dreyer, who left Washington in such a rush that he forgot the small gold hoop earring he usually wears. The Democratic duo stood out, needless to say, at a convention where most of the men are so cleanly shaved that some reporters were wondering if Republicans are allowed to buy a special secret brand of razor.

In the early returns, Bob Michel,

But the real competition would not begin until the Monday evening arrival of Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's National Security Adviser, who regularly wows the Maine plaid crowd in Kennebunkport with his cunningly contrasting jacket and pants ensembles.

"Forever Plaid," an Off Broadway musical, is running at the Alley Theater here. Brochures distributed to delegates proclaim "Don't miss George Bush's favorite musical!" and add that President Bush has seen the show five times.

It seems fitting that Mr. Bush's unwitting endorsement went to a musical whose entire frat-house cast, like most of the delegates at the convention, is white and male.

By contrast, Hillary Clinton has given her endorsement ("Simply Magical") to the advertisements for "The Secret Garden," a touchy-feely Broadway musical highly populated by women and children and written and staged by women.

Funniest Home Videos: The Republican Version

The floor whips gathered in the Astrodome this afternoon for a satellite open talk by the President, who was back in the Oval Office. It was only a voice link, but the convention managers tried to warm up the moment by projecting huge still pictures of Mr. Bush on the twin video screens that flank the stage.

As Mr. Bush looked down with one of his famous lopsided grins, some of the loyal troops couldn't resist. There was some tittering. Then in the middle of the speech, the screens flashed a head-and-shoulders shot of Mr. Bush with an even bigger and more lopsided grin. This time there was no suppressing it. The crowd howled.

From High Profile To No Profile

Dan Rather, who provoked President Bush in an interview during the 1988 campaign by insistently quizzing him on the Iran-contra scandal, has been denied an interview this time around. "Our offer remains on the table," said Joseph Peyromin, a vice president of CBS News.

Even as his parents prepare to brag on their family values and family, First Son Neil Bush has been conspicuously absent, even though he now lives in Houston. In the wake of the Silverado Savings and Loan scandal, Mr. Bush has been lying doggo, and is expected to surface only when

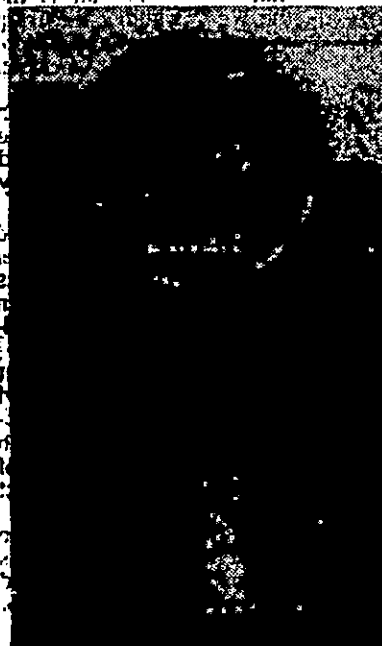


Photo by P. Carter/Smith for The New York Times

the House Republican leader, was winning the quadrennial plaid sport jacket contest. His boxy pattern of brown and darker brown stunned the competition on his plane from Washington to Houston on Friday.

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Cont.

THE HOUSTON THING

Maureen Dowd
and Frank Rich

the Bush children appear on stage for Barbara Bush's speech on Wednesday night.

Howard R. Baker Jr., the former Tennessee Senator and White House Chief of Staff, was introduced at a press panel at the Houston Club today by Allen H. Neuharth, the former chairman of the Gannett Company and editor of USA Today.

"You remember how distinguished he used to be," Mr. Neuharth told the crowd of Republicans. "I'm reminded of an anecdote he tells. He tells the story that as he travels around the country from airport to airport, people come up to him and say, 'Hey, didn't you used to be Howard Baker?'"

"Well," he went on, "I used to be Al Neuharth of USA Today."

Mr. Baker smiled cheerfully, though it was unclear whether he was amused by Mr. Neuharth's words or his wardrobe. Mr. Neuharth was decked out in an outfit that was blindingly white even by Republican standards, suggesting he had dropped in on his way to a Palm Beach night-spot: white slacks, white sports coat, white tie, white loafers and no socks.

At the same panel, James Squires, the former press secretary for the former Presidential hopeful, Ross Perot, noted his unusual dual position as both a former political reporter among Republicans and a former spokesman for the man he lightly referred to as "good old Inspector Perot."

"I now fully appreciate the phrase 'bastard at a family reunion,'" he said.

Sizes for Elephants: Big, Bigger, Really Big

Republicans also have an excessive fondness for topiaries, hair mousse and gel, fire engines and white shoes. Even President Bush has been known to wear albino leather for the occasional Kennebunkport press conference.

As Vice President, Mr. Bush put an elephant topiary sent to him from Houston in a place of honor on the lawn of his residence.

"The elephant goes like crazy," said Fia Ravari of the Plant House, which has supplied giant topiaries to the Astrodome, the Galleria, and the Bush campaign headquarters at the Doubletree Hotel. He makes the elephant in nine different sizes, with the top-of-the-line 6-footer now rearing its trunk in front of the Astrodome available for \$795 once the convention adjourns.

Houston is a city that cherishes all manner of moss on a frame. Edward Scissorhands seems to have run amok on almost every block, where roam Texas longhorn, giraffes, flamingos, reindeer, monkeys, rabbits,



pigs and armadillos. Topiary aficionados have also put in custom orders for replicas of boats, planes, trains and their Doberman pinchers.

The total effect is much like Chia Pets stalking the city, as Godzilla did Tokyo.

Republicans also have a fire engine fetish.

In 1984, Ronald Reagan's warm and fuzzy "Morning in America" commercials showed two men wiping down a fire engine in a small town on a sunny summer afternoon.

In 1988, Mr. Bush's commercials showed two men wiping down a fire engine in a small town on a sunny summer afternoon.

Today, the Republicans unveiled a video prepared for the convention called "Americana," featuring two old gents playing checkers in front of the general store, two young boys (one black, one white) running Old Glory up a flagpole, and two men wiping down a fire engine. (On a sunny summer afternoon.)

2 of 2

MIXING FAMILY AND POLITICS

"We know to say 'no' and to keep to the straight and narrow." — Neil Bush



White House Photograph

President Bush and his wife, Barbara, posed for a portrait in 1989 with their children and grandchildren at Camp David, Md. Standing at top left were their sons George W., left, and Neil. Sitting on the far right were their son Jeb and their daughter, Dorothy Koch.

For the Bushes, Politics Is a Family Enterprise

By R. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

THE BUSHES

"Family values" will be one of the main political themes of this week's Republican National Convention, and to drive home that point, convention officials plan to give plenty of exposure to President Bush's large, extended clan of children, grandchildren, siblings, spouses and cousins.

In all, 71 Bush family members will be in Houston, three more than attended the 1988 convention in New Orleans. Some will be delegates, some will work behind the scenes on various convention matters and some will be along just for the fun.

When it is over, many will head off across the country to campaign for the President's re-election, just as they worked before the convention to collect the money and votes he needs.

A reunion of 71 relatives at the Republican convention.

ed for renomination, and just as they have worked in family political campaigns going back to the early 1950's, when Mr. Bush's father, Prescott Bush, first won a seat in the United States Senate.

When it comes to mixing politics and family, the Bush brood, ideology aside, is the closest thing Republicans have to the Kennedys, complete with the Ivy League educations, the home on a New England seashore that "Gampy" and "Ganny" maintain and a penchant for running for everything from president of the P.T.A. to President of the United States.

Both parties, and families, would no doubt find such a comparison odious, but the similarities are hard to dodge, except that among the "Bushes," as clan members are sometimes called, only the President and his father have been successful vote-getters in the big leagues.

A tentative schedule for this week in Houston calls for upwards of 25 Bushes to appear on the Astrodome

stage at one point, possibly on Wednesday night when Mr. Bush is nominated and his wife, Barbara, is scheduled to speak.

That night has also been designated "Family Values Night."

The 68-year-old President has always emphasized his membership in a close-knit, God-fearing, straight-shooting clan: rough-housing with the 12 grandchildren and dogs beyond number, picnicking and tossing horseshoes with his four sons and his daughter, fishing and golfing with his three brothers and his sister, escorting his wife and mother to Sunday church services.

One son, Jeb, a 39-year-old Miami real estate executive who is running the President's re-election campaign in Florida, once described the image projected by the family as "warm and fuzzy." His sister, Dorothy Koch, 32, of Bethesda, Md., says the family is the kind that stays in regular contact by phone, with the President's children touching base with their parents as often as five times a week.

White House officials say the image of a wholesome, affectionate family is a true reflection of Mr. Bush and his brood and will be emphasized in Houston because it is a quality, they argue, that Americans long to see in their leaders and fear the Democrats would let slip away.

Black Sheep

Of course, some of the President's detractors contend the image is not without flaws.

They say the Bush family, like so many Presidential families, most recently the Kennedys, the Johnsons and the Carters, has had a problem member or two, and note that in recent years questions have been raised in some quarters about the financial dealings of some Bush sons and brothers. Last year, Federal regulators concluded that one of the sons, Neil, was guilty of a conflict of interest in a savings and loan deal. Neil Bush is now 37 years old and working for a Houston cable television company.

Four years ago, on the eve of the 1988 Republican Convention, it was Neil Bush who asserted that mem-

cont.

bers of the Bush family never had problems with conflicts of interest because "we know to say 'no' and to keep to the straight and narrow."

In any event, when the Republicans gather, most of the Bush family will, too.

The immediate family will stay in the Houstonian Hotel, a comfortable but financially troubled establishment where the President has long rented an apartment that he officially lists as home, a holdover from his days as a Texas businessman. Other relatives will stay at the more luxurious Hotel Wyndham Warwick.

Convention officials say some members of the immediate Bush

Like the Kennedys — except for the ideology.

family besides the President and Mrs. Bush may be called upon to speak at the convention. But for certain, the officials say, many members of the clan will be working the floor and various delegations, glad-handing emissaries, ready to pose for a picture, sit for an interview or put out a political fire.

Many are accustomed to public life.

Not only have they worked at local and state conventions and caucuses for the President, themselves and other relatives, raising money and votes, but on many occasions they have stood in for Mr. Bush, including representing the nation at a dozen or more functions abroad. Last week, for example, Marvin Bush, who at 35 is the President's youngest son, took time off from his work as an investment adviser in Alexandria, Va., to represent Mr. Bush at the Olympic Games in Barcelona.

Next week, Marvin Bush's wife, Margaret, will be a delegate at the Houston convention.

The oldest Presidential son, George

W. Bush, 46, of Dallas will be an important convention figure, behind the scenes. One of the owners of the Texas Rangers baseball team and a prominent member of the Republican establishment in Texas, he is a senior adviser to his father's campaign and one of the President's most trusted trouble-shooters. In 1978, he ran unsuccessfully for the House of Representatives.

Asked once to describe how the Bush family supported the political efforts of its most illustrious member, she replied that the President's children were the "first team," with his siblings backing them up by "working like dogs."

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WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

Character Issue

To Win, George Bush Must Finally Identify A Vision—of Himself

As His Pragmatic Side Wars
With Warmer Instincts,
President Appears Adrift
He Is '3 or 4 Different People'

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
HOUSTON—As a lanky Yale first baseman was struggling at the plate 46 years ago, the team groundskeeper diagnosed his problem. "You don't take a real cut at the ball," he said. "Put more power behind your swing."

It wasn't the last time George Bush would receive advice like that.

As he accepts the Republican presidential nomination here this week, Mr. Bush takes the last swing of his 30-year political career. And once again, friends and allies are beseeching him to "put more power" behind the effort, to spell out a vision to inspire a troubled America.

Until now, the 68-year-old president has hesitated, pausing before the final competition to take stock.

One Bush intimate has lately sensed this normally unreflective man "retreating to some space behind his eyes," chewing over "a struggle... about what to do with what remains of his life." By helping shape his political legacy, this campaign—and, if it succeeds, a second term—will reveal much about Mr. Bush's vision of himself, even as he struggles to articulate one for the country.

The choices might be simpler had his life not placed so many claims on him: his upbringing as an energetic and dutiful son of Eastern Establishment privilege, his taste of daring and valor as a World War II pilot, years of hustling on the twin frontiers of Texas oil and Republican politics, initiation into the clubby world of Capitol Hill, long and loyal service to the national GOP that ultimately led to the presidency.

"He's probably three or four different people," says lifelong friend FitzGerald Berniss. But if those disparate experiences propelled his climb, they also spawned conflicting allegiances and—even after two decades on the national stage and four years in the White House—still blur his profile in the public mind.



President Bush

Less than three months before Election Day, another problem may be even more

A Domestic Agenda

Bush is expected to use the convention to sketch a domestic program. See article on page A8. In related developments:

- Campus Republicans of the 1970s are driving strategy in the 1990s, A8.
- Moderates don't feel genuinely welcome in their own party, A8.
- President Reagan's appearance is likely to be bittersweet, A8.
- Dan Quayle finds himself the new celebrity pitchman in town, B1.

daunting. Mr. Bush launches his fall campaign with his own instincts at odds with those of his constituents. He is a congenital optimist at a moment when voters are worried, a man who celebrates America as it is while they fear the nation is faltering, a lifelong skeptic of government action as they look to Washington to make things better.

"He doesn't necessarily think there's a whole lot of ills in America's system that need a whole lot of repair," says John Ashmun, a close friend since both men left the Ivy League to seek fortunes in the West Texas oil fields. "He doesn't think we need that. . . . If it's not broke, don't fix it."

His status-quo approach has been reflected throughout a first term that has seen his political standing float up and down according to the public's broader mood. The man once dubbed "the in-box president" has usually reacted to events instead of shaping them, with the important exception of the Persian Gulf War.

Now, mired behind Democratic rival Bill Clinton in the polls, Mr. Bush has been forced to seek help from his old friend and political mastermind James Baker. With the president facing trouble with the Republican right and middle-of-the-road voters alike, Mr. Baker has promised that the White House will fashion a positive domestic agenda on conservative principles for the fall campaign.

'The Inner Rules'

But a larger question is whether Mr. Bush can convince himself of the urgency of that agenda, so that he can persuade Americans that he would see it through in a second term. While the public George Bush has made innumerable tactical adjustments over the years while navigating the political shoals, his essential character hasn't much changed since he was a young man of such impressive bearing that his younger brother promised grade-school classmates he'd be president one day.

"Even if it hurts him," says brother Jonathan Bush, "he has always followed... the inner rules, the inner guidelines."

The rules are not simple.

One senior aide sees three distinct strands to Mr. Bush's character that some-

Please Turn to Page A5, Column 1

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cont.

Character Issue: To Win, Bush Must Identify a Vision—of Himself

Continued From First Page

times work at cross purposes. There is the sentimental man who takes succor from family and friends, author of a thousand thank-you notes and backyard barbecues, whose reputation for thoughtfulness and decency is so well-established that recent allegations of marital infidelity — unsubstantiated but widely publicized — in all likelihood won't scratch it.

Then there is the dutiful servant who signed up for wartime combat rather than take refuge in college, who has embraced charitable activities of all descriptions, who disdains ideological extremism in the belief that reasonable people in government can sit down and work things out.

Finally, there is also the unsentimental politician who instinctively sorts allies from enemies, who will calculate "what I have to do to be re-elected" and then do it—even if he finds it distasteful.

When he learned that the masseur from his old Houston health club lay dying of cancer this spring, the president—withstanding the distraction of mounting political problems — took time to telephone him repeatedly. Mr. Bush is "the milk of human kindness," says the Rev. Floyd Williams, pastor of Antioch Baptist Church here, who has known him since the 1960s. Yet, surveying the broader picture of economic pain in Houston's black neighborhoods, the same Mr. Williams thinks of his old friend and wonders, "How can you not see?" His only conclusion: that Mr. Bush's cautious domestic policy is a product of the president's "being more political than his real feelings."

Civil Rights Opponent

That tension has existed ever since Mr. Bush began challenging the Democratic courthouse establishment in Texas to help build a new Republican Party without alienating the John Birch Society types who formed much of its initial base. The graduate of Andover and Yale campaigned for the U.S. Senate in 1964 as a "Goldwater Republican" opposing civil-rights legislation of the sort his father had sponsored in the Senate.

A minister later said Mr. Bush confided after the election that he veered hard right in an unsuccessful bid "to get elected" and regretted it. In the wake of that experience, Mr. Bush called on conservatives to stop questioning the patriotism of political rivals. But years later, his shot at the presidency on the line, Mr. Bush didn't hesitate to cast Democratic rival Michael Dukakis as a foe of the Pledge of Allegiance.

The vote-hungry candidate of 1988 who snarled "read my lips" became the president of 1990 who huddled with congressional leaders to break his pledge because he thought the economy required it. Pressured by a rebellious GOP right wing earlier this year, he renounced the deal because that's what his campaign needed.

At one fateful moment of his first term — when Iraq invaded Kuwait and menaced the vital oil fields of Saudi Arabia — the disparate facets of Mr. Bush's persona were merged in a powerful display of leadership. Outraged by reports of Iraqi brutality, determined to fight Saddam Hussein's aggression and the threat it posed to Western economies, confident in his ability to pull the right political levers, he led Operation Desert Storm with a calm and firmness that contrasted with his customarily frenetic style.

Powerless With Congress

He displayed such traits as well in his approach toward German reunification and in pursuing a Middle East peace. Yet on other foreign policy issues, he has again shown his tendency to remain wedded to the status quo — maintaining his preference for Mikhail Gorbachev even after Boris Yeltsin had emerged as a popularly elected alternative, for example. And he has especially faltered on domestic issues.

Mr. Bush's dealings with Congress have been largely fruitless, stranded between his own conciliatory instincts and pressure from the Republican right. He has watched, often passively, as Democrats gutted his legislative proposals. In his January State of the Union Address, he warned lawmakers that "the battle is joined" if they didn't pass his economic growth program. They didn't, but the battle fizzled. Deborah Steelman, issues director in Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign and now an occasional adviser, believes the difficulty of governing has been "confusing to him."

It has not, however, made him fight. He does not like confrontation. John Overbey, Mr. Bush's first partner in the oil business, remembers Mr. Bush's bemused reaction the time a prospective partner reneged on his "word of honor" in order to cut a deal with someone else. "He would just shrug his shoulders and go ahead," Mr. Overbey says, confident that next time would turn out better.

Cont

It's no wonder Mr. Bush's outlook is so sunny: His lifetime glitters with achievement. Infused with his mother's fierce competitiveness, he thrived in athletics even though he lacked his father's natural grace. The Bushes "expected to win and generally did," says Mr. Bemiss, recalling the "idyllic life" the two shared as summer playmates in Kennebunkport, Maine—while most of the country was then mired in the Depression.

He got his first oil job working for a family friend and founded a business backed by family money. The fortune he made—he ultimately sold out for \$1 million in the mid-1960s—was modest by Texas oil standards. But it was enough to raise a large family comfortably and allow him to leave business for politics. The lesson he drew, rather than the importance of connections, was that Americans with drive and talent can make it on their own.

His political career taught much the same lesson. Texas voters twice spurned his bid to follow his father into the U.S. Senate, and Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford both passed him over for vice president when he thought he had a chance. But instead of rebelling, Mr. Bush responded with discipline and unrelenting loyalty that ultimately paid off.

Personal tragedies that might have soured other men failed to dim his optimism. Mr. Bush saw friends die in war, and lost a three-year-old daughter to leukemia. For a time after Robin Bush died, he was frozen in grief that friends worried might wreck his marriage. But Barbara Bush and his own restless desire to move on snapped him out of it.

Tales of Thoughtfulness

His generation rode the postwar economic boom. Abroad, the job of national leaders was to safeguard freedom and block Communist expansion. At home, the role of government was not to interfere. Those blessed with advantages were obliged to give something back, and Mr. Bush always did. The charity club he headed at Andover and the YMCA he founded in an old Midland grocery store foreshadowed the Points of Light he has celebrated as president.

Old friends and family members have helped lighten his burdens as president. Despite the political battering he has suffered, he can still lose himself in improvised golfing contests, or bowling, or horseshoes. He mocked his childlike love of games when describing his Kennebunkport vacation last year: "I'll play a good deal of golf here, a good deal of tennis, a good deal of horseshoes, a good deal of fishing, a good deal of running—and some reading. I have to throw that in for the intellectuals out there."

Before his poll ratings began tumbling a year ago, Mr. Bush plainly loved his job. "People who get eaten up by the presidency are people who are uncomfortable with themselves," says Texas political consultant Karl Rove, who has known Mr. Bush for two decades. "George Bush is comfortable with himself."

Showing the Strain

Yet in recent months the strain has shown in his appearance and demeanor—variously edgy, grim, agitated, even haggard. To senior staffers and Republican audiences alike, he complains about unfair news coverage. He expresses some frustration with voters as well, saying they don't credit him for the West's Cold War triumph—a crowning achievement for his generation, but largely forgotten amid the rising economic anxieties of young families.

When bad news comes, this ordinarily gregarious man tends to fall silent. After top aides reported Patrick Buchanan's strong showing in the New Hampshire primary, "He got very quiet, swiveled in his chair and said, 'Well, we'll just have to work harder,'" recalls Rich Bond, a longtime aide rewarded with the Republican Party chairmanship this year. The president quickly set out on a breakneck campaign tour.

But nothing yet has reversed his year-long political slide, and Mr. Bush arrives here for the GOP convention in desperate need of a turnaround. This peculiar campaign may demand more than Mr. Bush's characteristic determination—or even escalating attacks on Mr. Clinton. Mr. Bush may need to show Americans that he has done something very uncharacteristic: stop to reflect on the country, to sort through the fragments of his experience and beliefs to offer a defining purpose for his second term. It won't come easily. "He doesn't come from a family of philosophers," says Thomas "Lud" Ashley, a former Democratic congressman who has known Mr. Bush since they attended Yale together.

"People are looking for a lot of high-sounding Shakespearean prose about living on the mountaintop," complains Jonathan Bush. "He's got to stick to saying, 'This is the price tag of what the other guy is talking about.'"

This Mr. Bush can do with conviction—almost certainly more conviction, in fact, than he can muster for the education, health-care and environmental proposals his aides have persuaded him to adopt. The president doesn't conceal his low expectations for government when he tells audiences: "What happens in your house is more important than what happens in the White House."

Privately as well as publicly, Mr. Bush remains confident that voters ultimately will reward his virtues. But if they don't—if, like the hapless Jimmy Carter 12 years ago, he is swamped by his own failings and the opposition's incoming tide—few who know him believe he'd be devastated for very long.

Instead, friends say, he and Barbara would carry out a gracious transition and return to Houston satisfied they'd done their best. "He's not a brooder," says Peter Teeley, a former press secretary whom Mr. Bush recently appointed ambassador to Canada. "Bush is the kind of guy who always recognizes there's something else to do."

THE SPEECH

A Time to Get Serious

MEMO TO: The President
FROM: Noonan
RE: Your acceptance speech

Mr. President, remember the scene in that movie you liked, "Moonstruck," in which Cher slugs the very fine and decent but also dispirited Nicolas Cage and says, "Snap out of it!" That is our text for today.

You are George Herbert Walker Bush and you have been serving your country and keeping high its ideals since the day you were born. You went out to defend it with your life when you were an 18-year-old boy. You chucked security, got in the car, dug the oil, created a business, gave people jobs, got an ulcer worrying about the payroll, met it every week, kept trucking, went to Congress, went to China, protected the CIA in its toughest days, served a great man named Reagan with quiet, dogged loyalty, became a landslide president of the United States, went to victorious war against a nut with nukes, helped transform the Soviet Union—and kept, all this time, all these years, the honest, yearning love of your children and your wife.

You have lived a *life*. And now this—this Elvis impersonator, this boomer on a bus, this guy who calls his climb up the greasy pole "answering the call of public service," as if he were sacrificing ambition for good works, as if politics were a nunnery and not a whore. Well.

And his friends, the newspaper poets! Back there tap-tap-tapping in the back of the plane, and every time they see Clinton their eyes shine because what they're really seeing is... *The house in McLean and the phone call in the night, the journal entry: "The president called again tonight. I knew why he was up, alone. Sarajevo. Again."*

Buttheads with laptops! Going for the Bradlee Cup! That's what you think of them in your less charitable moods. Well, stay less charitable for a minute.

Mr. President, Clinton says you're washed up. He says you're through, you're yesterday, and a new generation tempered by zip and disciplined by zero is going to run the country. And he will—right into the ground! You going to let him? Or you going to teach him a little lesson in respect?

(Phew. It's not easy doing a Roger Ailes impersonation.)

Four years ago today you were working on what we all thought was the most important speech of your career. We were wrong. This is. It's also the most challenging. A lot has changed in the last four years. Last time you were up against a man caught somewhere between inept and

bert. This time you're up against a savvy young pol.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans think that you're in trouble because of the economy. But it's more. People are angry about the costs and demands of government, angry that no one has the courage to cut spending. They are uneasy about our culture, about its increasing coarseness, vulgarity, violence. If people had seen the past three years that you were led by discernible principle, if they had been able to see that you were thinking long term, long range, they'd have stuck with you from boom to bust. But they didn't, so they haven't.

A hunch: You know what a lot of voters feel, deep in their hearts, with a certitude that finds no expression in focus groups: They think this election is a white-guy distrait over power. That's all. Two groups of guys in suits who want power. Stephanopoulos does. Teeter does. Carville does. Rich Bond. Bush. Clinton. People hate it. It makes them think that you're none of you serious.

The Democrats ceded seriousness to sentiment at their convention. But seriousness is your salvation. It means that if you win, you win with meaning, if you lose, you lose with class. The first gives you a mandate, the second adds heft to your historical reputation. Here are some ideas:

Put the contest in context: The '92 campaign is a fight, on the one hand, between a solid Republican Party that has in your lifetime done an amazing thing: it has *changed*

history for the better: it is the party that helped change an evil empire into a benign cluster of democracies; that unleashed a historic economic boom, and that spoke, again, for our country and the world, of the rightness of freedom.

On the other side, an evolving Democratic Party that has not evolved enough to lead. Their policies are new ideas wrapped in old entanglements, with the obvious left—The Groups, The Unions—quiet now, but poised to move in a Clinton administration. Nothing will change

the Democrats but more history; their evolution is incomplete.

You think this. But you'll say it better.

Your biggest problem? 'Read my mind': Four years ago you said: *The Congress will push me to raise taxes, and I'll say no, and they'll push, and I'll say no, and they'll push again. And I'll say to them: Read my lips. No new taxes.*

Once FDR made a campaign pledge in a speech in Philadelphia. Later he broke it. When his image handlers wondered what to do he merrily instructed them to deny he was in Philadelphia. My advice: Don't deny you were in New Orleans, tell people why you did what you did.

You said you'd fight the congressional Democrats' desire to raise taxes by pushing back and refusing. Instead you compromised, trading taxes for spending controls.

Everyone has his reasons, and you had yours. But you never told them to the people. All they saw was a guy jiggering by the cameras, saying, "Read my lips." Your worst public moment as president.

Explain it. You knew you had to get the deficit under control, and the deficit is a spending problem. You felt



How to deal with breaking the 'read my lips' pledge: A mistake stays a scandal until you explain it



When the delegates hear Reagan they will erupt in joy. They will say, 'I miss his voice' and mean: I miss belief.

BY PEGGY NOONAN

...ing the Democrats off to a standstill would get you nowhere, produce nothing out a daily argument, like a bad marriage. [The people] did not send us here to fester. You said in your inaugural, and you meant it. So you neid back from a war with Congress that had to be fought. You put your personal credibility on the line. You broke your word—but only in hopes it would break Congress's habits. It didn't. They're still spending, the deficit is growing, but you learned something: never again. (This, as Kissinger used to say, had the added

benefit of being true. You *will* never do it again.)

A mistake stays a scandal until you explain it. And this is a mistake to be turned to your advantage. It was the Democrats, Bill Clinton's party, who insisted on the tax raise. Now they condemn you for giving them what they begged for. What will Clinton do when a Democratic Congress tells him to raise taxes even more than he intends?

Say what you did right: There's plenty. But this year the Republicans have had trouble going positive—about them-

selves. One reason: good news that is old news is not news. How do you make it interesting that Republicans arrested inflation when inflation hasn't mugged anyone lately? One way is to be terse, true—and funny. Give people something they can get a smile or a laugh with when they quote it to the neighbors. People want to fight on your side—a good line is ammunition.

They're ba-a-ck: "Clinton says he'll take back America and he will—to the Carter years." That's how Jim Pinkerton speaks of the Democratic ticket. Pinkerton, Mary Matalin, all the young, smart ones on your staff: they say to remind people the Democrats aren't the answer, they're the problem. You said it yourself: they're not the fireman, they're the arsonist. Drive it home.

War talk: In private you speak of Desert Storm with humility and quiet pride. On the stump your references take on a kind of agitated boastfulness.

Your normal approach to things is low key, modest, often wry. But your advisers tell you to show how you "feel" when you make a speech, so you "act" how you feel, and sometimes it doesn't work because—you're not an actor. (As a former adviser I feel free to say: Kill the advisers.)

You could use the war to make two points. (1) Tell about building the coalition against Saddam Hussein. You gathered together the civilized world. It was masterful. Underscore the fact that Clinton has nothing like your quarter-century experience in foreign affairs. (2) The war was fought with minimum loss of life because of state-of-the-art hardware that was only developed because Republicans led the nation the past 12 years. (Imagine people who two years ago had VISUALIZE PEACE on their bumper stickers in charge of the Pentagon budget!)

My only lobbying: Mr. President, we need a defense to protect our continent from a madman with a well-aimed SSIL. A week ago the Democratic Senate voted all of SDI down. You care about it. Fight for it in this speech.

The Democrats, the media, hate it. Do you know what regular people on the street know that the elites don't? It

is not possible for so many men to have so many nuclear arms and no one will ever use one. It's going to save lives someday.

No more tears: Some will say, show your heart. They'll mean: Be personal and autobiographical and talk about the pain in this thing called life. You'll refuse. On behalf of the American people, thank you.

When Al Gore was talking about his son at the Democratic convention I saw a television producer watching with tears in her eyes. At the end she turned to me and said, "That was so manipulative." I said, "You were moved." She shrugged. "I'm a mother. I got a cheap cry." Everyone's on to everything. Cheap tears win no votes.

Watch out: Democrats keep saying it will be a mean campaign and here's a reason why: they still think they lost '88 because of Willie Horton, and they still don't understand that voters viewed Dukakis's actions refusing to meet with Horton's victims, etc./as... liberal arrogance.

The Democrats think it was all an ugly racist trick. The good news: this means they're still confused about why people vote against them. The bad news: people who think you've been evil to them usually do evil in return.

And don't forget the merry pranksters in the press. They are so hungry for ugly, in my view, that the smallest thing you do will be turned into a big thing. And they'll goad you into the small thing. You'll be walking through the plane to say hello to reporters and someone will ask, "How did you like the dress Mrs. Clinton wore on 'Arsenio' last night?" And you, wanting to be diplomatic but also not wanting to look like a weenie who's afraid to have fun, will say, "Oh, the dress, well, not my favorite color, but..." That's all they'll need. He's even attacking her clothing!

Mr. President, if a prankster baits you, wag your finger and give 'em a little Ward Cleaver. "Now Beaver, it's good

to try and make life fun, but it isn't nice to start trouble. Wally, I'd like you to talk to your brother about taking democracy seriously."

The importance of belief:

Some of your staff used to walk around calling the Reagan years "the pre-Bush era." There are many names for such people; "historical idiot" is one. You know and feel that Ronald Reagan was, is, a great man. When your delegates hear his voice Monday night they will erupt in joy. They will shake their heads and say, "I miss his

voice." They'll mean: I miss belief.

You have a chance to tell people, again, what you believe, what you intend, how you will achieve it. If you meet the challenge, voters will give you a second look.

People like to forgive. When a friend says, "I'm sorry if I let you down. But I know what went wrong and it won't happen again and I'm asking for another chance," you'd have to be ungenerous to turn the guy down. And you will be talking to the most generous people on earth.

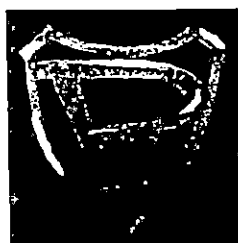
Noonan wrote speeches for Ronald Reagan and George Bush from 1984 to 1989 and is the author of "What I Saw at the Revolution," her Washington memoir.



You have kept, all these years, the honest, yearning love of your children and wife. You have lived a life.



You have to remind people the Democrats aren't the answer, they're the problem. Drive it home.



You have a chance to tell people what you believe, how you will achieve it. If you do, voters will give you a second look.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Republican Convention Edition

The CW is tired of Clinton's lead and will do what it can to hype this one into being a horse race. Look for Bush's speech to be hailed as brilliant even if it isn't.

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

G. Bush	↔	Puts entire fate in hands of Nixon's speechwriter. CW sez, single-digit bounce.
B. Bush	↑	Big Mama takes charge, executes perfect GOP straddle on abortion balance beam.
D. Quayle	↔	Like Clinton, he'll tell life story in speech—just an all-American newspaper heir.
M. Quayle	↔	Her speech will show a bright, angry, humorless lawyer/mother. The GOP's Hillary.
J. Baker	↑	All hail our savior Allah. Christ. Yahweh—whomever. It shouldn't have come to this.
H. Truman	↑	In hot new bio, he runs against "Do Nothing" Congress. Give 'em hell, George?

WOMEN

The Abortion Straddle

Their bios read more like the PTA directory of a local Christian day school than the writers of a political document. Most led with the fact they were married with children. Women who stay at home said so with pride. Meeting in Houston last week to write the party's platform, they referred to Jesus as much as George Bush. Inserting passages about faith and God. When the GOP's anti-abortion plank came up for discussion, they voted down the pro-choicers by 84-16. Delaware delegate Bobbi Breske pleaded for the party to consider exceptions for victims of rape and incest, which Bush supports, or "at least show compassion" toward women who have been "violated by a stranger or, worse yet, your uncle." But Breske was easily defeated. Mary Potter Summa, an assistant district attorney from North Carolina who is pregnant, had the last word: "What is in me is not a rock; it's not a coke bottle; it's a human life that's kicking me and sitting on my bladder."

In an effort to energize its core conservative vote, the Republican Party has overcorrected to the right. Not a single pro-choice plank passed anywhere in the country as the religious right dominated the process in state conventions everywhere. "Moderate voters stayed home in droves, and the wacky right captured the party," says Richard Murray, a political scientist at the University of Houston. A Bush-Quayle strategist calls the vocal minority "Gothic Republicans," moralizers who want to use government power to protect the unborn and sanitize the culture. If a far-right platform is the price for supporting Bush, he is happy to accommodate them. But he also wants to signal the pro-choice majority that he is not an extremist. Last week Bush told an interviewer that if his granddaughter became pregnant and chose an abortion, he

would stand by her. Barbara Bush went further, telling NEWSWEEK and other news magazines that she didn't think abortion should be part of the political process. "It was a matter of 'personal choice'."

Bush's straddle on abortion rights is unlikely to bridge the gap between the two sides. Inside the Astrodome, officials worry that zealous right-to-lifers could get out of hand and boo one of the GOP's rising stars, Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, who supports abortion rights and gay rights. Outside the nail, upscale suburban Republican women are protesting in a way they never dreamed possible. "We've come out of the closet onto the streets, I mean, wow!" says 68-year-old Anne Hale Johnson, of Potomac, Md. Houstonians who knew the Bushes way back when are baffled by the GOP's adamant stand on abortion. A handful of "Bush Belles," women of a certain age who supported Bush in his '64 race for Congress, turned up at a pro-choice cocktail party. Friends in Barbara's Magic Circle social club are outspokenly pro-choice. All worry that GOP women could desert the party in numbers large enough to defeat Bush. What bothers these women most is that they are "the same kind of people" as the Bushes: privileged, socially conscious WASPs, with a tradition of supporting Planned Parenthood. Mrs. Fergus Reid Jr., 65, was having lunch at the Reading Room, an eating club in York Harbor, Maine, when she announced to her table guests, "I'm not going to vote for George Bush because he won't let me have an abortion."

In a façade of diversity, more women will address this convention, almost all avowed pro-choicers. "It's an important statement to make that many of our leaders are pro-choice," says a GOP consultant. Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, a pro-choice mother of two, is a party favorite. None of these GOP stalwarts is expected to frontally discuss the issue. But unlike the Democrats, the party does not have a dream team of women running for the Senate. Charlene Haar of South Dakota is the only Republican woman challenger to survive her primary. Anti-abortion and pro-guns, the former teacher says she is "absolutely not a feminist." One campaign newsletter gave her recipe for watermelon pickles. And after she was featured on a local morning show for her rhubarb cake, she challenged her opponent, Sen. Tom Daschle, to a bake-off. He refused.

If you had a young daughter who became pregnant and wanted to have an abortion would you:

- 57% Try to talk her out of it but support whatever decision she made
- 17% Agree that it is probably the best thing to do
- 17% Prevent her from having an abortion by any means necessary

NEWSWEEK POLL, AUG. 13-14, 1992

BY ELEANOR CLIFT

N.Y. delegates: Anti-abortion plank spells doom

HOUSTON.

NERVOUS New York Republicans edged toward rebellion yesterday as they openly warned of a November disaster if the strict anti-abortion platform plank favored by President Bush isn't changed.

Startling proof of GOP fears came unexpectedly from Assembly Minority Leader Clarence Rappleyea of upstate Norwich, a leading anti-abortion conservative Republican.

Rappleyea, who has run with Right to Life Party support in the past, took time from a pre-convention Tex-Mex barbecue to say he now favored abandoning the anti-abortion plank in order to "hold off disaster in November."

"I think Barry Goldwater said it right: There are a lot of people out

FRED DICKER



there who are loyal Republicans who say they can't vote for us because of the [anti-abortion] plank," Rappleyea told The Post.

"I hope they [national GOP leaders] open up the platform and make it more inclusive on abortion — and I say that even though I'm pro-life.

"In my years of coming to conventions, I have never heard so much concern expressed about a platform position as I am hearing about abortion."

Meanwhile, further proof of the New York Republicans' fear over the abortion issue came from:

■ State Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino, New York's most powerful Republican, who said flatly, "We should take the [anti-abortion] plank out of the platform."

"If we don't," Marino continued ominously, "it's going to hurt all of us."

■ State GOP Chairman William Powers, who said he favored "a big tent" on the abortion issue and preferred the New York Republican platform abortion plank — which anti-abortion activists call pro-choice — to the national plank.

While Powers refused to say if he personally favors legalized abortion, those who know him say he does.

■ State GOP Vice Chairwoman and top Powers aide Jackie Miner, who declared for the first time: "I think the Republican Party's position should be pro-choice, although not pro-abortion."

■ New York's only National Republican Committee woman, longtime GOP loyalist Eunice Whittlesey, who said, "I'm with Barbara Bush" on the abortion issue.

■ New York National Committee member Richard Rosenbaum, who was working with a national coalition of pro-choice Republicans to force a Monday-night platform fight on the abortion issue.

■ A loose coalition of New York City Republicans, including U.S. Reps. Bill Green and Susan Molinari and state Sen. Roy Goodman, who were aggressively involved in

See DICKER on Page 16

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NEW YORK POST
1-1-80

Abort-plank doom feared

DICKER from Page 4

efforts to change the abortion plank, with their own political survival seen as being on the line.

Meanwhile, adding to the general sense of gloom among Republicans here in Houston are these pained words from Senate Majority Leader Marino:

"We've all been disappointed in President Bush's performance to date and we enter this convention with trepidations about the upcoming election.

"I'm hopeful [newly selected White House chief of staff] Jim Baker will build a fire under the president and get him to show the kind of leadership he's capable of.

"We've all been looking . . . and anxiously waiting."

Campaign short takes:

■ Some top New York Republicans were ready to join a movement here to draft Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp to replace Vice President Dan Quayle as Bush's running mate — if such an effort had a chance of success.

But right now, nobody thinks that's going to happen.

■ Seasoned New York GOP political operatives here are bitterly complaining about what they see as incompetence and confusion among Bush's national campaign operatives.

"I've never seen it this bad — I think November is going to be a disaster," said one of New York's best-known Republican war horses, who is strongly committed to Bush's re-election.

■ Virtually all New York delegates are singing Powers' praises for delivering them from the unbelievably run-down "hell hotel" at which they stayed in New Orleans four years ago.

This time, the New York delegation is in one of the finest hotels at the convention, the Hyatt Regency.

In other New York political news:

■ City Comptroller and badly trailing U.S. Senate candidate Elizabeth Holtzman has come under attack from state Democratic Chairman John Marino for trying to link rival Geraldine Ferraro to the Mafia.

Holtzman, in a Friday statement, claimed Ferraro once represented Lawrence Latona, "an original incorporator of the Ravenite Social Club," long notorious as a Mafia hangout.

"Do I feel good about what Holtzman is doing? Absolutely not," said Marino, a top aide to Gov. Cuomo.

"Her campaign is short of money, but if this is the best they can do in the campaign, they're not going to win."

Ironically, Holtzman's blast came just a day after Republican incumbent U.S. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato also sought to link Ferraro to a mob-connected convicted labor racketeer.

Meanwhile, Democratic campaign insiders say Attorney General Robert Abrams, also in the Senate race, is hoping that Holtzman's attacks on Ferraro will catch on with voters in time for the Sept. 15 primary.

"The hope is that Holtzman will begin siphoning off women voters, who are now solidly in Ferraro's camp, because that boosts Abrams," said one top New York Democrat.

■ Westchester County broadcasting executive and longtime Cuomo political pal William O'Shaughnessy is throwing his support — and a \$1,000 contribution — to former hero cop and now ex-con Mario Biaggi, who is running in the Democratic primary seeking to regain his old Bronx congressional seat.

O'Shaughnessy, a Republican who also just gave \$1,000 to D'Amato's re-election effort, said there's no contradiction.

"I'm for Bush, Biaggi, D'Amato and Cuomo," said O'Shaughnessy, a one-of-a-kind character in New York politics.

70-33

Republican platform: Staking out the right

THE PREAMBLE TO the Republican platform that will be adopted in Houston tonight says the 100-page document "represents the views of mainstream Americans." Well, not quite every mainstreamer. Not, for example, Barbara Bush, who thinks the GOP should have omitted abortion as an issue.

In fact, the platform disagrees with George Bush. It advocates a constitutional amendment outlawing all abortions. The President would allow exceptions in cases of rape or incest.

Bush and his loyal First Lady will run on the platform anyway, of course. But the differences point up a major political development: Just when Democrats have shucked many old liberal positions and moved into what they believe is the moderate middle, GOP conservatives have shifted their party further to the right, arguing that that's where the voters are now.

Thus, the platform is for the "two-parent family," unrestricted gun ownership, school prayer, the Pledge of Allegiance in classrooms and a capital gains tax cut. It is against public broadcasting, subsidies for the arts, gay rights, free condoms and birth-control counseling in schools.

The election may turn on whether the Democrats can keep the focus on their social and economic issues, or whether the GOP can turn it into a referendum on "family values."

It's possible that the GOP strategy could prevail. For while it's true that Americans vote their pocketbooks, they are also moved by moral issues.

But it's also possible the Republicans are painting themselves into a corner. A lot of voters may agree with the platform, for example, that gays should be kept out of the military and women out of combat. But they may worry more about health coverage when they're sick. And whether the recession that claimed their neighbors' jobs will get theirs next.

Behind Bush's Mixed Abortion Signals

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 — Richard M. Nixon's Attorney General, John N. Mitchell, had a pat answer for people bewildered by the Nixon Administration's policies: "Watch what we do, not what we say."

News Analysis President Bush and his strategists seem to want it both ways: they want some people to watch what they say and others to watch what they do. Becalmed in the polls, under attack for having shifted ground on taxes, they have helped push through platform language that goes well beyond even the President's own strong anti-abortion position in an effort to insure the support of conservatives, while at the same time they have sent signals to abortion-rights supporters intended to make them feel comfortable voting for Mr. Bush.

Political Reality Troubling G.O.P.

Underlying all the maneuvering is a political reality deeply troubling for the Republicans. With the economy in low gear, the Reagan Democrats are moving back toward their ancestral party; the Republicans' only chance of holding them may lie in reviving the social issues that attracted them in the first place.

Coalition's Fracturing Issue

But whereas racial questions and the cold war tended to solidify the new Republican coalition assembled in the 1970's and 1980's, with the Reagan Democrats at its center, abortion tends to fracture it. This time the wedge issue points the wrong way.

So first Vice President Dan Quayle,

then Mr. Bush himself, have said in recent days that they would support a daughter or a granddaughter who elected to have an abortion after they had urged her not to.

On Thursday, most striking of all, Barbara Bush, who will move into a more overtly partisan role next week when she makes a featured speech at the Republican convention in Houston, described abortion as "a personal decision" that should be omitted altogether from party platforms. Mr. Bush's handlers regard the First Lady as one of their main campaign assets, and using her to deliver a message on abortion underlined the seriousness of the problem it presents for the Republicans.

Bush Backs Platform Stand

To complicate matters still further, the President's spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said today that Mr. Bush was thoroughly pleased with the work of the platform committee.

"He supports their position," the spokesman said. "Mrs. Bush has her own attitudes about this."

No one can prove it, but almost all practicing politicians here see the contradictions as a matter of carefully calibrated electoral strategy.

"If just Quayle had said something, you could look at it as an accident," said David Keene of the American Conservative Union. "But with three comments like that in succession, you know it's a deliberate plan."

In Los Angeles today, Gov. Bill Clinton said, "It appears that everyone on the Republican ticket is moving to the Democratic position on that issue," adding, "They're trying to have it both ways."

For weeks White House strategists have worried that the platform Mr. Bush thought he had to grant abortion opponents, both as the price of their

Continued on Page 6, Column 3

News Analysis

Behind Bush's Mixed Abortion Signals

Continued From Page 1

support and to avoid charges that he was as wishy-washy on abortion as the conservatives say he is on taxes, was too inflexible for most of the country. Many of the President's closest advisers are haunted by the warning of the late Lee Atwater, Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign manager, that there would be trouble unless the Republicans erected a tent big enough to accommodate all views on abortion. But they have found no effective way to heed his advice.

As approved by the drafting committee in Houston this week, the platform, essentially identical to 1988's abortion provision, declares that "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed," even in the circumstances in which the President favors allowing exceptions: pregnancies resulting from rape or incest.

The platform calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, and there is no doubt that the delegates, following the instructions issued by Mr. Bush through his convention managers, will ratify it. But a Washington Post-ABC News survey found that 55 percent of the 2,210 delegates opposed such a constitutional ban while only 23 percent of them supported the idea.

Among Republican voters nationwide, New York Times/CBS News polls in June and July found that only 19 percent of Republican voters favor outlawing abortion, with 39 percent arguing that it should be generally available as it is now and 40 percent saying it should continue to be available but under stricter limits.

Democrats and independents, numerous polls have shown, are even less favorable to an absolute ban than Republicans.

Goldwater Is Critical

Extreme platform positions, like the ones adopted by the Democrats at Miami Beach in 1972 and the Republicans at San Francisco in 1964, have often led to landslide defeats. Not so for Ronald Reagan, a master at running on right-wing platforms that appealed to the ideologies in the party and winning the backing of others by his personal charm and broad goals for the nation. Whether Mr. Bush can do something similar remains to be seen; he has less pure political appeal than Mr. Reagan, and many voters already see him as a hypocrite because he went back on his "read my lips" tax pledge.

Barry Goldwater, who suffered the consequences of the 1964 Republican platform, said the other day that Mr. Bush was "wrong as wrong can be" to back a rigid platform plank on abortion. It would sink the President and

other Republican candidates, he predicted, and leave the party in "a shambles."

So far at least, Mr. Bush has not succeeded in having it both ways. He seems to have convinced the hard-liners that he is still with them, but he has failed to paper over the deep split within the party.

Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, the political arm of the Rev. Pat Robertson's broadcasting interests, said in Houston that Mr. Bush, not Mrs. Bush, made policy and that policy, not words, is what matters. He added: "The President wants this plank, he got this plank, and he's going to keep this plank. The other side was defeated, vanquished. It's over."

Mrs. Bush's statement, said Nancy Sternoff, the executive director of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, means party leaders "have already read the signals that Republican women will not pull the lever for George Bush in November."

She and other abortion-rights leaders have vowed to take the fight to the floor of the convention next week. But the White House is putting the pressure on elected leaders, including Gov. Pete Wilson of California, and it may be able to block a nationally televised debate — a debate that would dramatize Republican disunity a month after the Democratic unity-fest in New York.

LEADERS WON'T QUASH DISSENT ON PLATFORM

GOP still pro-life: Dan

By SUSAN MILLIGAN

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Vice President Quayle yesterday said that despite spirited opposition within the ranks "the Republican Party platform is going to remain pro-life."

Quayle said, however, that the GOP hierarchy does not intend to exclude pro-choice Republicans agitating to strike or water down the staunchly anti-abortion platform plank supported by President Bush.

The platform will be adopted at next week's Houston convention.

Quayle's comments, made in a "CBS This Morning" interview, came a day after First Lady Barbara Bush said abortion and other so-called social issues, such as sexual orientation, are "personal matters that should be left out, in my opinion, out of platforms and conventions."

Rights stuff

The GOP platform also discourages extending civil rights protections to homosexuals on the basis of their sexual orientation.

"I have friends who are pro-Bush, pro-choice. I have friends who are pro-life, pro-Bush," she said. "You can argue yourself blue in the face, and you're not going to change each other's minds."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater yesterday said Bush was not unhappy with his wife's comments.

"Mrs. Bush is a wonderful, strong woman, and has strong views," Fitzwater said.

Other opinions

The First Family's difference of opinion recalled a similar episode in the Quayle household.

The veep recently said he would discourage a pregnant daughter from having an

abortion but would support her even if she had the operation. Marilyn Quayle declared her daughter would "take the child to term."

Yesterday, without elaborating, the Quayles said they were now of one mind.

Pro-choice Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, campaigning in California, said GOP platform writers should "listen to" Barbara Bush.

"I don't know whether (the Bushes and Quayles) are just compelled to say what they really believe or if they're trying to have it both ways," Clinton added.

Plot suspected

Pro-choice advocates suspect the ambiguous comments are all a plot aimed at defusing the raging debate over the issue in Houston.

"Why now? It makes you really wonder," said Mary Dent Crisp, president of the National Republican Coalition for Choice.

"I presume Barbara Bush was appealing the pro-choice Republican voters on behalf of her husband for reelection."

Bara Pines of the National Abortion Rights Action League thought Barbara Bush's comments might "cloud the issue a little bit."

But Daria St. Martin of the National Right to Life Committee said, "He's the one who's President. Whatever she says, he's the one who counts."

On Divisive Issues, Republicans Send Mixed Messages

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 14—Republicans have been trying to say very different things this week to very different constituencies, especially on the divisive social issues such as abortion. Their effort has enjoyed success, but it has also angered activists at both ends of the party spectrum.

The mixed messages may sometimes seem spontaneous, but they reflect President Bush's effort to reassemble the complicated coalition he needs to win reelection this fall. Bush needs the same strong support he won from evangelical and fundamentalist Christians in 1988. At the same time, he also must get a large share of the votes cast by well-off suburbanites who tend to be mod-

erate or liberal on the social issues that drive the Christian right.

Thus, First Lady Barbara Bush said in an interview with news magazines that she did not think abortion belonged in the Republican Party platform. This was made public after her husband's lieutenants had done all they could to make sure the issue was in the platform in an uncompromising antiabortion plank.

Similarly, the president was moderate in answering a hypothetical question Tuesday about how he would react to a granddaughter's choice to have an abortion. It would be her decision, the president said, even as the platform drafters were supporting a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion.

NEWS ANALYSIS

"If I didn't know any better, I would assume the platform was written by the religious right," Martin Mawyer, president the Christian Action Network, said in a statement issued this week. That is not a line that plays well with the moderates, so the Bush forces have sent them a whole set of signals that flatly conflict with the platform.

If all this seems like cynical politics, that is how it strikes at least some Republicans here.

"It's very duplicitous out there," said Richard Rosenbaum, the Republican national committee-man from New York and a longtime leader of the party's moderate wing. "The Bush campaign is starting to suffer an identity crisis. . . . We're getting mixed messages."

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1050

WASHINGTON POST
8-15-90

Republicans Sending Mixed Messages In Bid to Reconstitute '88 Coalition

REPUBLICANS. From A1

Ann Stone, chair of Republicans for Choice, said at a news conference today that a resolution approved here declaring a diversity of views in the party was "pathetic" and added: "George Bush has been put in a straitjacket by an extreme portion of the party and Barbara is in the back saying, 'Let him out, let him out.'"

Some on the right were willing to live with the ambiguity, given their triumph in the platform and Bush's repeated use of his veto power on behalf of abortion foes.

"You've got a platform that embraces the views of a particular wing of the party and there are a lot of constituencies in the party that are not particularly happy about it," said Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, religious broadcaster Pat Robertson's political arm. "So they're throwing a rhetorical bone to the moderates."

Reed acknowledged that the mixed signals might trouble some of his followers. "A lot of our people picked up the paper today and were ticked," he said, referring to Barbara Bush's statement.

But from the other end of the spectrum, he agreed with Stone's assessment of the unimportance of the platform committee's resolution on diversity. "The resolution means nothing," he said. "It's dropping a pin in the middle of a political cyclone."

Mawyer of the Christian Action Network was less tolerant of any wavering. "The First Lady's remarks are highly offensive," he said. "If abortion and homosexual issues do not belong in the Republican Party platform, then the religious right does not belong in the Republican Party."

"I suspect that Mrs. Bush's statement was engineered by the mod-



GOP committeeman Richard Rosenbaum of New York, a leader of moderate Republicans, holds a platform "plank" Tuesday at a Houston news conference.

erate to liberal elements of the Republican Party," he said, according to Reuters news service.

The abortion and social issues were not the only areas where the Bush campaign has been sending mixed messages. Tactically, the Bush campaign has issued stinging

"They're throwing a rhetorical bone to the moderates."

—Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition

statements about Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, and then tried various ways to suggest it did not quite mean to do what the campaign did, but only after the statements were in circulation.

For example, top Bush campaign official Mary Matalin quoted a Clinton campaign aide referring to

"bimbo eruptions." The president first said that this part of Matalin's statement was inappropriate, but then warmly endorsed Matalin's efforts to raise doubts about Clinton.

Charles Black, a key Bush adviser here, explained that the president was pleased with all that Matalin had done except for one part of the statement "that crossed the line," meaning the reference to Arkansas Gov. Clinton's personal life.

The most extreme case of mixed messages came in response to Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond's attacks on Hillary Clinton. Among other things, Bond cited her past writings and claimed she had compared marriage to slavery.

In an interview published today, the president defended Bond. "I'm not going to back away from that at all," he said.

But in a separate interview, also published today, the First Lady said she did not think Bond's attack on Hillary Clinton was right.

Black said he could not explain the difference in view, because he was not privy to conversations between the president and Mrs. Bush. But he defended the idea that the Bush campaign would have to send "different messages to different constituencies" if it wanted to win. Still, he insisted that the campaign was not contradicting itself, but simply using "different issues" to appeal to different groups.

"I do not claim credit for perfectly orchestrating all these things," Black added.

Jim Cicconi, a Washington lawyer who was the Bush campaign's point man in drafting the platform, also insisted that Bush was not sending a mixed message.

"The party has a very firm position and the president has a very firm position on abortion, and that has not changed one iota," he said.

... the welcome ...
... squares the bulk of our beliefs.
... order words, the president will seek votes wherever he can find them.

MEDIA

Sex, Abortion and Hypocrisy

It's as if a country long obsessed with sex suddenly has a headache. A reporter asks the president in the Oval Office if he'd ever had an affair: the First Lady refers to a "fling" on the part of the Democratic nominee. Zzzzzzz... Not tonight, honey. Stories that once sent a frisson of excitement through the body politic have become missionary-style dull. Even disgust with the prying press hasn't really caught fire this time, though it's not for lack of trying by the Republicans. Voters care about private affairs, all right, their *own* private affairs, like whether they have a job or can get an abortion.

This year's unmistakable consensus is for privacy—to let both candidates and women do largely what they want with their bodies. A NEWSWEEK Poll shows 85 percent think the press should drop the entire infidelity question and that it's "not a serious issue"—for either candidate. The pro-choice position is now overwhelmingly supported even by delegates to the GOP convention. And so it was hardly a coincidence that an opportunistic political animal named Barbara Bush chose last week not only to sound off about sleaze-mongering but to express her pro-choice opinions publicly for the first time ever. It was as if she had winked: just kidding. Forget my husband's litmus tests and platform promises. He's really the same old George—the one they used to call "Rubbers" in the 1960s for supporting family planning.

The president's cynical calculation is that the advantages of softening his stand on abortion outweigh the disadvantages of being exposed as a hypocrite. The result is a peculiar political inversion: Bill Clinton and Al Gore say they oppose abortion personally, but accept the right of others to choose; George Bush and Dan Quayle say they accept abortion personally—when it applies to their families—but oppose the right of others to choose. Even though the latter argument is logically preposterous, the press is unlikely to drive home that point, because it would be seen as piling on Bush, who is now poised for some positive treatment. Why's that? One word: guilt. It's critical to understanding the rhythms of media coverage.

During the spring, for instance, when Clinton spent weeks on the press rack (and not just over Gennifer

Flowers), the Democrats successfully conveyed the idea that their man was being savaged and George Bush was getting off easy. The argument worked. Last week many reporters ran with the nifty story on Bush's alleged Swiss trust in order to "level the playing field." The explicit attacks on Clinton's morals or Bush surrogates like Rep. Bob Dornan and Mary Malabon gave them another excuse for the story. Campaigning on "family values" is just asking for trouble. After all, people in glass houses shouldn't send taxes, but contrary to GOP accounts, the Democrats didn't mean the sex story. They just fertilized the soil that allowed it to grow.

Finally it's the GOP's turn to guilt-trip the press. Baker, the all-time champion media manipulator, is already using his considerable charm to convince reporters that they've been unfair to the president. To

prove him wrong, many will be tempted to write nicer stories. Actually, there hasn't been an unfair number of negative stories on Bush, the pseudoscientific studies by media analyst Robert Lichter and others notwithstanding. Turning his blundering political campaign into a "positive" story—now, *that* would be biased.

Bashing strategy: Quayle and some dyspeptic Bush operatives have taken to charging that the press is not only sleazy but in Clinton's pocket. This reflects how Republicans have historically differed from Democrats over the issue of press-bashing. Democrats, who are more culturally at ease with reporters, believe that attacking the press will only cause resentment and more bad stories. Republicans prefer a good cop/bad cop approach: in this case, Baker strokes 'em and Quayle chokes 'em. The bashing strategy, which extends back at least to the 1964 GOP convention (where delegates booed reporters) both energizes the party's media-loathing base and increases the pressure on conservative newspaper publishers to make their own journalists feel guilty.

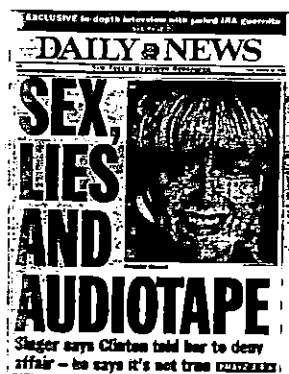
Given last spring's barrage of thinly sourced anti-Clinton stories from Arkansas, it will be hard for the Bush campaign to argue convincingly that

Clinton has had a free ride. But the Democratic nominee will start taking more hits soon, if for no other reason than that the press, after a month of peddling the same analysis, needs a new story line to keep life interesting.

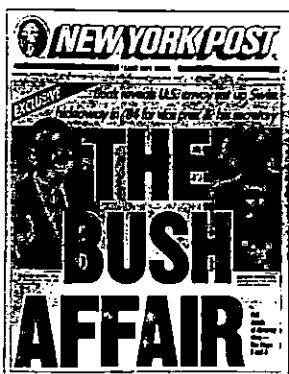
It's always possible that fresh adultery charges could fill that bill. But the story would have to be especially kinky or current. Old infidelities may be going the way of divorce as a significant force in American politics. If Clinton wins, the issue is dead. If Bush comes back, it will be for reasons other than a monogamous sex life. That means that next time around, sex may still sell, but it won't loom over the process, determining which campaigns prosper or perish. Then, more relevant "character" issues may get their day. With any luck, hypocrisy will be the adultery of the '90s.



The consensus is for privacy—letting candidates and women do what they want with their bodies



The anti-Clinton barrage



The 'leveled playing field'

BY JONATHAN ALTER

INTERVIEW

A Conversation With the President

As he prepared for the Republican convention, President George Bush met with NEWSWEEK's Ann McDaniel and Tom DeFrank to discuss what he has called a "screwy" campaign year. Sitting behind the desk in the Oval Office, he gulped down grapefruit juice and occasionally glanced at a laminated card his staff had made listing the accomplishments of his first term. Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: Mr. President, at least for the moment voters seem to have turned on you. Do you think that's so, and if so, why?

They're likely to learn about our accomplishments. And I think they're likely to learn about what I want to do in the next four years to build on these accomplishments: the emphasis being on education, the emphasis being on doing better to make these neighborhoods safer, winning the anticrime battle, pointing out the progress we've made, incidentally, on drugs. We've gone further on that. I put health care up there as important. And I don't think people realize we have a health-care plan.

You told NBC that if your grand-

daughter chose to have an abortion, you would love her and... I would love her.

If they worked harder to reduce the number of abortions, but supported your granddaughter's right to choose, wouldn't they be saying exactly the same thing you're saying?

Well, it's too hypothetical. I mean, if they support it, I'm not saying my granddaughter has a right to choose. I'm saying if she makes the choice, I'm going to love her and help her and care for her and hold her close to my heart. That's what I'm saying. They're trying to distort that to make my position is well known on abortion. It hasn't changed. But you asked me about a family member who had to face a problem of that kind.

People respect your willingness to support a daughter or a granddaughter who had an abortion, your tolerance if a friend or family member told you they were gay. And yet the Republican platform opposes abortion and gay rights. Isn't it understandable that people would be confused about what you honestly believe?

If my daughter committed a crime was involved in a robbery—I used that example yesterday—I would support her. That doesn't mean I'd condone her committing that crime of robbery. I think there's quite a distinction there. I mean, you see—I don't see this disconnect.

Do you think you and your staff underestimated Bill Clinton?

No. I see him as a formidable opponent.

It sounds like you're reconciled to a fairly tough and maybe even mean, bitter fall campaign.

I don't think it has to be particularly mean, but I'll be darned if I'm going to sit back and do what I've been doing for the last six months.

You are the perennial optimist, but have you contemplated the possibility that you just might lose?

No. Somebody else asked me that and I literally have not. Maybe it's just my chemistry; I don't think that way. I don't do that in sports and I don't do that in real life, and I damn sure don't do it in politics. I just never functioned that way. And, certainly you don't do it before the game starts and this one hasn't started. This one has not begun.



'There's evidence that there's frustration with me. But I'm going to turn that around.'



RICK BOWMER—AP

Battle lines: Pro-choice activists prepare for confrontations in Houston

BUSH: No question of it. And I think it's the economy.

They're not frustrated with you, they're frustrated with the economy?

I think there's a fair amount of evidence that there's frustration with me. But I'm going to turn that around.

What are the voters likely to learn about you in the next three months that they haven't learned in the past 12 years?

daughter chose to have an abortion, you would love her and...

I would love her.

Pro-choice activists would say that they aren't pro-abortion, they're not encouraging people to have abortions. They simply want women to have the right to make the final choice.

Well, I've heard them say that, but I don't see them demonstrating against the 1,500,000 abortions every year. I don't see them ranting against

Cont.

INTERVIEW

'Abortion Is a Personal Choice'



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

At odds with the Republican platform: The First Lady in Kennebunkport

In an interview with *NEWSWEEK* and two other news magazines, Barbara Bush was quick to angrily defend her husband against press accounts of marital infidelity:

NEWSWEEK: Character has been made an issue in this race. Is this a reasonable line of inquiry?

MRS. BUSH: Character's an issue if you're talking about cheating, lying, deceiving, maybe not keeping vows—I don't know, those are important things. But you don't come out when there's no proof and you don't smear good men and good women when there's no proof. That's just ugly, and it's not all the news that's fit to print.

Can you tell us about what the president's relationship with Jennifer Fitzgerald was—employer-employee?

Exactly. And she's a good friend of mine. I mean, it's so ugly, the whole thing. And it's been very deceitful and harmful and ugly. I haven't seen Jennifer because she's out of the country, but my heart goes out to her. This is just mean.

Well, Governor Clinton initially talked about a zone of privacy. Does that make sense, that there are just certain things that candidates should not get into?

No. I think if you're a public servant, you're pretty much open to scrutiny. But that is not to say you should repeat lies.

Your husband said he would support a granddaughter who chose to have an abortion even though he wouldn't like it. [Do] you feel the same way?

Oh, absolutely. You know, for us, family means sticking with your family—and friends, I might add—through thick and thin. It's very important. And, of course, we would. I mean, there would be no question about that.

Isn't that the same as saying that you respect in your family and friends their right to make the decision in the end, that you have personal views about abortion, they're very strong and that you hold them dear to you, but, in fact, you do respect your family...

If my child broke a law, which this would not be breaking, but if my child broke a law, that doesn't mean I condoned it. But I would certainly put my arms around her and hug her and love her and care for her. And I believe George said he would counsel the child. But, you know, you can't pin a child down and say you can't have an abortion; that's against the law.

But that's essentially what Marilyn Quayle said she would do.

Well, she does it differently; that's all. I mean, that is what's big about our party. You can't do that. I don't think you can—but I can't say to a 21-year-old or 18-year-old child, "you — I mean, that doesn't work that way. It's against the law.

But the party itself would have it that way.

Well, not me. I think you support your family over everything. I mean, you don't always like—I might add, it's a two-way street in our family. They support us. They're very good about that. Our friends have supported us. They may not always like what we do, but they've been there. That's what the family is: it's being there.

So do you think the [Republican] platform is wrong [on the abortion issue]?

No. I'm saying...

Because you seem to be stepping out here.

No. I haven't seen the platform.

You've never been this outspoken.

I'm not being outspoken on pro or con abortion. I'm saying abortion should not be in there, either pro or con. I mean, I have friends who are pro-Bush, pro-choice. I have friends that are pro-life, pro-Bush. That's right. I mean, that's the way it should be, I think...

And fine you're pro-choice. I understand that. And great you're pro-life. I understand that, too. And I know that you can argue yourself blue in the face and you're not going to change each other's mind. And it's a waste of your time and my time to try to change minds. People feel very strongly both ways.

So issues of abortion or homosexuality, those kinds of issues are issues of personal preference...

Indeed they are.

... are issues that a family should decide and a government doesn't.

... I think that's—it's a personal choice is what I'm saying, personal thing. The personal thing should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms at conventions.

Are you pro-choice?

That's none of your business. But when I run for office, I'll tell you first thing. But do I agree with my husband? Yes.



'I haven't seen Jennifer, she's out of the country. But my heart goes out to her. This is just mean.'

8-17-93

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Barbara and the Right

HOUSTON—At the Friday morning meeting of President Bush's convention staff, senior political adviser Charlie Black expressed relief that Barbara Bush had chosen to come out of the closet as pro-choice on abortion only after the most conservative Republican platform ever had been locked up.

Antiabortion activists suspect that the First Lady publicly espoused the position of abortion-rights Republicans—that the GOP platform ignore the issue—in order to calm the party's angry pro-choicers. Whether or not it was Mrs. Bush's goal, her outburst came as a shock to her husband's political counselors. Black was blindsided Thursday night when a television interviewer asked him about her statement.

The hard truth is that Barbara Bush, for all her popularity as a mother figure, is irrelevant to the internal dynamics of the president's comeback attempt and the future of the GOP. Republicans are not going to lurch leftward to the middle because Bill Clinton and Al Gore paint themselves as centrists.

There is no ideological warfare between the campaign and the Republican right, because the president's team has chosen not to fight such a self-defeating struggle. The return to the White House of James A. Baker III, once abhorred by conservatives as the high priest of pragmatism, was welcomed by the right, because he would bring order and discipline to the campaign without plowing new ideological ground.

The abortion question shows how much the GOP has become the party of the right. Whatever errant thoughts of softening the pro-life stand might have been entertained by Bush strategists over the past four years, they have come to understand that antiabortion activism is now integrated into the GOP's nervous system.

Most pro-choice Republican politicians realize there is no sense in fighting this reality. Maine Gov. Jock McKernan decided to not come to Houston last week to use his seat on the Platform Committee to lead the pro-choice cause. McKernan, along with Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, agreed to a watery resolution devised by Black that called for all parties in the dispute to back the ticket.

What, then, was Barbara Bush up to? "This is her last campaign," one of her husband's aides told us, "and I think she wants to have her say about what should be said." Actually, she is reported by campaign insiders to be far more upset about Republican National Chairman Rich Bond's attack on Hillary Clinton than about the platform's abortion clause. She delivered a scorching Washington-to-Houston telephone rebuke to Bond, whom she has known since his early twenties.

But if the president is to be re-elected, his campaign cannot possibly please old-fashioned Republicans of the first lady's social class and generation. The arbiter of how moderates Bush and Baker will seek to retain power will not be Mrs. Bush but that remarkable platform.

This document was not sneaked in at the last minute by a right-wing cabal. On the contrary, it has been in preparation for months under the direction of somebody from the heart of the Bush administration official family: William Gribbin, Vice President Dan Quayle's legislative aide, who has been involved in drafting increasingly conservative platforms starting in 1980.

Beyond its abortion language, scarcely a page of the 1992 edition fails to leap to the right of Bush policy: oil drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf, no homosexual marriages or adoptions, implicit abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts and

even a "structure" to stop illegal Mexican immigration. "George Bush won all the primaries, but Pat Buchanan could have claimed that he won the platform," a Bush platform aide told us.

But from Bush's high command comes not one hostile word. His campaign aides, many personally pro-choice and generally moderate, are delighted. They believe that only an aggressively rightist tone can mobilize the conservative base and prod Clinton-Gore into attacks on them that undermine the Democratic ticket's centrist pretensions.

Whether Bush wins or not, the Republican future points to the right. While it is fashionable to say nobody reads platforms, the document will not go away. "Looking toward 1996," platform-drafter Gribbin told us, "it will sit on the tummy of the Republican Party like an undigested meal." It surely will outlast Barbara Bush's sentiments.

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The President and Choice

AS THE REPUBLICAN National Convention gets underway there is a peculiar effort being made to separate President Bush from the more controversial and potentially costly part of his handiwork of the past four years. We are not thinking so much of the I-was-a-helpless-victim-of-Congress line of argument as the attempt to suggest that *personally*, somehow, the president either didn't know what was going on or doesn't himself feel too comfortable with it or is married to a fine woman who doesn't like some of it herself one little bit. The point is not whether any of this is true, but rather why it should even matter if it is.

We are thinking of the abortion rights question. For reasons that elude us, last week saw a considerable stir over whether the First Lady doesn't object to the harsh and uncompromising Republican platform position on abortion, whether she mightn't secretly be pro-choice, whether her views on these things and a few tangentially related matters aren't more aligned with those of the complaining moderate Republicans than with those formally adopted by the party and by her husband. The inference seems to be here, just as it is in the case of Mr. Bush's unremarkable observation that he would continue to love and stand by a grandchild who had an abortion, that the hinted at true feelings of the president and Mrs. Bush mitigate in some respect the reality of what he has caused to be done in office and what he publicly professes his position to be.

But there is a kind of misplaced and even pitiful regalism to all this, a sense that it should be gratifying to the loyal subjects to know that those in high places have a measure of sympathy for their feelings—never mind how the public policy part that actually affects them comes out. This is the same approach that asks us to be moved by the assertion

that a politician doesn't approve of what is being done by his agents and in his behalf. Who cares? The reality is the reality, and the reality on the abortion issue, the record that exists, is unambiguous. The president, declaring an impassioned and profound antiabortion conviction, has lost no opportunity during the past four years to seek further ways to close off the avenue of choice to American women. Whether to prove his commitment to the right or because he in fact is sincere, he has behaved like a zealot on the issue. He allowed his administration to give practically nothing to relieve the harsh effects of the Rust decision, which inhibited the freedom of medical personnel to discuss abortion with patients. He went out of his way—far out of his way—to prevent the District of Columbia from using locally raised taxes to pay for abortions of any kind or for any reason for indigent women. On this issue, at least, his position and his will to enforce it have been clear.

Whatever little hints and winks and whispers are being conveyed in the Bush family's name on the abortion choice question—it is even being asserted that it is really open-minded and generous of the president to "let" a pro-choice person such as Labor Secretary Lynn Martin nominate him!—the people who are opposed to his view and his record on abortion cannot possibly be satisfied with them. It means nothing that in and around the White House there are confidants and subordinates of George Bush who are sorry or disappointed or ambivalent themselves concerning what he has helped to bring about in the past four years and what he could be counted on to pursue in a second term. It insults their own seriousness and sincerity to suggest otherwise or to play around with their feelings. On this issue the record of the past four years could hardly be clearer.

No Choice, or Voice

What political sense does it make for the Republican National Convention in Houston to accept, as it will in a few hours, such a merciless platform position on abortion?

Notwithstanding a little last-minute bow to contrary views, the platform replays the G.O.P.'s harsh past positions. For instance, "We believe the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed." In other words, if there's a choice between saving the fetus or the mother, the mother must die.

Not many Americans oppose abortion to that extreme extent. Among delegates to the Democratic Convention, only 3 percent do. Even among Republican delegates, according to a CBS News poll, the figure is only 7 percent. Republicans generally, like the public generally, could converge on this abortion policy: permit but discourage.

So to repeat, what political sense does it make for the Republicans to ram through such a harsh position on abortion? Still worse, what political sense does it make to do so without even letting the convention hear moderate, mainstream voices make their case? Today's platform proceedings offer the Republicans a last chance to demonstrate, with the country watching, fairness.

When it comes to free expression on abortion, the Republicans have no patent on manipulation. The Democrats acted even more crudely in New York last month. They were so devoted to freedom of choice that they buried freedom of speech, refusing to allow Gov. Robert Casey of Pennsylvania to

voice anti-abortion sentiments at their convention.

Their behavior was, at least, marked by consistency of opinion; they stand clearly for choice. President Bush and the Republican leaders, however, are lunging in several directions at once.

The President, who favors a constitutional amendment to ban abortion, would, as a grandfather, support a granddaughter who chose to have one. One day, Barbara Bush says abortion is "a personal thing" that should be left out of platforms and conventions. The next day, her husband shops shamelessly for the support of the Right to Life Party's 26,000 members in New York.

One likely reason for giving such respect to the right is that Mr. Bush, popularity plummeting, wants to protect his base. If he had agreed to reappraise old platform language, he might have uncorked a destructive explosion. Another possible reason: his fear of being accused anew of turning into President Noodle, especially after wavering on "no new taxes."

But even if the platform represents a principled position, there's no principled explanation for how relentlessly the G.O.P. has bulldozed dissent. Moderates despair over how the platform committee was stacked. When officials heard the subject was choice, they kept Richard Rosenbaum, national committeeman from New York, from meeting with reporters in the headquarters hotel.

Unless there's a sudden turnaround when resolutions committees report today, what Americans will see when they tune in to the Republicans is a party determined to ram ahead — determined to bury choice, and voice.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
INTERVIEW

“ When [abortion] hits home, [Bush and Quayle] show their compassion and love as fathers. I wish they would extend that compassion to all American women.

As a conservative and a believer in individual rights, Goldwater believes—I believe—the government has no place in this decision.

We don't see ourselves as embarrassing the President or damaging the election. We see it as a party-building effort. The party's already divided on this issue. ”

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Mary Dent Crisp

Can She Sell Pro-Choice
to the Republican Party?

BY JEFFERSON MORLEY

WASHINGTON

Mary Dent Crisp is an unlikely hell raiser. A 68-year-old grandmother, she wears pearls, gold earrings and a red, white and blue suit. She entered politics in Phoenix, 30 years ago, as a volunteer and supporter of Barry M. Goldwater. She worked her way up through the ranks of the party to become co-chair of the Republican National Committee from 1977 to 1980. Today, she is spokesperson for the National Republican Coalition for Choice. She and other advocates are pressing for debate on the issue on the floor of the Republican convention in Houston this week. The prospect dismays leaders of President George Bush's embattled reelection campaign, but Crisp is unruffled. "The ball is in their court," she says.

Crisp combines an air of sweet reason with the resolve of a political infighter. She proudly recounts her years of service to the GOP—and her denunciation of the party in 1980 for its abandonment of abortion rights and the equal rights amendment. She is realistic enough to know that the odds will be against the pro-choice forces in Houston but insists, "It would be a mistake not to go for it." Sometimes Crisp even sounds surprised by the ferocity of the struggle she is caught up in. At a speaking appearance in Oklahoma last spring, Crisp had to have security guards posted around the auditorium to prevent disruption by anti-abortion advocates. "Can you imagine?" Crisp says. "It wasn't very pleasant."

Crisp has a BA and an honorary degree from Oberlin College. She is divorced and has three grown children. All around her apartment and office near the White House in Washington are signs of her political education: a silver tea service, a copy of Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Self-Reliance" and a copy of Susan Faludi's "Backlash."



BARBARA RIES / for the Times

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Question: When was the National Republican Coalition for Choice formed?

Answer: About three years ago, it was formed in the wake of Webster. All during the '80s, pro-choice Republicans felt Roe vs. Wade protected a woman's constitutional right to choose, so we didn't have to worry. But after the Supreme Court's Webster decision came down, that changed. Professional young men and women came to me and said, "What can we do?" For the first time they felt the threat of losing a right they had.

Q: The stated intention of overturning Roe vs. Wade was there all along. Did pro-choice Republicans wait too long?

A: There's no question about that. But I think a vacuum was there. Pro-choice Republicans or moderates—whatever you want to call us—never seemed to have the passion and the intensity. The right-wingers knew what they wanted, and they knew how to organize . . . So in precinct after precinct, state party after state party, they just [took over].

Q: President Bush and Vice President Quayle have now both said they would support women in their own families who choose to have an abortion. Yet they also support a constitutional amendment to ban abortion in most circumstances. What do you make of these statements?

A: It's a double standard and it's contradictory. When [the issue] hits home in a personal way, they show their compassion, concern and love as fathers . . . I wish they would extend that compassion to all American women . . . I don't think they understand what they're proposing for the rest of American women. If you think about that, it's really rather tragic.

Person Morley is former Washington editor of the Nation and former associate editor of the New Republic.

Q: Would you say that choice is a family value for the Bushes and the Quayles?

A: But what they've said shows choice is a value they treasure and hold dear, like the rest of us. I don't know how they reconcile or rationalize their position. Or if they do. You'll recall Marilyn Quayle said her daughter would carry that child to term. She was asked who would decide. She said that they—the parents—would. That's the kind of attitude that makes teen-agers so afraid to talk to parents about abortion, and it's what makes parental consent laws so problematic.

Q: Barbara Bush will address the Republican Convention. Is she pro-choice?

A: I never talked to her about it. But from everyone who has talked to her about this issue, people who have known her for years, all say that she is very definitely pro-choice.

Q: Did the White House decide to have her speak because of discontent among Republican women such as yourself?

A: I think they asked Barbara Bush to speak because she is so beloved and so respected. But . . . for women like myself it doesn't change anything. As long as you have a party platform that is anti-choice, litmus tests for judges and no federal funding for poor women, whatever they do in a showcase kind of way is still unacceptable.

Q: What happened on the abortion issue in the GOP platform committee meeting?

A: It was a stacked deck. They went through the motions of giving our pro-choice people a hearing. But even when we offered an exception on rape and incest—the President's position—it was rejected. It was pretty heartless.

Q: Barry Goldwater has written to you that the GOP "will go down in a shambles" if it sticks to its anti-abortion position. How did this come about?

A: Barry called me and said, "I just can't believe where this party is and where the President is on this issue."

Q: Yet Barry Goldwater, in the 1970s, voted the straight anti-abortion line.

A: I think that abortion wasn't the issue that it is today. Since then, a lot of people, particularly the senator, have thought about the issue carefully. Until recently, a lot of members of Congress haven't had to deal with the issue in a real way . . . What the senator said in his letter was touching. He said, "As long as men and women have lived together on this earth there has been abortion." . . . As a conservative and a believer in individual rights, he believes—and I believe—that the government has no place in this decision. And the party has no business having this position in its platform.

Q: Let me read you something George Bush said in 1970, when he was running for the Senate in Texas. The question was, "Do you favor legalizing abortion?" Bush's answer was, "This is a complicated area. I do not favor a federal abortion law. It seems to me that this is a matter for the individual states to decide. I personally feel that women should have the freedom to choose or not choose abortion, and that it should always be done by competent medical personnel."

A: Bravo. Isn't that amazing? (Laughs)

Q: Why has he changed his mind?

A: Political expediency, I think. He would never have become the vice presidential candidate with Reagan. I remember at that convention, in 1980, when George Bush came on at like 12 or 12:30, something like that, in the morning, and he looked disheveled, like he'd been moving around his room restlessly. I remember vividly, he said he would support the Republican platform 100%. That was a sellout.

I was hoping, like a lot of us, that, come 1988, when he was elected President, that he wouldn't follow that legacy, that he could be his own person. After all, he was President. Why not? But he didn't choose to do that. I guess he felt so beholden to this hard-core right-wing—they delivered the money and they delivered the votes.

Q: What do you hope to accomplish in Houston?

A: To have a vote on the floor of the convention. We've been asking since January for the party leadership to allow a vote—a debate and vote. Let the delegates decide on this critical issue. The President could maintain his convictions on the issue, but release the delegates to have an open debate and decide on it. The perception of the public would be so different if the party was literally open.

Q: What happened in Salt Lake City?

A: Salt Lake City was the regional platform hearing, which included the issue of choice. And they chose Salt Lake City, Utah—Utah has one of the harshest and most restrictive anti-abortion laws in this country. They chose Memorial Day weekend. There were four witnesses on both sides of the issue, and we each had three minutes. So a total of about an hour. For this powerful issue, this central issue. That's the only testimony that was granted anywhere.

Q: How do you respond to the argument, "Look Mary, the President has a difficult election. This is no time to be dividing the Republican Party. We need to focus on November, not on our personal issues"?

A: We don't see ourselves as embarrassing the President or damaging the election. We see it as a party-building effort. The party's already divided on this issue.

Q: How are you going to do it in Houston? Under parliamentary procedure you need to get a majority of six delegations to suspend the rules. Can you get a majority of six delegations?

A: That's a possibility. I think we have a good shot at that. I think one of the things that's going to be difficult is . . . a lot of the pro-choice delegates this time are going to be subject to silencing. It would be better from [the Bush campaign] standpoint to have no dissent, no freedom of expression. Because we disagree on an issue they say that we are disloyal. A party that's so closed, so afraid of dissent is really an embarrassment.

Q: Couldn't a debate over abortion help the President?

A: We think it can. You're talking to the American public, which is predominantly pro-choice, the majority of Republicans are pro-choice. These are the voters out there. What comes out of that convention, the platform itself, the issue

of choice is not the perception of that people have of the party. They would say, "My gosh, the party really is open, the party is moving."

I was out in California during the primaries, and I couldn't believe the numbers of main-stream Republicans who said they were not going to pull the lever for George Bush.

Q: You think the abortion issue, a choice issue, was a factor in that?

A: Very definitely. I was talking to a group out in Arizona recently. There's no way they're going to vote for the Republicans. It's their lives. It's so invasive they can't even imagine.

Q: People have called this the year of the woman in American politics. It seems many of the prominent women running for the Senate and House are Democrats. What do you think that is?

A: . . . This is another area where the Republican Party really misreads the undercurrent running through America: women because of the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings. It just isn't confined to Democratic women. Republican women truly resented the way Anita Hill was treated.

This issue, I think, we forget sometimes. It transcends party lines. It's not a Democratic issue, a Republican issue, liberal or conservative. You're talking about a woman's fundamental right to choose, and we're talking about the destiny of American women—our daughters, granddaughters, future generation.

Q: It seems clear that if George Bush wants a debate in Houston, it will happen. What would you say to him to persuade him that it's in his interest to have a debate?

A: I think [Bush] could be very presidential if he'd just say, "I'm going to maintain my position on this issue. I have my own personal convictions. But I realize I think maybe this is an issue the party should decide." It would be unprecedented, but it certainly would shake up the American public and shake up the Republican Party. It might really politicize to his advantage.

We're talking not [only] about the presidential election. We're talking about congressional elections, senatorial elections, gubernatorial elections and legislative elections. That's where the party is going to suffer.

■ OUTLOOK

EYE ON THE '90s

Maine business. During the president's trip last week to Kennebunkport, the absence of any serious "recreating," as George Bush would say, at least as far as cameras could detect, constituted a first. For the first time since he took office, Bush



heeded his handlers' advice and did not allow himself to be photographed at play. He has finally been convinced that pictures of him dashing about in his boat, putting up a storm on the golf course or reeling in the big ones might have hurt his image. So look for more coats and ties and fewer short sleeves up in Maine—at least until the election.

No way! At least one group of George Bush supporters doesn't buy the rumor that the president had an extramarital affair: his grandchildren. In an interview last week with *U.S. News* and two other newsmagazines, Barbara Bush revealed that her granddaughter, 15-year-old Noelle Bush, laughed at the idea. "I said, 'That's sort of insulting to your grandfather,'" reported the first lady. Noelle just kept laughing. "Well," said Mrs. Bush, "I guess he looks ancient to her."

Wordwatch. American Heritage Dictionary's first new edition in a decade reveals a lot about what people are thinking. A majority of the 16,000 new words and meanings come from the world of medicine and health, including "wellness" (good physical and mental health), "caffeinism" (a toxic condition... caused by excessive ingestion of coffee) and "immunocompromised" (incapable of developing a normal immune response)—no surprise given America's obsession with health in the age of AIDS.

BY AMY BERNSTEIN

5-17-92

Jenny's mom: Bush-tryst story untrue because my daughter can't stand men

By ERICA BROWNE

The mother of State Department official Jennifer Fitzgerald has denied reports that her daughter had an affair with President Bush — saying Jennifer was so affected by a failed marriage that having an affair with anybody was unlikely.

"She had a very unhappy marriage, and she can't stand men," Frances Patteson-Knight, 86, of McLean, Va., is quoted as saying in this week's People magazine.

She recalls her daughter, now 59 and chief of protocol at the State Department, once confiding: "I've been through so much I couldn't have sex with anybody."

Bush, meanwhile, reacting to reports of the alleged affair, protests in the latest Time magazine: "I think private lives should be off the agenda."

The president, however, concedes there are exceptions: "If you conduct yourself in such a way as to cause diminution of this office on a character question, yes, that should be fair game."

A 1984 Bush-Fitzgerald tryst was described in Susan B. Trento's new book, "The Power House," The Post reported last week.

The account was based on a 1986 interview with late Ambassador Louis Fields, who told Trento's journalist-husband, Joe, that he personally arranged for the then-vice president and Fitzgerald to spend the night alone in a Geneva cottage, and that the situation was so "heavy-handed" it made Fields uncomfortable.

The account was corroborated by Trento colleague Jay Gourley, who told The Post that Fields repeated the remarks to him.

In its current issue, Newsweek casts doubt on the account of the tryst, basing its report on parts of a taped 1988 interview Fields gave to Gourley.

Newsweek quotes Fields telling Gourley, "I hope you will not delve into [the alleged tryst] because obviously I shouldn't have mentioned it to Joe."

"I'm sure the vice president wouldn't say he had anything other than a working relationship with Jennifer. And I can't confirm they do. . . It was just old-maid gossip."

Other quotes on that same tape,



JENNIFER FITZGERALD

Had an unhappy marriage.

however — not included in Newsweek's account — clearly appear to confirm the account he gave to Trento.

At one point Fields says: "After thinking about my conversation with Joe, it would be very damning, because I would be literally one person whose word would have to go up against the vice president and the third person — who would obviously deny it — and it would lead to a donnybrook."

Pressed by Gourley to go on the record, Fields said he would do so only if felt the vice president's private life somehow compromised the "national security."

Will the affair flap affect Bush's re-election campaign? Not according to a Newsweek poll, in which 85 percent of respondents said they don't think the alleged affair is a serious issue.

At least one member of the Bush camp, the president's granddaughter, Noelle, 15, found the charges laughable.

When briefed on the story by her grandmother, she just said, "Come on, Granny. That is so funny," Barbara Bush told U.S. News & World Report.

Reading Between The Lines

BUSHED. IN CONTENT IF NOT IN TONE, THAT SINGLE word best describes the President's performance during his interview with *TIME* last Wednesday morning. As the polls regularly probe the magnitude of his problem, the President demonstrated again that the problem is he. Seated behind a bare desk in the Oval Office, Bush appeared tense and frosty. A combative, feisty session was telegraphed, but the President seemed intellectually spent. Especially during a high-stakes election campaign, a politician on top of his game pursues his own agenda. Old grudges are stewed. Interviews are perceived as opportunities. A case is made as inconvenient questions are ignored. Ask about marital infidelity, for example, and one expects to hear "I'm glad you asked about adultery. It reminds me of my health-care proposals." From Bush, though, it was mostly familiar stuff: a dose of Congress bashing and a litany of old bromides, platitudes and topic sentences devoid of the specificity that undergirds Bill Clinton's appeal.

I have known George Bush for 15 years. He is smart and sharp, a quick study. I have seen him dazzle by sheer force of intellect. But not last week. He spoke coherently, but a close read of his comments considered alongside his record suggests too little defense and only a halfhearted offense. At the end of our session the President invoked his mother's advice: "Do your best, try your hardest." Sadly—and inexplicably, since there is much he can legitimately trumpet—for 40 minutes Bush did neither.

The President explained his political misfortunes with a two-word answer: "The economy." Missing were Bush's now standard insistence that "we're poised for an outstanding recovery" and his usual slam at the media for focusing on "only bad news." The diagnosis was honest, but once again there was no prescription. "I think you've got to look very carefully at where you go from here," said Bush. "I'll be making some proposals regarding the economy that I'm not going to discuss now that I think will take care of it." The last time the President told the nation to "stay tuned" was last fall. In the midst of Pat Buchanan's G.O.P. primary challenge, Bush's aides promised "new approaches" in his State of the Union address. The country waited and then yawned. Little new was offered. Another yawn this fall will send the President to retirement. If he really has "new approaches" up his sleeve, they had better be compelling.

With a glance at a note card, Bush hit the need to compete globally and once again identified education and safe streets as requisites. But once again, no specifics of note. In fact, a brief discussion of drug policy illustrated the President's casual attitude toward domestic issues and the degree to which politics drives policy. During the 1988 campaign, hardly a day passed without Bush decrying the evils of drugs. He knew how to end "this scourge," he said repeatedly: he'd learned "a lot" about the problem at the CIA and as the head of President Reagan's drug-policy task force. What exactly he had learned he reiterated after only five days in office: "The elimination of drugs is going . . . to be successful only if our education is successful. The answer to the problem lies more on solving the demand side of the equation than it does on the supply side—on interdiction or sealing the borders."

But Bush's spending priorities have told a different tale. The polls said Americans favored get-tough measures, and Bush has followed the polls. Funding for the "war against drugs" has doubled, but law enforcement has received more than two-thirds of the \$12 billion spent so far. "In the second term we ought to [emphasize] the demand side," the President told *TIME*—without a hint of embarrassment for having strayed from the course he knew to be right all along.

When the colloquy turned to sex, Bush seemed emphatic: A candidate's private life should be left unexplored—unless bad behavior is flaunted or the public trust is betrayed, concepts the President left teasingly undefined. Good family values

rule out infidelity, but Bush sensed a quagmire (which is how one reads this President when he says, "That's a very good question"). Politicians can be "destroyed" by inquiries into their private lives, he said finally; the rummaging isn't "worth the candle." He gave Bill Clinton a pass, agreeing that questions about his opponent's marriage should be avoided. He said he would fire those on his staff who spoke of Clinton's private troubles. But since Barbara Bush did just that the next day (Clinton "never denied having a fling, did he?" she said), one wonders if the President must now fire his wife.

The government and the re-election campaign of the man who heads it are under new management. As de facto deputy President, Jim Baker can do much, but only Bush can finally convince voters that "four more years" will change their lives for the better. This week's Republican Convention will help; good shows always do. But unless the President conveys new energy and contrives some new plans, he may as well take the fall off and retool his old campaign slogan to read "Ready on Day One to Be a Great Ex-President." ■



Explaining his woes with a terse answer, "the economy," Bush seemed intellectually spent

8-15-92

Should TV Be Carrying Reports of Carryings-On?

By WALTER GOODMAN

When President Bush appears with David Brinkley on ABC tomorrow morning, will he be further provoked by questions about a reported extra-marital affair while he was Vice President? Since a network spokesman offers assurances that no deal has been struck, will Mr. Brinkley voluntarily lay off? And if a rude word is uttered, will Mr. Bush douse this pooh-bah of ABC in the sort of indignation that he has already squirted on mere reporters like Mary Tillotson of CNN and Stone Phillips of NBC?

Mr. Bush's angry rebuffs, echoed by Vice President Dan Quayle and Barbara Bush, should bring a hearty amen from all the commentators who have been predicting that the 1992 campaign would come to this, and worse, even though no member of the President's official or personal family took umbrage when Bill Clinton was subjected to a more strenuous going-over during the primaries.

Who, if anyone, is to blame here? And for what?

Does some blame attach to the network reporters who dared speak

izing, exposing celebrities.

The candidates or their speech writers seem to have learned a thing or two from the success of these shows. Hardly had the Democratic team been nominated than Mr. Clinton was letting the nation in on details of his father's death before little Bill was born and the alcoholic tendencies of his brother, and Al Gore was treating viewers to an account of the near-death of his son and his sister's death from cancer. After those made-for-television confessionals, who will be able to take seriously any future complaints about intrusions on the Democrats' privacy?

One can imagine Republican operatives dredging around for similar hankie-soakers to reward anyone who actually tunes in their convention; the Quayle children and the Bush grandchildren may be at risk. If the latest reports of adultery have any redeeming value, it is that they may inhibit the Republicans from smogging up the screen with familial rectitude this week. They may simply content themselves with putting Mrs. Bush on show. Let the Democrats take a whack at her, in the manner that Republicans are giving it to Hillary Clinton, if they dare.

The high and mighty aren't untouchable in this political season.

the words that were already on the front page of The New York Post? I don't think so. Reporters respond to news; that's the job. If a book is published that says the President of the United States had an affair, it is only natural for them to follow up on it. The network coverage, brief and matter of fact, was by every measure more on the safe side of sensationalism than the coverage of the Clinton-Gennifer Flowers episode.

The well-known self-censorship of journalists regarding the carryings-on of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Dwight D. Eisenhower are not reassuring precedents. Such solicitude to a powerful figure makes one wonder what other facts known within the Beltway are not being passed along to those on the outside whom the reporters are supposed to serve.

If maturity prevailed, the lightly supported account of foolings-around by Mr. Bush, like reports of Mr. Clinton's relations with another woman or other women, or Gary Hart's much advertised liaison might be passed over with a smile or a sigh or a shrug as the nation concentrates on serious matters. No such luck. Mr. Bush must have known that whatever his answer, the tabloids of press and television would play it up for all it was worth, and a lot more. If he needs a target for his outrage, there it is.

But this is old stuff. The new factor in 1992 is the attention being given — emphatically but by no means exclusively by the Republicans — to family values. The candidates are asking for it. When Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle and their hirelings put on their holier-than-thou show for the cameras, it may play to the big audience for religious broadcasting. But there is another, much bigger television audience that gobbles up the dirt on the high and mighty. And they are served night after night by programs whose stock in trade is the inside story or the hard copy glorifying, sentimental-

Pundits on all channels agree that the election is likely to be decided on issues like unemployment and other pains of the recession. These are not without human-interest possibilities for television; but the medium is famously fickle, and the lines at welfare offices and the tales of woe may be losing their appeal.

The absence of a parent, the afflictions of a child, marital strains and a touch of adultery may be required to stir the juices of a television audience turned on by the doings and undoings of Prince Charles and the Princess of Wales. How much more stimulating to hear America's royals anguish over what they would do if a granddaughter or a daughter wanted to have an abortion than to hear them talk about health care.

Quite possibly most people will take entertainment where they can get it and still vote their pocketbooks. But you never know. As voters find relief from wearying and sometimes unfathomable problems in the politics of the soap opera, the democracy of the ballot is in danger of infection by the democracy of the tube.

GEORGE BUSH CONFRONTS A RUMOR

New claims surface about an alleged extramarital affair

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A new book in which a former U.S. ambassador claimed he arranged a tryst for the Vice President and top aide Jennifer Fitzgerald (left, as her photo appeared in *Newsday*) drew an angry denial from Bush.



yle Hauls ARA Before the B

WHEN THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION opens for business this week in Houston, the program promises a climactic, made-for-TV moment as Barbara Bush addresses the GOP faithful in prime time. Her subject is scheduled to be that totem of the Republican campaign—family values—delivered as she is surrounded on the dais by her brood of five children and 12 grandchildren.

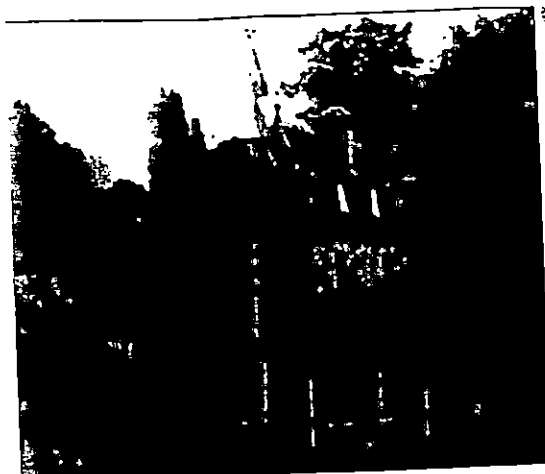
Now, on the eve of this carefully choreographed event, the long taboo question of an alleged First Mistress has reared its ugly head. A

front-page story in the sensationalist tabloid the *New York Post* reported that a new book quotes former U.S. Ambassador Louis Fields as saying that he arranged for then Vice President George Bush and his former appointments secretary Jennifer Fitzgerald to share a private cottage during an official visit to Geneva in 1984. "It became clear [they] were romantically involved," said Fields, according to *The Power House*, a book about influence peddling in the capital written by former congressional aide Susan B. Trento. The ambas-

sador, who retired in 1985 and died of cancer in 1988, was said to have told at least three people that the rendezvous took place when Barbara Bush was out promoting her book about C. Fred, the family dog. Fields said the rendezvous, which had the couple "staying in adjoining bedrooms," was "so heavy-handed" that it made him "very uncomfortable."

Trento says that Fields, a U.S. Ambassador to the Geneva nuclear-disarmament talks, revealed details of the alleged Bush-Fitzgerald rendezvous to her husband, former CNN

➤ The guest house at Château de Bellerive, where the alleged tryst took place, is owned by the Aga Khan's son.



◀ Her 1952 college yearbook entry said "Jef . . . will travel any distance" for a party.

▼ Fitzgerald (center) accompanied Bush (with Sen. John Tower) to a Senate hearing in 1975.



investigative reporter Joseph Trento, in 1986. Joseph Trento said he never reported the story because Fields was fearful of jeopardizing his career and refused to go on record.

When the story broke last week, Fitzgerald, now 59 and deputy chief of protocol in the State Department, was said to be out of the country on business and unreachable for comment. Not so President Bush, who responded sharply when a CNN reporter broached the topic at a news conference in Kennebunkport. "I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that," Bush bristled. "I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie." Fitzgerald's mother, 86-year-old Frances Patteson-Knight of McLean, Va., also denied the reports, which she says have "devas-

tated" Jennifer. "She had a very unhappy marriage, and she can't stand men," says Patteson-Knight, who recalls her daughter once telling her, "I've been through so much. I couldn't have sex with anybody."

The public facts of Fitzgerald's life are sketchy. Her mother, who came from a prominent Boston family, married Brig. Douglas Henry Patteson-Knight, an English military officer. Their British-born daughter attended private schools in Virginia and later Mount Vernon College. In 1955 she married U.S. Army Pvt. Gerald Fitzgerald, but they separated the following year and divorced in 1959. (She subsequently dropped the capitalization of the *g* in her name Fitzgerald.) She later worked for Bush's close friend

and political mentor, former Federal Communications Commission chairman Dean Baren.

In 1974 she was appointed Bush's personal assistant after he was named U.S. envoy to Beijing; it was then, rumors say, that the alleged affair began. When Bush returned in 1975 to head the CIA, Fitzgerald came along as his aide. With the exception of a year in England at the U.S. Embassy, she stayed by the Vice President's side—technically as his appointments assistant but in reality as an all-powerful gatekeeper. Colleagues say she has an extremely tough office style and a fondness for shopping.

When Fitzgerald was transferred from the White House to become Bush's liaison to the Senate in 1985, rumors circulated that it was because their relationship had become a liability to Bush. After Bush became President, Fitzgerald was named to her present job at the State Department. Gossip surfaced again during the 1988 campaign, when the alternative *L.A. Weekly* ran a story naming Fitzgerald as Bush's longtime mistress and quoting an unnamed source that Fitzgerald had spoken openly of the affair. Last May, Hillary Clinton, fuming over stories about her husband's alleged affair with Gennifer Flowers, complained in *Vanity Fair* that everyone knew there was another "Jennifer"—in Bush's life—but that no one was reporting it.

It is true that the controversy surrounding Fitzgerald has not been widely covered. Nonetheless her name is well known to influential people in the capital, and Fitzgerald's run-in with U.S. Customs was a hot topic in 1990. Fitzgerald was fined \$648 for underestimating by \$2,100 the value of a nutria-lined raincoat and a silver-fox cape that she purchased for \$2,400 in Argentina.

The long-term political significance of last week's accusation was unclear. Most Washington analysts agreed that Bush's denial would quell the gossip. Bill Clinton, for one, wasn't gloating over George Bush's distress. "I didn't like it when it was done to me," he said, "and I don't like it when it's done to him."

■ PAULA CHIN

■ CHARLOTTE HINES in Washington, D.C.

ROGER SIMON

The Press Limbo: New Low for the Media

The dance is called The Press Limbo. And the question is: How low can we go?

How low will the press sink in covering this presidential election?

Will we print allegations?

Sure.

Will we print rumors?

You bet.

Will we print allegations of rumors or rumors of allegations?

Yeah. Why the heck not?

It is like wiggling your toes in the mud of a river bank.

You know you shouldn't do it. (It gets you all dirty.) But it feels too good to stop.

Sex is always a good story. And so is the presidency.

And if we could just find a way to combine the two. . . .

Hey, how about this story in the New York Post?

The Post prints a story accusing George Bush of having had sex with Jennifer Fitzgerald, a female aide, in Switzerland in 1984.

The front-page headline says in huge type: "THE BUSH AFFAIR."

The inside headline says: "NEW BOOK: BUSH HAD SWISS TRYST."

But it is only after slogging through the story that you find out that:

- The accusation appears only in a footnote in the book.

- The source of the accusation is

dead.

- The source talked not to the author of the book but to the author's husband.

- The author's husband says he offered the story to CNN in 1986, but CNN was not interested.

- The author's husband says today: "I don't know if George Bush had an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald."

- And all the dead guy allegedly said was that he had arranged "adjoining bedrooms" for Bush and Fitzgerald at a chateau.

Yet this is enough for a CNN reporter to ask Bush in a live press conference:

"There is an extensive series of reports in today's New York Post alleging that a former U.S. ambassador, a man now deceased, had told several persons that he arranged for a sexual tryst involving you and one of your female staffers in Geneva in 1984."

Well, not quite.

There is no "extensive series of reports" in the Post. There is only the one report based on a footnote in a book.

The dead ambassador did not tell "several persons." He allegedly told the author's husband. He allegedly told a second guy, but a third person the Post quotes says the dead guy "did not discuss 'adjoining bedrooms'" with him.

Nor is the allegation that Bush

had an affair with this woman news: On April 6, when Hillary Clinton raised similar allegations of a Bush love affair, I wrote a column detailing the long history of the rumor.

But I also printed that there was no substantiation for the rumor and no participant had ever come for-

How low will the press sink in covering this presidential election? Will we print allegations? Sure. Will we print rumors? You bet. Will we print allegations of rumors or rumors of allegations? Yeah. Why the heck not?

ward to claim that Bush had an affair with her.

Bush was forced to deny (in front of his wife and the prime minister of Israel) that he had a tryst with Fitzgerald.

But his denial does not matter much. In the public mind, Bush is now exactly like Clinton: Both have been accused of fooling around.

Actually, however, the accusations are quite different. In the case of Clinton, a woman came forward saying she had an 11-year affair with Clinton and she provided audiotapes.

In the case of Bush we have a secondhand account from a dead guy who could not possibly have known what happened, if anything, in either of those "adjoining" rooms.

So this story really tells us far more about the press than it tells us about George Bush.

For the prior week, the press had been beating up on a Bush aide because she dared mention how Clinton has had to fight off "bimbo eruptions" throughout his campaign.

The Bush aide was soundly denounced in the press as a sleaze monger.

But how clean does the press look now?

A tabloid that specializes in scandal prints an unconfirmed accusation from a corpse and that is enough to set the rest of us in motion.

And the rest of us don't have to justify what we are doing. We can merely say: "Hey, it was on TV. We've got to write about it."

So back to my original question:

How low can we go?

As low as we want.

Because who's to stop us?

DID HE *Know*?

What a question! A vice president's *job* is to know. As Washington understands the verb. But when it came to George Bush and the Iran-contra affair, nothing was as simple as that

BY RICHARD BEN CRAMER

LANGUAGE, THE FIRST AND MOST BASIC tool of culture, is also its truest mirror. Any culture worthy of consideration will have created language to reflect its special preoccupations. Eskimos, it's said, have a hundred words for snow.

In fact, the power and precision of language is the surest mark of its sway in the world. Gallic pride is engorged, with reason, when speakers of 40 languages turn to French for verbs in the kitchen and nouns in the boudoir. And it is a distinction of undying greatness that half a world may call to God with names invented by a couple of small Levantine tribes.

Alas, it is the surest sign that official Washington remains a pre-cultural swamp that it has not offered mankind any refinement of language to illumine its own constant preoccupation, the basic activity of its single industry, the work of its days and the spice of its nights, which is *knowing*. There are, in the capital, a hundred different ways to know and to be known: there are fine gradations of knowing, wherein the subtlest distinctions are enforced. But to discuss this art and passion, we have only the same bland flapjack of a verb that flops each day onto



our plates, along with the morning paper: To Know.

About this preoccupation there can be no dispute: Knowledge is power, and the capital is a city built on power, which means knowing and being known. But this is more than a business in Washington. It

is life. Only in the bars of Capitol Hill will you hear a normal, healthy young woman responding to the blandishments of her handsome swain with the delighted, breathy question, "You *know* Kerrev?" Only in a half-dozen Washington restaurants can a man's reputation be so quickly

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enhanced (and the object of his knowing so quickly diminished) by the half-bored, half-dismissive assertion: "Oh, I know Jack . . . forget it."

This is knowing in the sense of acquaintance, of *connaissance*, but this is only the most basic way To Know. Large and lucrative careers, great firms filling many marbled floors of fine buildings are built on a combination of *connaissance* and a judicious smatter of knowing in the sense of knowledge, *scientia*, as in facts or familiarity with a branch of government endeavor. "Well, you can go ahead and file the appeal," the consultant-lobbyist says to his speakerphone, "but I know the assistant secretary is no friend to Section 289, so we might want to pursue that avenue at the same time . . ." (Men and women with *scientia* but with-

for his *connaissance* of the oil and gas interests may have no opponent in his next campaign. (Why run against a guy who'll have two million in the bank?) A man who knows the president may get invited to a couple of state dinners. A man who is well known to know the president is himself a new president—of a successful consulting firm.

Then there is another shade of the verb To Know, in the sense of *awareness*. It is about what's going on *right now*, and as such, it is Washington's highest branch of knowledge. Encyclopedic *scientia* on the theory, history and practice of progressive taxation in America is nothing, *less than nothing*, compared to knowing (a week before the vote) Chairman Rostenkowski's bottom line on depreciation of timber assets. One brand of knowing

What did he know, and when did he know it?

And so, there has developed, in Washington, a kind of knowing *without being known to know*, for which there is no word at all. It is a nonoperational, untraceable knowing, which can seldom be proven or disproven. Indeed, its vaguely oriental essence can barely be expressed. It is yin-and-yang, knowing-not-knowing. It is knowing all about the thing without being culpable of knowing the thing itself. All of which brings us to that veteran capital personage, that longtime practitioner of the Washington arts, the most knowing of men, Vice President Bush.

Here was a man whose very job, whose only job, was To Know, as the capital understands the verb. He started early each morning, in his office in the Old Executive

Bush was right, of course, about the president digging them in deeper with the press conference. Don Regan marched the old man out, and he screwed things up to a fare-thee-well.

out *connaissance* tend to pursue less lucrative careers as policy wonks in the agencies, do-good lobbies or think tanks.)

Then there is the matter of being known, which can be more important than knowing. If a Washington man is well known as a man in the know, then his knowing is seldom tested. In fact, it is fed daily by people who come to him to see what he thinks about what they know. This new knowledge is greeted by him with nods (I know, I know . . .) that begin before the other person has finished talking. As a result of this, he ends up knowing pretty much what everybody else knows, which is usually enough. There are companies or interest groups, officeholders or office-seekers, who will hire him to be their man in the know. He is, after all, well known.

In fact, being well known is a quality as close to a bankable asset as a Washington man can have. It's what talent is in other towns. A politician who is well known as a foe of oil and gas regulation is not going to have trouble raising money for his next campaign. In fact, a man well known

(*scientia*) earns a ratty office and a shared secretary at the Heritage Foundation. The other (*awareness*) brings power, money, fame . . .

But as the highest form of capital-knowing, the quest for awareness is also the most dangerous. Clearly, the lack of this knowing can undermine reputation or power, especially if one's position, or one's *connaissance*, indicates that one *ought to know*. To be unaware, to be Out of the Loop, is allied in the tribal consciousness with impotence, inability, imbecility . . . and ultimately with the fatal affliction of ridiculousness. But there is also, in success, in wide awareness, a danger just as mortal. For this is the brand of knowing that is closest to Eating From the Tree of Knowledge, and can result in expulsion from Eden. When things foul up in a massive way; when The Washington Post, like God, is angry; when committee chairmen vie for jurisdiction of the hearings that will make them well known as the scourge of evil-doing, then this is the knowing implied in the most portentous of capital questions:

Office Building, getting to know someone or something over breakfast, which might last for only 15 or 20 minutes, and always ended in time for the veep to receive the little man with the briefcase, the gnome from the CIA who appeared each day at 8 a.m., to offer the agency's knowledge, its awareness, not as a vice presidential perk, but as a courtesy, a tip of the old school cap, to the former director, Mr. George Bush, who liked to know what his old shop had been doing for the last 24 hours; and when that was finished, he was off across the driveway to the West Wing, to the Oval Office, there to sit in on the president's chief of staff briefing and his national security briefing, to sit in not because the president wanted or would seek his opinion, not because the briefings would offer material on which he'd work, that day or ever, but simply To Know, which, after all, was the point; and when those briefings were over, Bush began his formal work for the day, getting to know and to know about some federal or local officials who'd convened en bloc in the capital, or sitting in with the president to re-

did they know, and when did they know it? By the time the governors came to town and Bush was to host his night at the movies, nothing seemed much fun. Kean could tell right away when he got to the residence: Bush wasn't happy. He was alternately pensive and snappish. He couldn't concentrate on what anybody said. Of course, Kean knew Bush from politics, and had for almost 15 years. ever since Richard Nixon made Bush the national GOP chairman. But Kean and Bush had also known one another in the ways that children of good families know one another. Kean's sister had met young Poppy in Connecticut. Kean's father had served with Prescott Bush in Congress. In the early years of the century, their grandfathers were classmates at a private college in New Jersey. So Kean had more than politics in mind when he took Bush aside to

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20 or 30 people he knew, gathered for
activity and no heavy talk—the VP al-
ways enjoyed. He'd have them out to the
house for drinks before the film. Perfect!
Then he could pick off two or three, take
them off to his study for a moment—no
arm-twisting, nothing like that—just a
friendly word or two . . .

"Well, I feel we're doing all right . . .
"And I hope you could feel, you know,
I'm qualified . . .

"If you could help . . ."

It always worked like a charm. After
all he'd done for them, now he was ask-
ing, so intimately, gently . . . it was so re-
spectful and decent. If it came to arm-
twisting later, well . . . Lee Atwater did
the heavy lifting with the southerners.
Andy Card was working on Governor
Sunnunu from New Hampshire. Bush's
friend, Nick Brady, went back a long way
with Governor Tom Kean in New Jersey.

to be president, today, should disaster strike. At the same time, his political understanding, his sole shield against the dread and fatal ridiculousness of the job, depended on his ability to enhance the pre-conscious awareness . . . and yet . . . and yet . . . He could not know, could not afford to know, in the full operational sense of the word, anything beyond what the administration was known to know, or anything different from what the administration Officially knew, or anything that put the lie to any of the fond and rosy myths that swaddled, like a blessed baby, the mind of the most know-nothing president in the capital's known history.

The well-fed, well-pleased men with pink jowls
and red ties were chuckling about him over lunch
at Joe & Mo's. . . Oh, I know George—nice guy,
but Dole could eat him for breakfast;

fact, Dean appointed Brady to the Senate, to fill out an unexpired term, so it was time to announce: *Herey Bush is leaving! Get on board or be left behind . . .*

that?

Now what could they possibly mean by

Did George Bush know?

What came out this way:

... that meaty tiptack, always with a ques-

tion with the blunt tool at hand, the eagle

... it was sought

... thousands times, or a thousand or two

... and an answer was sought—

... wanted a simple, supposedly simple fact—

... and millions of Americans eagerly

and reinforce his acquaintance with the President of Laos or the foreign minister of Malaysia, or setting off to meet and to know the officers and enterprise of the nation's first oil-stack-clean coal power plant, or returning to his office for an international briefing on the federal narcotics interdiction effort, or sitting down at his desk to work through the report on . . . no matter . . . Every meeting, every

BUSH

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ask: "What's wrong? You just don't seem yourself."

Now, this thing with Iran, Bush said, when they got a chance to talk alone. But he'd gone to bed. The old, rambling house was silent, save for the quiet voices in the study.

"I don't know what the hell happened," Bush said, "and neither does the president. But they're gonna put him out there tomorrow for a news conference . . . They'll kill him out there!"

Just the thought of it . . . Bush couldn't sit still in his chair. He felt so helpless. And it was his ass out there on the line! Reagan wasn't running again. If the whole second term sank into this Iran swamp, Reagan was still going back to his ranch and horses. It was Bush whose future was ruined. Of course, that's not how he said it. He wouldn't even think that way. No, it was the price of being Poppy that his first thought, in fact, all his concern, had to tend to the rescue of "this good man, who has become my friend." Ronald Reagan. The code left no options. When the deal came unglued and the papers started digging up the whole sad tale, Bush didn't call any meetings, didn't take polls, didn't even talk to his political guys. There was only one thing he could do: stand by his friend. Anything else . . . well, it'd be like rattling on a school chum.

But he could help, if they'd give him a chance. He knew something about this, sure as hell knew more than the president. Reagan didn't see what all the fuss was, thought he'd just go out there and say what he'd done. He didn't understand! That's why Bush went into the Oval Office that day—did what he'd almost never done in six long years. He went to the mat on this: went to the president to tell him to back off—just for a few days! Just until they knew what the facts were, what they were supposed to be. This was a covert operation! Shouldn't be coming out like this! George Bush had joined his first secret society at age 14. He'd been keeping secrets ever since, been director of the CIA! He knew this stuff in his bones! Just back off, till everybody knew what they were supposed to know, what it was they could admit they knew.

But they brushed him off like a fly . . . Reagan, Ed Meese, Don Regan. Bush talked into the president's face in a way he never had . . . but Reagan simply couldn't understand. Meese thought the Gipper could just deny it—make it all go away in front of the cameras. Reagan was only interested in his own reputation—wanted the world to know it wasn't him who dropped the ball. Bush had gone at all of them, spent the capital of loyalty he'd

been hoarding for six years, and got nowhere. It was incredible.

Wednesday, last of Regan's term, Bush said that night, "Believe me, I went out there . . . as hard as I could."

HE KNEW REAGAN WAS GOING TO DIG them a deeper line. Bush knew what the president was going to say out there. Craig Fuller's wife, Karen, helped Pat Buchanan get the statement together. And Bush knew some of it was plain wrong, dangerously wrong. That business about the arms fitting into one cargo plane—dead wrong. Bush had taken a private meeting (at Ollie North's request) with the Israeli middleman who started the whole deal rolling. He knew they were talking about more than one plane-load, as he knew they were dealing with the genuine fanatics at the right hand of Khomeini. He never bought that "moderates" fantasy.

In fact, there were many things that George Bush knew that later emerged in the confluence of revelation that came to be known as Iran-contra. He knew, for starters, the administration shipped arms to Iran. In fact, he was for it, in a quiet, barely traceable way, not because he thought it would work, but it might . . . *and the president was for it.* He knew that if the deal went down as hoped ("planned" was too grand a word), the U.S. hostages would all come home. He knew Bud McFarlane, Ollie North and John Poindexter were running the show. He knew the Israelis had started the whole deal, were in it up to their eyeballs, in it for their own reasons, not necessarily those of the U.S. And he knew the president didn't quite grasp the details of the operation.

On the contra side of the ledger, he had also come to awareness of most of the pertinent facts. He knew Ollie North was a cowboy. He knew Ollie was shaking every tree in the forest for money for the contras. (In fact, he was going to speak at one of North's fund-raisers, and backed off only when his staff counsel warned him he might get into trouble.) He knew—in fact, his was the first office in the White House to learn—a former CIA op named Eugene Hasenfus was shot down while flying aid to the contras. He knew Hasenfus was not the only demispook running around on this secret, airborne, aid-the-contras operation.

In short, George Bush had come in contact, by various means, at various times, with nearly every salient fact that later emerged in *The Post*. But that did not mean he ever put them together. Why would he, when all he had to know, the only thing he could afford to know, was that the president was for them? Why should he commit the act of overtly in-

forming himself, when none of these matters was *on his plate* and so, by a mental act of knowing-not-knowing, I understand, no Washington would be able to determine, could not be shown to have been formed, of the scandal itself. As he later pointed out, he was *out of the loop*. He was incapable of knowing anything.

That he was culpable of, on the great historical scoreboard, at least, was of reducing his art of Washington knowing to the end, to the exclusion of all else. George Bush was aware that the U.S. was shipping arms to Iran, and he did not say a word to certain the deal. George Bush was aware they were secretly shipping aid to the contras, and he did not say a word. The only time he went to the mat, spent his capital to affect the flow of events, was after the fact, when the only issue was what should come out and when, what they were allowed to admit awareness of, what they were going to be culpable of knowing. That's when he went in *as hard as he could* . . . But, of course, no one outside the White House knew that. They were only asking a question that meant nothing: Did Bush know?

HE WAS RIGHT, OF COURSE, ABOUT THE president digging them in deeper with the press conference, the following day. Don Regan marched the old man out, and he screwed things up to a fare-thee-well. First, Reagan denied the deal was arms for hostages—when no one in the country believed that anymore. Then he denied the U.S. had anything to do with Israel's shipments—when Regan (as reporters pointed out) had already admitted that the U.S. condoned an Israeli shipment in September of '85. Then Reagan said there were no mistakes in the deal with Iran—they'd got three hostages back and he'd continue on the same path.

It was chaos! The spokesman, Larry Speakes, had to put out a "statement from the president" within 20 minutes to correct the stuff about Israel. Don Regan was back in the Blue Room, pounding the table and swearing he wasn't gonna be hung out in the wind as the leaker on this. Goddammit, he was gonna hold his own press conference! Poindexter wrote the correction and put in the same lies about everything fitting into one cargo plane. After that performance, seven out of 10 Americans said they didn't believe Ronald Reagan anymore.

Sure enough, Bush saw the ship sinking around his ears, and there wasn't a damn thing he could do to patch the hull. He had his own small staff in an uproar, trying to do what the whole West Wing couldn't or wouldn't do: "Just get the goddam facts," Bush said. He took Craig Fuller off other business—what other business was there now?—to get to Ollie North and find out

what the hell happened. He pulled Boyden Gray, his counsel, off the next big speech, the address to the American Enterprise Institute, to find out whether any laws were broken. He told his national security man, Don Gregg, to find out what happened in Iran. Facts, he wanted. And he wanted them now. So, for days they ran around like fevered gerbils, gathering shreds of fact where they could, which they called in the same day, or they sent in memos, mostly to Fuller . . . No one wanted to get in Bush's face when he got like this. Atwater and the politics guys stayed away altogether. Bush was in a state. If he did happen to pick up a phone while they called in, they each, to a man, felt they'd better talk fast. "Yeah. Yeah. What else?" Bush would snap on the other end. They could almost hear his fingers drumming the desk.

And every day or two, reporters would call his press office with another story they were about to unleash. And his press guy, Marlin Fitzwater, would have to walk into Bush's big office and coax a statement out of him. Usually, Bush was at his desk, working through papers, and he'd push back from the desk with a deliberate shove of both hands, and slouch back in his leather chair, with his head down, fiddling with his pen. His eyes would stay on the pen, which he rotated in his fingers, while Fitzwater told him what the Wall Street Journal, or The Post, wanted to know today. And Bush would listen with his head down, quiet, with the air of a man beleaguered, a man who had to stay composed. Then, he'd say to his pen:

"This is so unfair! Don Gregg had *nothing* to do with this."

Or, simply: "Look. The president has asked Ed Meese to find out what the facts are. When we know the facts, we'll make them public."

And then Fitzwater would have to go at it again, until he got a statement he could use.

"So I can say, 'Vice President Bush *was categorically not involved in* . . .'" Fitzwater would look up from his note pad, hoping the veep would finish the sentence. But he'd always have to do it himself. ". . . *'directing or overseeing the contra resupply'*?" . . .

And Bush would say quietly, head down, to his pen, or off to the side, to one of his desk drawers: "Absolutely."

IT WAS THE WEEKEND AFTER THE press conference that Bush got the word: Meese wanted to see him. He waited at the residence for two days. He couldn't even sit still to read the papers. But Meese never showed up. It turned out Meese was closeted with Ollie North, to clean up "the chronology." (That was the

weekend Ollie and Fawn were so busy with the shredder.)

It wasn't till Monday afternoon that Meese finally came by to see Bush, and then only for about 10 minutes, just to drop this bombshell: The money from the Iran deal went to the contras. Swiss bank account. Ollie had the number. Poindexter had to know too. They'd both have to go. There might be others. Meese was going to tell the president that same afternoon.

Bush didn't sleep that night. He came in Tuesday, looking like a man who'd got bad news on his cancer test. His mouth was a grim, lipless line. There was no expression in his eyes, no light of recognition when the staff said good morning, like Bush was looking at his own private blank wall. He had pulled completely within himself. No one had to tell Bush what this meant: a secret trail of money, had to be laws broken somehow, investigations, a special prosecutor, hearings in Congress . . . all they'd done for six years could go down the chute, along with his campaign. It was his ass out there now. They had to do something to curtail the damage. They had to move, and move fast, before this steamroller crushed them . . .

But at the 9 a.m. Oval Office briefing, it was clear the president didn't know what to do. Meese laid out what he knew of the diversion. He said it was all in memos. (Ollie put the damn thing on paper!) Poindexter said he'd known that Ollie was up to something, but no one else did. Regan had already told Poindexter he'd have to go. Regan wanted a commission, some kind of blue-ribbon thing . . . appointed today, announced at a press conference. They had to get out in front of this. But Ronald Reagan wasn't sure . . .

At 9:30, instead of the National Security Council briefing, Poindexter walked in, with his undertaker's face, and told the president he was sorry, he was resigning. Reagan didn't even ask what happened. He just said, "I understand . . ." Then he brightened, and with the brave smile you see at the end of war movies, he added: "But it's in the best tradition of the Navy . . . the captain accepting responsibility . . ." There was a full NSC meeting scheduled after that, so they all went in, except Poindexter. Alton Keel, his deputy, ran the meeting in his stead, and *no one said anything about it*. That's what was driving Bush crazy: They were acting so normal. At the end of the meeting, he ducked back into his West Wing office for a minute, stood at the fireplace mantel, leaned on it like it was holding him up. What the hell was going on? Was he crazy? The ship was going down and they kept on dancing!

Bush said to Fuller: "This is disaster . . . We don't even know who handled the money . . ."

WASHINGTON POST MAGAZINE

Fuller started to tell him what he'd picked up from his friend Al Keel that morning. Total weirdness! Poindexter had some early meeting, so Al ran the normal 7:30 NSC staff meeting. About 8:30, Keel walks into Poindexter's office to brief him on the staff meeting. And Poindexter's sitting there, eating a yogurt at his desk. Keel's reporting, and Poindexter just says, "Uh huh, yeah, uh huh," eating yogurt. Then he says: "By the way, Al, I'm resigning today."

Bush, still with his eyes down, withdrawn into the gloom in his own head, seemed hardly to hear the story.

"I've got to go back," Bush said. "Got the leadership meeting. Jesus. This is the worst."

So he went back to the Cabinet Room for the meeting with the leaders of Congress, and then back again, after the president's noon press conference, for a lunch with Reagan and the Supreme Court, and then to the afternoon National Security Planning Group . . . He walked through the day like the rest of them: reading off the cards in their pockets, going through the schedule, through the motions, acting like the ship was still afloat . . . But he couldn't stop the baneful monologue in his head:

Disaster . . . everything they'd done, the second term, the campaign, George Bush

out there to take the heat, they'll lobber Reagan, he doesn't understand, thinks it's a movie . . . they'll kill him! . . .

By the end of the day, it was screaming in his head. It was surreal, the way no one said anything—like it would all go away if they went to their meetings! Like the Blob That Ate Cleveland didn't exist! By the end of the day, Bush was back in his office, at his desk, his eyes on the blotter, head in his left hand, staring down, not seeing . . .

"It's like they don't realize . . . what's going on," Bush said to the desk.

Fuller said, across the room: "Or that it is going on."

And Bush looked up with his lips white, all the pain apparent now in the long lines of his face.

"Don't they realize what this means?"

WATERGATE . . . WAS THE FIRST THING that flashed through Bob Dole's mind, in the Cabinet Room, at the leadership briefing, when Meese dropped the bomb about the diversion. Dole stopped in at the White House to catch the briefing on his way to the airport. He had to get to Boston, then to Iowa, for the Other Thing . . . plane was waiting.

Meese ran through the tale, said Ollie North did the deal on his own. That fell onto the long, gleaming table with a thud

you could almost hear. The leaders, the speaker, looked at one another in silence. Lieutenant colonels didn't *do* deals on their own. The only thing Reagan agreed was that Poindexter knew about it . . . and so, in the best tradition of the Navy . . . you know, the captain taking responsibility . . .

Reagan didn't understand. There's only one captain in the White House. Only one man could take responsibility . . . *Watergate* . . . Dole remembered his friend Bryce Hariow, in an office just down the hall from this Cabinet Room. Hariow was a Washington sage, an insider, adviser to Nixon, a man Dole looked up to. "That break-in story doesn't have any legs," Hariow said, back in '72. Dole was head of the party, and he wanted to say something, to let people know the Republican Party had nothing to do with Watergate. But Hariow advised him: "It'll fade in two or three days . . ." So Dole didn't make any statements, tried to pass it off with a joke.

Dole sat up at the table now, his eyes shifting from face to face. He was trying to see the whole court. Jim Wright, leader of the House Democrats, was already on that portentous question:

Was this done with knowledge or approval of others?

Who else in the White House knew?

is not -

...and the CIA know?
 Meese was trying to convince him that Ollie was the only one who really knew. Poindexter only knew Ollie was up to something. Israel handled the deal, Meese said. The Israelis thought it up, did the deed without any help...

Dole could see Wright didn't believe it. Who *would* believe it? He looked down the line to Bob Byrd, his colleague, leader of the Senate Democrats. Byrd would have a field day, his legalistic way... hearings, three or four committees... he'd *never* let it go, the whole next Congress, it'd eat up the session, the whole campaign, the Other Thing, '38... Maybe Reagan thought they'd help him, put it behind, move on. But Reagan didn't understand. Byrd always spoke with the air of the statesman, but don't get in a dark alley with him... Hell, he was trying to take Dole's office. Trying to throw his whole staff out! One of Byrd's guys took Dole on a tour, to show him the "new rooms" his staff might use. They were coal bins! Walked Dole down into the basement, took him through rooms he wouldn't take his dog in... unless it was raining, or cold, dog wouldn't go out... If they thought Byrd was going to cut them a break, well...

"Musta been my night off," Dole used to say about Watergate, back in '72. He

never did deal with the issue, head-on. Nobody did. And they paid. It drove a president from office. Almost beat Dole, two years later, back in Kansas. The whole party paid in blood, for eight years. A stain they never could wash off... still hadn't recovered, not all the way.

Well, nobody was going to tar Bob Dole with that brush now—no way. Sure, he'd support the president, as much as he could. That was his job, and he'd do it. But Reagan had to get the facts out. And if heads rolled, well, so be it... Dole wasn't going to let them shove the party down the toilet for another eight years. Not this time. This was his time.

Dole was back in his Town Car within 10 minutes. "Get the office," he snapped. And then, over the car phone, on the way to the airport and the Other Thing, he asked not for his chief of staff, not for his national security man, but for the press secretary.

"Agghh, gotta get out a statement," he said. "They took the money from Iran, for the missiles, gave it to the contras. Gaghhh, you believe it? President's gonna announce it in an hour. Yeah, it's kinda bizarre... I wanta call it 'a bizarre twist.' Say the president's doin' the right thing, get all the facts out... support the president... yeah, point is, it's all gotta come out."

"I'M JUST NOT GONNA SAY ANYTHING now," Bush snapped. He'd been through this, explained it a million times. Why couldn't they understand? His own staff, guys who ought to know him... they were coming at him again on this AEI speech, the American Enterprise Institute, the perfect chance to distance himself from the whole Iranamok mess. In his office in the West Wing, Bush spoke to the speech draft that was fanned out on the desk in front of him. "Look, I've spent *six years* being loyal to this president... Bush's voice was high, petulant with his sense of injustice.

"This doesn't abandon the president," Fred Khedouri said. Khedouri was writing the speech—or trying, at least. He'd been back and forth with it a half-dozen times. He'd write in a line about the Iran thing—something *innocuous*, just an acknowledgment that something *went wrong*—and Bush would balk, like a horse that saw a snake. To Khedouri, it was so obvious: If the VP stuck his head in the sand, it sent a message that he was complicitous... or lost in the same fog of know-nothing denial that hung over the rest of the White House. It just wouldn't play! He tried to keep his voice even: "There ought to be some recognition..."

The veep heard the edge under Khedouri's voice—like Bush was some thick-

Cont.

theaded child who had to have it explained. Goddammit, he understood English! He didn't need a pointy-head like Khedouri to lead him through it. Khedouri was another stranger, one of Fuller's hires, out of David Stockman's shop. A real brain—drove Bush nuts—all head, like a lot of guys who were too damn smart to have any sense. Annoyance drove Bush into his second language, Texan, the one he'd picked up along with his distaste for the Harvard Yard crowd:

"Look, I'm not gonna paint my tail white and run with the antelopes now."

Fuller let Khedouri carry the ball on this: It didn't do any good to back the veep into a corner. It wasn't that Fuller thought George Bush could get by without some firm statement on the scandal, but he'd come at the veep in his own way, easygoing: *Oh, on that speech thing, sir . . . Problem was, they were running out of time. When Bush got back from his Thanksgiving trip to Kennebunkport, there were only three days till the speech. And Bush came back more convinced than ever that none of this should have come out: Why are they releasing a chronology? . . . This is a covert operation! . . .* Worse still, Bush had turned the whole episode into an issue of loyalty, a matter of the personal code. Ronald Reagan just couldn't see that he or his boys did anything wrong, and George Bush was not going to be the one to rub Reagan's face in it.

So he said nothing. He disappeared. If the office of the vice president was a whisper zone before, now it was a crypt. Everybody in the capital had *something* to say—except George Bush, who went to ground like the undead at sunrise. At the PAC, the political guys were catching it on the phones. Republicans were getting nervous. "Doonesbury" was running Bush every day as the invisible man. The well-fed, well-pleased men with pink jowls and red ties were chuckling about him over lunch with their clients at Joe & Mo's, Duke Zeibert's . . . "Oh, I know George—nice guy, but Dole could eat him for breakfast . . . problem is, heh heh, you're hungry a half-hour later . . ." He had caught the dread and fatal affliction: He was ridiculous.

He had to say something! In the office, they all told him—or, to be precise, they mostly clucked to one another about his stubborn incomprehension.

"How about, 'Sure, we made mistakes, but they were mistakes of compassion . . . pursuit of the long-term interests of' . . ."

"No, he won't do it. Teeter tried that."

"How 'bout: 'Everybody makes mistakes . . . but the long record will show' . . ."

"No way. He's not gonna say the president did anything wrong."

"Yeah, but where was *he*? He's got to say something."

But Bush wouldn't budge. He didn't mind taking his share of the nit, if they'd give him a share of the credit for the good stuff . . . But he wasn't going to cut and run now, no matter how many brainy-bov stars got into his knickers. They hadn't been around the track like he had. Reagan would be back, in the polls, they'd come around. Something would happen—always did. Good things happened to good people. Now was the time to have some faith . . . For Christ's sake, how about some faith in *him*? That was the hardest part, when he looked up at the latest guy in front of his desk, lecturing him on the speech. His own guys! He saw the doubt in their eyes: They looked at him like he couldn't understand, or like he must be protecting himself, like he was part of the problem. They didn't understand loyalty either. Well, they'd better start . . . No, that wasn't fair. It was hard for them too. They'd hitched their wagons to his, to his future, his campaign, and now it looked like the wheels had fallen off before they'd even started. Jeez, next month they were supposed to change the PAC to a real campaign committee . . .

Bush had a dinner scheduled, the night before the big speech, with Sadruddin Khan, the Aga Khan's brother, a friend of his, just a lovely guy, played some tennis, spoke like an Englishman . . . hell, he almost was an Englishman, a Prince of the Earth in general, smooth, shiny like a brushed otter. What a credit to the Third World! . . . But Sadruddin had to cancel, and the VP already had the big table at the Alibi Club, one of the old family haunts. So Bush decided to keep the table: He'd invite the senior staff—bring the wives, make it a family thing—he'd get them together in a difficult time, get the team together . . .

And there, in the old town house on I Street, behind the unmarked door you wouldn't even notice unless you knew, unless you'd always known; there, in the old club with its brown, musty air and its walls festooned with tatty mementos; there, where the caricature of Prescott Bush held pride of place, the drawing of Pres, singing, with the dome of the Capitol behind him and the notes of "The Whiffenpoof Song" floating around his head, there George Bush tried to tell them why he took that stuff out of the AEI speech. It wasn't that direct, really, not a planned set of remarks: He just started to talk. And for 20 minutes, without a text, without raising his voice, or chopping the air, or lapsing into any of those gestures he employed to give force to his words when he talked to strangers. Bush made the most eloquent speech:

Loyalty, he said, was something he grew up with. It wasn't a sin. And he didn't claim it was always an asset. It was just

part of him. Sometimes, it didn't work to his benefit. There was a time in his life, when he was Republican chairman under Nixon, when he stayed loyal to the end. Nixon had assured him—personally—that he was not involved in Watergate. And Bush got burned. But he knew that was not going to happen now. Ronald Reagan was a good man. He wasn't going to go through the case with them. But they could take it from him, as they went through this tough time, and turned to the new campaign: He knew they were going to come out all right. And he'd do the best he could—for all of them—loyally. He couldn't really be any other way.

Afterward, the room at the club was quiet. What more was there to say? People started to drift away. They'd all have early meetings the next day . . . Bush was about to go, too, when Khedouri made a last quiet stab, with Bar. It was risky. She might have taken his head off—she could do it too—for trying to get to George Bush through her. She hated that. But she listened that night, as Khedouri told her: Bush had to say *something* in the speech: it wasn't against the president; no one wanted to hurt the president; this was a way to help Ronald Reagan, to find a way out, to acknowledge that things . . . well, to put it behind them . . .

Bar didn't say anything. She'd never share her opinions. And no one would ever know what she said, or did not say, that night in the residence. All they knew was that George Bush had Ed Meese in the office, early the next day, and then the two of them went to the president, and when they came back, Bush had the words: *Mistakes were made* . . . that's what he'd say. No human beings mentioned in the sentence—nothing more. He'd talked to the president. *Mistakes were made*. He wrote it into the speech himself. The press copies were already Xeroxed without mention of mistakes—no matter. That would only make it better. People would notice: *He would diverge from text*. It was great! Fitzwater got on the phone to the big-foot reporters, to the networks, the columnists. They might want to make sure they were there today: Bush had something to say!

And they were all there, in the gallery upstairs, and CNN showed it *live* . . . while Fitzwater spun the story like a mad hula-hoopster: George Bush addressed the nation on the issue that mattered. George Bush said the words everyone had been waiting to hear. George Bush stepped out front and told it like it was!

That night, at a State Department banquet, Bush tried to shrug off congratulations. "Great speech today . . . absolutely great." They were literally patting him on his shoulders, his back.

"He's had wonnn-derful reviews, caais

from all over the country." Bar confided in the receiving line. Bush's face twisted into his aw-shucks grin: "At least I didn't get thrown out," he said.

The world was off his shoulders. He looked terrific. Everybody said so. How did Bar keep him looking so good?

Bar said sweetly: "I beat him . . ."

Hoo hooo! Isn't that Bar a *stitch*?

And the next day, and the next, more wondrous reviews. And Larry Speakes said the president *agreed* with every word. And Lee Atwater told the networks that Republicans across the country were cheering. "The vahz pres'ent." Lee growled, "hit uh gusher!"

The Era of Good Feeling lasted 10 days, until Don Gregg, the veep's national security man, gave his first interview to the New York Times. Yes, he'd found out about the contra resupply back in August, Gregg acknowledged. His friend and fellow spook, Felix Rodriguez, had come to Washington specially to tell him how screwed up it was. Then the next day, UPI came out with unnamed White House sources, alleging that Bush's office knew the contra gambit every step of the way. Ollie North kept them posted religiously.

What did George Bush know?

By mid-December, that was the only question anybody wanted to ask him. Now Bush had to issue his *own* chronology, make public a series of contacts between his staff, Ollie North and the contras.

"Let the chips fall where they may," he'd said in his big AEI speech. Who could have known they'd fall on him?

And now, every day, Fitzwater had to march into the big office, and screw some statement out of Bush. Bush would say to his desk or his pen:

"I've answered that a million times."

Or, "That's just not true . . . I had nothing to do with that."

Or, "Salvador . . . Felix Rodriguez is a hero down there, to the people of Salvador."

And Fitzwater would persist, gingerly: "So I can say, 'Vice President Bush *never met with Felix Rodriguez*' . . ." And Bush would stare at his twisting pen, silent, while Marlin had to finish the quote. ". . . 'except, uh, to discuss El Salvador'? . . ."

And when, at last, Bush would glance up with that blank-wall look, even Fitzwater had to wonder what the hell was behind that stare. Was there something he was unable to say? Was he culpable of knowing? Or just heartsick?

At the moment, Bush was only waiting to see if Marlin was done. Was it over? When would this be over? . . . He'd said more than he wanted already. More than he ever should have. And what did it get him? . . . When Fitzwater didn't say any more, Bush replied, tersely:

"Okay. Say that."

has moved within striking distance of Bush . . ."

Striking distance! It was soft-shoe on the coffin lid! Up in New Hampshire, which is where it counted, the organ of the mad-dog right, the Manchester Union Leader, was getting tired of Republicans who failed in their duty to defend the president. So the Union Leader, as it was wont, launched a foam-flecked attack on . . . George Bush! The headline: "More Mush from the Wimp."

Of course, Bob Dole couldn't focus on the primaries now, not with the White House under assault, the credibility of the U.S. at stake. He had to appoint the members of the special select committee, senators of energy and intrepid judgment who would get to the bottom of this sorry affair and restore government to its proper business. Not that there was any shortage of candidates. These hearings could make a man Well Known! So, the leader weighed probity, experience, intellect, savvy . . . and from among all the eager volunteers, he selected as the ranking Republican member . . . Warren Rudman, of New Hampshire.

No politics about it! It was well known that Rudman was lined up for '88 with his friend, the former senator from Tennessee, Howard Baker. (Everybody knew Baker was running.) And Rudman did bring to the job a fine set of qualifications: He was well informed about foreign policy, national security. And he had experience as a prosecutor, as a former attorney general of his great state. In fact, three of the five senators selected by Bob Dole had been prosecutors. Dole meant to make sure *all* the facts came out—he wouldn't have to say a thing.

That's why, in all the reams of his public comment, in November and December, about the Iran affair, there was not one mention, not one word attachable to Bob Dole's name that pointed in any way to the vice president, George Bush. It was the highest triumph of the Be Nice rule. He knew the wise guys were waiting for him to say something nasty—just one misstep in the Dance of Death . . . and it was over.

But why would he? Bob Dole never had just one source on something he wanted to know. The White House briefings and meetings with Regan were not his only avenue of inquiry on Iran-contra. And Dole was convinced: Bush was in the soup. All the connections were clear in Dole's head. The whole push on the hostages, the whole deal with Iran, had to do with the kidnapped Beirut CIA station chief, William Buckley. There was word, breathed into Dole's ear . . . the White House had a videotape: Buckley under torture . . . that's when the deal was cooked up. Buckley had worked for Bush,

the kind of guy Bush loved, a secret op with an air of action about him, came from a good family . . . made his name in Vietnam, where one of his guys, his top men, was Felix Rodriguez. He was the link . . . And when that CIA plane went down in Nicaragua, who got called? Felix Rodriguez! And where did he report? To George Bush's office, to that other spook who worked for him, Gregg!

It was so obvious! And it had to come out. Maybe not now, or even soon. But it would come out, and the committee would prove: George Bush knew all about it!

But even Dole failed to calculate the capacity for knowing-not-knowing. Even he, the most able inside player in the U.S. Congress, underestimated George Bush's Washington art. Even while Dole danced his spectacular tarantella on the White House, the Congress, his fellow candidates . . . he made one fatal error of judgment: He thought George Bush must be something like him. If Bob Dole had sat in the VP's chair every day as the little man with the briefcase retailed the covert news of the world, or as the NSC staff in the Oval Office outlined the "initiative to Iran" . . . there was *no way* Bob Dole would not commit an overt act of knowing. There would be *not one day* when Dole could maintain he was Out of the Loop. As he said, in mid-dance, to one group of admiring reporters: "Agh, m'not one to sit on the sidelines."

So, he said nothing about George Bush. Why should he? Reporters were telling him privately that Bush was dead. All Dole had to do now was beat Jack Kemp. Hah! And not just reporters. Big guys, insiders, the kind Dole listened to, were coming on to him. Looked like John Sears, the guy who started Reagan in 1980, was going to run Dole's campaign! By mid-December, the Iowa poll from the Des Moines Register had Dole, for the first time, in the lead over Bush! So Dole kept dancing.

There he was with all the cameras again, on December 16, announcing Rudman's name and the other members of the new committee. "A Watergate-style committee" is what the papers called it. And there, in the press conference, one of the young anchormen-to-be had a question for Dole, the big question now . . .

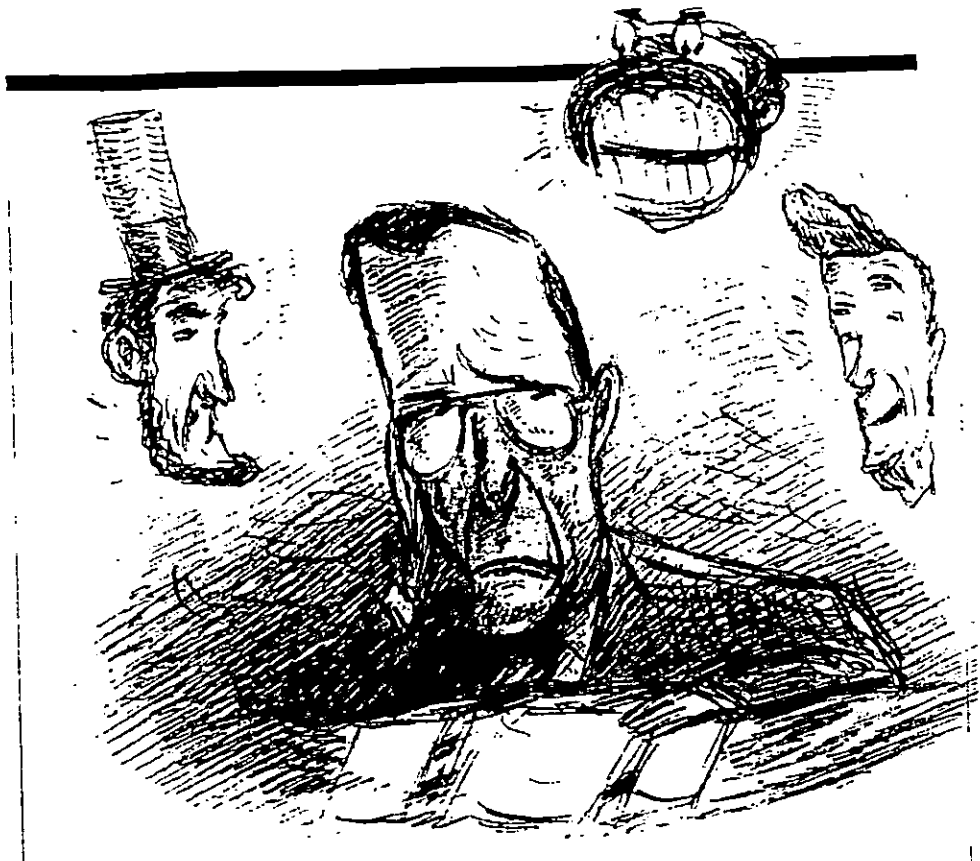
Hasn't this endless trauma destroyed the Republicans' chances in 1988? Doesn't it make the nomination . . . worthless?

Dole imperceptibly shrugged one shoulder and a little smile softened his face. He said:

"I'll take it." ■

This article is excerpted from Richard Ben Cramer's What It Takes: The Way to the White House, recently published by Random House.

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The woes of living with GOP ghosts

Bush, unlike Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Reagan, hasn't created a unifying faith

The Republicans assembling in Houston suddenly find themselves in trouble. Not so long ago, they could look back on two long decades when their hold on the White House was interrupted only by Jimmy Carter's instructively unsuccessful term. Even three months ago, as the economic recovery faltered and George Bush's poll ratings headed into free fall, Republicans hoped that redistricting and scandals in the Democratic Congress would hand them their biggest gains in congressional elections since 1966, when Bush was among a record 47 Republican freshmen elected to the House, giving them working control of both houses of Congress.

But now, with Bill Clinton and Al Gore enjoying an unprecedented national convention bounce and nearly 2-to-1 poll margins, the Republicans are wondering if their party is suddenly over. After 12 years in the White House, the problems Republicans are best at solving long since



have been solved, and the party's shortcomings seem more pronounced. Only twice in the 20th century has a party won four presidential elections in a row: in 1908, when the Republicans beat a man they had already beaten twice before, and in 1944, when Franklin Roosevelt — a commander in chief leading his country to victory — won by his smallest margin. Some disgruntled Republicans are whispering that their long-term chances would be better if they lost and Clinton inherited the whirlwind of national problems. And Bush's problems at this convention will be complicated by the many party leaders angling for the 1996 presidential nomination.

Lost opportunity? Nobody is predicting, as many did after Barry Goldwater's defeat in 1964, that the Republican Party is about to become extinct. But many do think the party is in danger of missing the opportunity it seemed to have in Ronald Reagan's 1980s: the chance to become

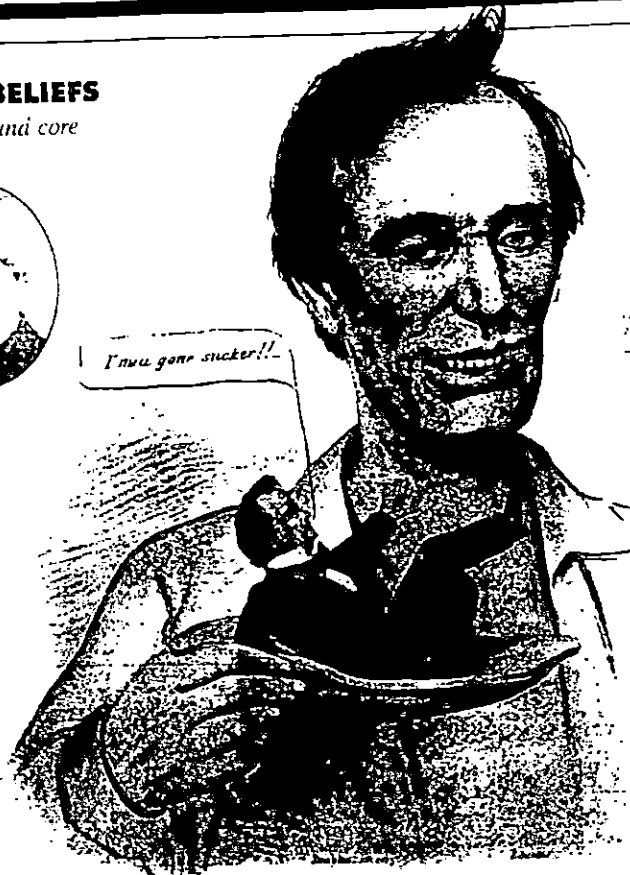
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LIVING AND DYING ON BELIEFS

Republicans have always united around core principles and do not care even if large groups stay outside their ambit.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PARTY

String puller Thurlow Weed, right, brought New York Whigs into the new Republican Party and made it a solid base for William Seward, below, who as governor and senator proclaimed a "higher law" against slavery. Seward lost the GOP nomination to Lincoln in 1860 but became a loyal cabinet member.



"These fellows have been planted in long in Washington, that they are as fat as Butter, I hereby warn: which to swallow first."

"Plus, that ever I should live to be swallowed, a real splutter!"



HONEST ABE TAKING THEM ON THE HALF SHELL..



America's natural majority party and to win the allegiance of the young in a way no party has since FDR's Democrats.

For in 1992, the question is not just which party will win but what each of the two parties will become. The Democrats, over their long history, have been a collection of out-groups who managed to become the in-party when they came up with a governing formula capable of assembling a majority: Clinton looks to many like the first nominee since 1968 with such a formula. The Republicans' formula for success has been very different. They have always been more cohesive, united around a central faith held with something like religious tenacity. Unlike the Democrats, they have never been much concerned if some large groups stayed entirely outside their tent: if they did not share the faith, tough luck (an attitude that proved the downfall of Herbert Hoover and Goldwater). Bush's current woes relate to the party's latest central faith: Reaganism. His own commitment to its tenets is in question, and Reaganism itself, especially its economics, is under relentless attack.

Historically, Republican sentiment had its roots in an upwelling that histori-

an Jon Butler describes as "New England evangelicalism." It spread in the Yankee diaspora that produced Prohibition, Mormonism, abolitionism, women's rights and a scattering of white-steepled churches and redbrick colleges in the swath of northern America from New England to Iowa. The Republicans of 1860 were largely New England Yankees and their westward-migrating progeny, plus Pennsylvanians hungry for a tariff and German-Americans wary of slavery.

They won the presidency with only 39 percent of the popular vote. But with the breathtaking confidence of New England transcendentalists, the party proceeded to lead the nation in a civil war and to enact what the young James Garfield called "an industrial revolution"—high tariffs, free homesteads, land-grant colleges, a transcontinental railroad. All that shaped much of the nation in the Yankee image.

Republicans had their scamps as well as saints.

There were machine wirepullers like New York's Thurlow Weed and Ohio's Mark Hanna and practical politicians like William H. Seward. Weed's protégé who became governor, senator and Abraham Lincoln's secretary of state, and William McKinley, who as Hanna's protégé in 1896 inaugurated three decades of Republican national majorities.

But Republicans also had leaders of high intellect and broad vision, like Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and the Establishment New York lawyers and financiers who became top appointees in just about every 20th-century administration from TR on. Yet however cosmopolitan their leaders, Republican voters and politicians held fast to a central faith in what historian Robert Kelley calls the "core culture" of the Yankee Protestant heartland: a steady framework that encouraged the virtues of hard work, honesty and traditional morality. In the New Deal years and



Hoover. His obstinacy cost the party—and the nation—dearly.

Cont.

U.S. NEWS

utter. Republicans sought to shelter small towns—the party's center of gravity—from the assaults of nationalizing bureaucrats, labor unions, big-city political bosses and Southern segregationists.

Transformation. The Republicans were aware of the vast movement from the countryside to the big cities—that's why they fiercely resisted one-person-one-vote districts. And they feared New Dealers were right in believing that history was moving from free markets toward socialism. Republicans argued fiercely among themselves about whether to try to roll back the New Deal (Robert Taft's position in the 1940s) or to support just enough of it to win majorities and keep government out of the hands of the unions and city machines (the Dewey position). But however heated the argument, their central faith in the small-town values of Yankee Protestantism remained strong for 100 years.

Then, in the 1960s, just as the Democrats lost their formula for governing, the Republican central faith was transformed. Its center of gravity shifted from the small town to the suburb, from the Northeast and Great Lakes to the South and the West. Sixty-four percent of Thomas Dewey's votes in 1948 were cast east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac and Ohio; only 41 percent of George Bush's came from the same region.

These new Republicans were reorienting their beliefs at the same time cultural conflict in America was changing. Through 1960, Americans were largely split along religious lines—Catholic vs. Protestant. After 1960, as James Davison Hunter points out in "Culture Wars," tradition-minded Protestants, Catholics and Jews were increasingly pitted against liberation-minded Protestants, Catholics and Jews. The central Republican faith of the three Reagan electoral majorities eschewed the cultural liberalism of Yankee Republicans. Planned Parenthood membership gave way to opposition to abortion; the Yankee reformist and ledger-balancing impulses were eclipsed by hostility to government action and indifference to deficits.

With this new central faith, Republicans built national majorities in the 1980s that looked like the Democratic major-



TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S PARTY

In 1896, GOP boss Mark Hanna raised huge sums to elect his hero, William McKinley, below, and begin a long stretch of GOP dominance. Roosevelt took over after McKinley was shot.



ities of the 1940s. Bush in 1988, like Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, ran strongest in the South, next strongest in the West; he narrowly carried the string of industrial states from New York to Missouri and lost the upper Midwest. The party's heart now lay in the new suburban expanses of Florida, Texas and California, where half the population growth in the 1980s took place: traditionally religious, skeptical of government, hostile to taxes and nationalistic on foreign policy.

Does Bush share this central faith? To many, he seems to have lapsed from being a 1980s Reagan Republican to a 1940s Dewey Republican—to embody the Northern Yankee appeal of Gerald Ford, the only Republican nominee in the last quarter century to lose. Bush's selections for three top jobs—Dan Quayle as vice president, Lee Atwater as party chairman and John Sununu as White House chief of staff—seemed to share the Reagan Republican faith—

and Quayle has kept it. But Atwater was disabled by cancer in early 1990. And later that year, Sununu, along with Office of Management and Budget Director Richard Darman, moved Bush to renounce his "no new taxes" pledge and support a deficit-cutting deal that was a reversion to the moderate Republicanism of the Dewey era.

At least two identifiable groups of disgruntled Republicans are coming to Houston—one spawned by Bush's heresy on taxes. It is made up of conservatives who have advocated an aggressive reform agenda, including some who will be featured speakers: Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, former Education Secretary Bill Bennett and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich. Bush gets no credit with them—and not much with anyone else—for passage of the Clean Air Act, the Americans With Disabilities Act or the 1991 Civil Rights Act. And his



Goldwater. Out of his defeat, the party's new principles were forged.

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attention to these causes has overshadowed his administration's proposals that embrace the issues these activists are pressing, such as reform in the public-sector institutions that aren't working satisfactorily—education, health care and welfare. So, these discontents will be trying to push, nudge, wheedle, cajole and, if necessary, bamboozle Bush into being the kind of Republican they want. They also hope to salvage the suddenly faltering chances of Republicans in congressional elections and to create a united image that might produce a party-line victory, in contrast to 1956, 1972 and 1984, when Republican presidents were re-elected but Democrats held control of Congress.

Painful fight. On another side of the party are those who want to modify or delete the antiabortion plank in the party's platform. With his New England Yankee background, Bush has long felt compelled to prove to cultural conservatives that he supports every jot and tittle of the abortion foes' agenda—even though it is unpopular with the young voters on whom the party's future depends and will lead to the most painful convention fight. Barbara Bush herself told *U.S. News* and other reporters last week that abortion should not be addressed in the party platform: "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, either pro or con. It's a personal choice [and] the personal things should be left out of platforms and conventions."

Ann Stone, the consultant who heads Republicans for Choice, argues that government should take the minimalist role on abortion conservatives call for on so many other issues. She contends that young voters—strongly Republican from the Reagan 1980s until this spring—are overwhelmingly opposed to the ban on abortion that Bush backs, though they do accept some limitations like requiring parental notification. An MTV poll of Americans under 30 showed 76 percent against government involvement in abortion but 67 percent in favor of parental notification.

Both groups of angry Republicans are aiming to influence not just the campaign but also how a second Bush administration and the 21st-century version of the party will govern. To be determined at Houston is not just whether Bush can turn this campaign around and put himself back in the race for the White House. Also at stake is whether the Republican Party can construct a political appeal consistent with its central faith and capable, once again, of winning a national majority. ■

BY MICHAEL BARONE

U.S. News & World Report
8-24-92

What We Know About **GEORGE**

We've read his lips, deciphered his sentence fragments, cheered him and scorned him and sent him to the White House. But as MARJORIE WILLIAMS reports, we still don't get it: We can't see that, for better or for worse, George Herbert Walker Bush is the same guy he was before we projected the leadership thing onto him. And speaking of knowing: On Page 11, in an excerpt from his new book, RICHARD BEN CRAMER takes us back to those tension-filled days in 1986 when Bush was terrified that he'd *never* be president because of what he knew—or didn't know—about the Iran-contra affair.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TIM GABOR

It would take a marriage counselor—someone, at any rate, versed in the realm of the irrational—to understand.

In the 17 months since the end of America's war in Iraq, public opinion about George Bush has touched not one but two outer edges of the known galaxy of presidential popularity. First, in March of last year, he scored the highest approval ratings of any president since World War II. Then, in June of this year, he plunged to the lowest level of public esteem ever measured, in the same postwar era, for a president late in his first term. (Worse than Ford, that means. *Worse than Carter.*)

First he was the cool customer who had taken on Saddam Hussein; who had banished the ghost of Vietnam; who had restored America's faith in itself. To read the papers or watch TV, you'd have thought that words like "resolve" and "firm" were actually part of his name. He was unbeatable.

Now he is, in the words of Time magazine, "the incredible shrinking president." Mired in an endless recession, he is widely said to offer no domestic vision, no articulable plan for his second term; he is derided, by the conventional wisdom that emanates from inside the Beltway, as a fearful ditherer who hasn't even been able to assemble a competent political campaign. In the definitive formulation of Arsenio Hall, he has become "George Herbert irregular-heart-beating, read-my-line-lipping, slipping-in-the-polls, do-nothing, deficit-raising, make-less-money-than-Millie-the-White-House-dog-last-year, Quayle-loving, sushi-puking Bush!"

Surely there's something crazy about a political culture that can take such a massive shift of perception in stride. Granted,

there are identifiable reasons—namely the recession—and America has soured on its president. But could anyone honestly deserve *own* these reputations?

It's not as if either of these extremes was the result of a dramatic new development in the character of George Bush. At least since he was nominated to head the CIA, in 1976—and other words, for as long as it has been important to know who George Bush is and what he's really like—he's been pretty much known quantity. The positive and negative attributes his friends and critics described back then are more or less the same ones voters cite today. These quantities have made their bows, in regular cycles, in 1980, 1984 and 1988; and his behavior in office for good and ill, has been clearly related to them.

It may be comforting to President Bush, from his vantage point down there in the 35 percent approval range, to recall how often he has been written off in the past, only to have his putative virtues rediscovered. But as a comment on our political maturity, it should give the rest of us pause.

On the eve of George Bush's final general election campaign, it is worth taking stock of how often and how radically we have changed our minds about this man, rejecting and then discovering, again and again, the same basic reality that has been there all along.

OF COURSE, BUSH HAS GIVEN US LOTS OF HELP IN BLURRING his basic outlines.

This son of Greenwich, Conn., started out, after all, in the camouflage of a Goldwater conservative, outfitted to blend into the landscape of his adopted Texas. When he ran for the Senate in 1964 he opposed the nuclear test ban treaty, called Medicare "socialized medicine" and hammered Democrat Ralph Yarborough for favoring the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act—positions that got him nicely through a bruising primary. (By the fall campaign, however, when it was clear that the national ticket was going down to epic defeat, the name Goldwater rarely crossed candidate Bush's patrician lips.)

Two years later, running for the House, he eased to the left: he wooed his district's black vote, and in 1968 he cast a vote in favor of open housing. But as a presidential candidate in late years, he would follow the southern strategy that Richard Nixon pioneered in 1968—luring white southerners from the Democratic Party by playing on racial tensions, notably with the specter of Willie Horton.

During his four years in Congress, Bush devoted so much time to family planning policy that House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills gave him the nickname "Rubbers." But when Ronald Reagan invited Bush to be his running mate in 1980, Bush's profile as a Planned Parenthood Republican swiftly changed. He was now flatly opposed to abortion rights, and in favor of a constitutional amendment to end them.



"I'm not going to get mixed-and-mixed to death with detail," he said, when reporters challenged him on this and other angles of his past. The man who had come to be known as "the moderate" now said, "I'm for Mr. Reagan—period." And though he had criticized the massive tax cuts Reagan proposed in the 1980 campaign, he would play exactly the same note in his own 1988 campaign, swearing, "Lead my ups: no new taxes."

By the time he became president, then, George Bush had a long history of inviting us to redefine him. In a sensible world, his inconsistency would have made it easier, rather than harder, for voters to form a constant view of his nature: one that saw his expediency *itself* as the most consistent theme of his career.

Why have we have greeted him, again and again, with fresh surprise?

AT FIRST HE SEEMED TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE. SPANNING some of the growing fissures in our politics. In a typical comment during Bush's 1970 Senate race, columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote, "Bush—young (46), handsome, a Connecticut Yankee turned Houston oilman—is a glittering exponent of the 'modern' school of southern Republicans as contrasted with the 'primitives.' " He was the future of the Texas Republicans—conservative but not *too* conservative. This was the phase in which journalists called Bush telegenic, even "articulate." Why, if he won a seat in the Senate, there was no telling what he might do. Perhaps Nixon would replace Agnew with him in '72.

But he never won the Senate seat. And by the time he had done Nixon's and then Gerald Ford's bidding at the United Nations, the Republican National Committee and the U.S. Mission in China, a more quotidian view of Bush had settled in. He was competent, and loyal, as far as that went, but he had been passed over thrice for the vice presidency; he seemed to have more titles than achievements to show. "George Bush . . . may have the abilities necessary to bring off a monumentally difficult assignment," wrote the New Republic's John Osborne of Bush's nomination to be CIA director. "If he does, they have escaped the notice of acquaintances who admire him for his amiability and his competence in handling less demanding tasks."

In the 1980 campaign, Bush was rediscovered. He was a fresh face at the level of presidential politics, and his surprise victory in the Iowa caucuses made him, briefly, a media favorite. He called himself a "moderate conservative," whatever that was—but he did seem reassuringly middle-of-the-road in a race that included Ronald Reagan, Phil Crane, John Connally and Bob Dole. To eastern establishmentarians, he promised a return to sanity after the wild internecine bloodlettings of recent campaigns—an attitude summed up by Michael Kramer in New

York magazine, who gushed that Bush was "the almost perfect candidate: scholar, athlete, war hero . . . George Bush may be the only Republican for whom Republicans don't make a mistake." Kramer wrote that "George Bush at his best . . . is confident, at ease, with a sure sense of himself and a sense of humor, unashamed of doing what he is doing, and, above all, honest."

As winter gave way to spring, however, the press took the inevitable second look. What once seemed a becoming moderation now seemed a refusal to stand for anything; he appeared to hold himself out as the one man elastic enough to appeal to everyone. "What I'm getting in my polling now is that people think he is a lightweight. They don't know where he stands," said an opponent's pollster. Momentum alone, he appeared to think, would carry him through the election; and when "the Big Mo" turned against him, he began to seem kind of . . . plaintive. He talked more about political tactics than about issues, until, finally, advisers began muttering to reporters about "putting an issues case under him"—very much the way Bush advisers talk today about surrounding their man with a domestic policy.

By campaign's end, Bush's image had returned to the workaday truth observed four years earlier by Osborne. A Washington Post editorial summarized Bush as "a center-right, traditionalist, establishment-oriented, competent government figure who showed himself to be resilient but not especially presidential in the campaign he ran in the past couple of years."

In the vice presidency his image worsened, reaching its low point in 1984, during the second Reagan-Bush campaign. In part because he was running against a woman, he seemed unnerved, snail, "testy." He had, reporters wrote knowingly, "a high-strung side." In the words of another Washington Post editorial, "he seems to reveal himself, as all viewers of Dallas will long since have noticed, as the Cliff Barnes of American politics—blustering, opportunistic, craven and hopelessly ineffective all at once."

Similar language followed him into his presidential race in 1988. He was seen as pathetically deferential to Ronald Reagan; in the vicious formulation of Garry Trudeau, he had placed his manhood in a blind trust. "Fighting the 'Wimp Factor,'" read the famous Newsweek cover that appeared the week Bush officially launched his campaign.

By the time of the Republican convention, Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis was up 17 points in the polls; all Bush offered, said Time magazine, was "a resume without a rationale." Polls showed that more than 40 percent of voters had a negative opinion of Bush.

But over the next four months, America's idea of George Bush turned its most astonishing somersault yet. By January he was a new man: Why, in retrospect, he had been a foreordained winner. On Inauguration Day, he was seen to be a man



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ASSOCIATED PRESS; ASSOCIATED PRESS; MARGARET THOMAS; RICH LIPSKI; BILL SNEAD

preternatural grace: sire of five fine children, husband to the silver Fox; a cool-headed leader come to restore government to the center; a born president.

Which brings us to the role of the press.

OF COURSE, ALL NEW PRESIDENTS ARE GRANTED HONEYMOONS: The public is eager for vindication of the vote it has just cast, and the press, eager to curry access in a new administration, is happy to oblige.

But there is a longer history to the media's fickle treatment of George Bush. The press has long been the chief vehicle by which America has invented and reinvented Bush—mostly for impersonal, even accidental reasons that are ingrained in the mechanics of political journalism.

The main thing is the need for a story: There's no neat in reporting that George Bush is pretty much the same guy he was the last time the reader or viewer checked in, replying the same skills, acting out the same limitations. The reporter who can discover a new shade of meaning, a shift, is the reporter who has a story; the bigger the shift, the bigger the story.

In addition, the conventions of mainstream journalism make it difficult to take a steady bead on a public figure. It would have been hard, in 1988, to find a dozen journalists in Washington who believed George Bush's pledge that he would not raise taxes—not because they could prove any specific intent to deceive on his part, but because they knew the math that would confront him once he actually had to govern, and they knew him as a late, unpersuasive convert to the supply-side religion. But mainstream journalism affects a neutrality that forbids pressing an argument—however common-sensical—that a candidate is lying.

Finally, George Bush's gyrating reputation is the fruit of a fairly new fad in political journalism: an increasing tolerance for the whole idea of self-transformation.

Consider just a brief period during the 1988 campaign, in which Bush was credited more than once with reinventing himself. The GOP convention, scripted down to the sentence, was greeted by the press as a transformative event in the life of George Bush. The Washington Post, in a front-page story, described Bush as "casting aside his old identity as Reagan's vice president." Wrote Post columnist David S. Broder, "From the moment he arrived here to claim the nomination, he seemed taller, looser, funnier—and more purposeful."

At the center of the drama was what all the pundits agreed was his "crucial" acceptance speech. Never mind that all the credit for the themes and language of the speech went to writer Peggy Noonan: Bush's delivery was covered as a magnificent act of political reincarnation. The New York Times reported that "after eight often trying years, [he] became what he had always claimed he was: his own man." Added a Times editorial, "What was most striking about his speech is how firmly he grasped the wimp epithet and turned it inside out . . . Intimacy and modesty radiated from the TV screen."

This was followed, of course, by a slashing fall campaign distinctly lacking in intimacy and modesty. For a few anxious months the press wrung its hands about Bush's tactics—the Willie Horton ads, the flag factories, the stigmatization of what Bush called "the Aaaay-Ceee-Elly-Yoo."

But immediately after Bush won the presidency, he was once again seen to transform himself. He disowned the divisive symbolism that had driven his campaign, and the press greeted the change not as an act of hypocrisy but as the natural move of a statesman. Under the front-page headline "BUSH'S METAMORPHOSIS: FROM LOYAL SUBORDINATE TO SELF-ASSURED LEADER," The Post observed that Bush had "recast himself as a statesman far removed from the fray of the campaign that had consumed him only days before . . . Over the next 10 weeks, he

gilded and embellished this new George Bush, as he soothed his defeated foes and assembled a cabinet, all with confidence and a grace that startled many of those who had witnessed his campaign ferocity . . . such is the metamorphosis of a public man."

Press enthusiasm for such narratives of personal renaissance is a recent fashion in our politics. Back in 1968, when reporters and political opponents spoke of the "new Nixon," it was an insult—meant to condemn what was seen as Nixon's calculated bid for a new image.

And can anyone imagine Gov. LBJ plausibly undergoing a 10-week metamorphosis?

Can anyone imagine him *wanting* to?

BUT IT'S THE VOTERS, IN THE END, WHO CONSUME THE poses concocted by politicians and served up by the media: who have given Bush his wild ride from 90 percent down to 35. This is where diagnosis might best be made by a good marriage counselor, someone accustomed to understanding extreme feelings as part of a larger system. For it is not happenstance that Bush's new record-low popularity was preceded by a record high: the two extremes are part of a single dynamic.

It is the common, unspoken dynamic that underlies so many angry marriages, in which each partner invests in the other the responsibility for whatever it is that pains them. When things are going well, the spouse seems omnipotent, larger than life; but when things are going badly, it is all his fault.

How much easier to hold unrealistic expectations of one's mate—and then blame him when he fails to meet them—than to examine those expectations closely, and give away our fondest illusions. The more blindly faith is invested, the more bitter the ultimate blame.

At the altar George Bush told us, like Reagan before him, that he could give us everything we wanted; that we deserved to pay lower taxes and get a constant flow of goodies from the government. And we have shown, again and again, that we would rather marry that sweet lie than act on a true understanding of our situation.

But it's not Bush's fault that we bought the con. It was always a sham, and the deficit—which now suffocates so many possible solutions to the problems that surround us, from the economy to the inner cities—the deficit is the enormous result of our illusions. And now that the lie is crumbling, there is something dishonest about our insistence on blaming the liar.

In reality, George Bush is the same old husband today that he was a year ago: He'd rather watch a ballgame than clean out the gutters; and he's fabulous at parties, but he's not much good with the kids.

And while he's done his best to obscure these basic facts of his nature (it takes two to tango, any marriage counselor will tell you), it's not his fault that we've never taken the responsibility of facing up to where we are, and what we need to do; and to whether he is the man who can partner us in that.

Over the next three months, you may be sure that the Bush campaign will proffer further astonishing shifts in Bush's character and fortunes; you can bet too that he and his handlers will find a willing audience in at least some segments of the media. The only unknown is what use voters will decide to make of George Bush this time: which idea of him will prove the most satisfying.

We will either find a way to become infatuated with him again, or else we will apply the age-old remedy for disillusionment, and throw the bum out. But in the absence of any effort to understand the sick dynamic of the attraction in the first place—to acknowledge how thoroughly we have been ruled by the fantasy of rescue—you know how that story ends:

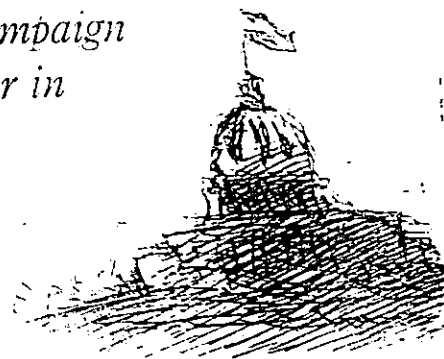
We always marry another one just like him. ■

PRISONER OF WASHINGTON

The Houston Astrodome will be filled during the GOP convention this week with claims that George Bush is embracing a new agenda.



And there will be evidence aplenty that he has overcome his recent diffidence in favor of a hard-hitting campaign against Bill Clinton. Is a real Bush makeover in progress? Not likely. The president is a fully formed character, steeped in the genteel ways of the old-fashioned Washington establishment. There is little chance he can break the capital's shackles.



From the start, George Bush sketched his presidency in pastels rather than primary colors. Except for his "no new taxes" pledge and his promise to continue the Reagan prosperity by creating 30 million jobs, the signature phrases of the Bush era have been fuzzy maxims of accommodation: The age of the offered hand. A thousand points of light. Kinder and gentler. Bush has based his presidency almost solely on his own good intentions and his conviction that benevolent leaders of the Washington establishment could reason together and work out America's problems.

Yet four years later, Bush's governing philosophy is in tatters and his presidency at risk. A new

U.S. News poll shows he trails Democratic challenger Bill Clinton by 21 points, 58 to 37 percent* (story, Page 32). At the core of the president's dilemma is the fact that, after a protracted recession and amid a policy-making paralysis, his role

as a Washington insider has become a crippling liability, a symbol of his isolation from the nation's concerns. In the U.S. News poll, more than half the voters say Bush has "been in Washington too long." By a 53-to-28 percent margin, they think Clinton would be more able to get things accomplished (by contrast, Bush had pulled almost even with Michael Dukakis at the start of the 1988 convention). And 60 percent say the Arkansas governor has a better understanding

of ordinary people's needs. Just as distressing, those who know him best say Bush may be incapable of real change. He appears to be a prisoner of his patrician commitment to rule by a governing elite, guided by common sense rather than a spirit of innovation or a clear ideology. Even in his area of greatest expertise, foreign affairs, friends say Bush has yet to find a unifying philosophy to replace the bipolar *realist* of the cold war.

The arrival of James Baker last week at the helm of Bush's life—his White House and his campaign—was heralded as a breakthrough. Partisans hope Baker will persuade Bush of the need to develop a serious long-term domestic agenda. Certainly, at the party's convention this week, the Astrodome will be filled with talk about change. Bush is reportedly considering whether to announce what one aide called "a new domestic mission" for his second term, possibly by adopting elements of a con-

YES	31%
NO	61%



servative reform agenda that includes middle-class tax cuts offset in whole or in part by a new consumption tax.

But those who know him best say that over the long run, the president will never be committed to radical reform. "He will always come back to his roots," says a friend. "George Bush will never shake things up—not now, not in a second term. He doesn't think there's anything fundamentally wrong with the system."

A long-running parlor game over the years has focused on which of Bush's many "home" towns best defines him: Greenwich, Conn.; Kennebunkport, Maine; or Midland, Texas. But most players miss the most obvious choice. Bush is actually most at home in Wash-

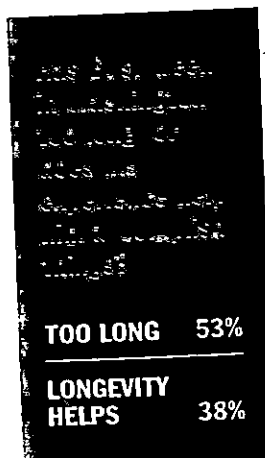
ington and its establishment satellites—the places he's lived as a congressman, Republican national chairman, ambassador, director of central intelligence and vice president. Among other things, this has steeped him in the mores of gentility and compromise that characterized the capital's old order.

Bush's instinct to accommodate was instilled by his conservative father, Sen. Prescott Bush, and by his mother, Dorothy Walker Bush, who frowned on confrontation and excessive displays of individuality. It was reinforced by the go-along-to-get-along culture Bush encountered as a congressman from Houston in 1967. In his autobiography, "Looking Forward," Bush says he learned "four rules

of leadership": Never get personal, do your homework, use power to persuade rather than intimidate and be considerate of the needs of colleagues.

These rules, though, seem less suited to modern presidential leadership. Bush recoils from steps that can serve a chief executive well—confronting adversaries to get his way and going over their heads to appeal to some national purpose. He places primary emphasis on good relations with colleagues and friends, not on legislative achievement. "With all his vast energy, his gregarious personality and his spirit of compromise," says a friend, "he would have made a terrific Senate majority leader rather than president."

In the month after his



5 NEWS POLL BY PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES OF 1,206 ADULTS (50% REGISTERED VOTERS), AUGUST 6-9. MARGIN OF ERROR IS PLUS OR MINUS 3 PERCENTAGE POINTS.



GOP weaned. Bush learned his Republicanism from his father, a GOP senator. When Bush moved to Texas, he never created a party organization in a place where Democrats ruled, and he was an ardent supporter of Barry Goldwater in 1964, above. He came to Washington as a congressman in 1967 and eventually became a favorite of Richard Nixon, near right, who made Bush United Nations ambassador.



election in 1988, Bush made his incrementalist plans clear. He told key advisers that he didn't think very much needed to be done in his first term, except to address the lingering problems of education, the environment, the disabled and child care. Plans to fight crime, poverty, discrimination and other social ills, he argued, were better left to states, local communities and individuals. He also told aides that he shared Richard Nixon's view that the economy was so strong that domestic policy "would take care of itself." That left him free to concentrate on foreign affairs, his first love—a preference that intensified when historic upheavals absorbed his attention in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

In keeping with his view of government as an insiders' game, Bush filled his Cabinet with seven former members of Congress. He named two consummate Washington insiders—Baker and Richard Darman—to take over the key jobs of secretary of state and budget director. All of these moves ensured that his administration would be heavy on status-quo decision makers and light on new ideas.

Not that his administration has been devoid of accomplishment. Early on, Bush and Congress agreed on a Clean Air Act and laws expanding child-care benefits, protecting the disabled and improving transportation. Last week, the

president announced the successful negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which he says will create 400,000 new jobs by opening markets in Mexico and Canada. And he organized the international coalition that forced Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, jump-started Mideast peace talks and reached historic arms-reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and Russia.

But many close associates concede there is an essential passivity to Bush's outlook that, if anything, has been strengthened by the withering of his collegial world. To this day, Bush blames his problems on political mavericks playing by new Washington rules that put a premium on hard-edged partisanship, ideological zealotry and attack-dog politics. They include Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich, Texas billionaire Ross

environment that he cannot bring himself to take risks except as a last resort. He has consistently dismissed bold domestic-policy options and was reinforced in his take-no-chances sensibilities after feeling burned in 1990 by the infamous budget deal where he broke his no-new-taxes pledge and agreed to a pact that has nevertheless failed to cut the deficit. Washington's "wise men" had flunked the test, he felt, and his caution grew.

Last year, with Bush's job-approval ratings dropping, Housing Secretary Jack Kemp suggested a veto of a key appropriations bill to maneuver Congress into approving full funding for the administration's urban policy. Kemp, says one aide, "was practically on his hands and knees" asking the White House to challenge Congress. He also suggested that Bush at least strike one provision of the bill that would have halted federal aid to local housing authorities that run projects with high vacancy rates. Bush refused both requests and signed the bill rather than risk losing \$2 billion for the NASA space station, which was included in the measure.

After the Los Angeles riots last June, Kemp saw an opportunity to push for his "reform agenda" that includes urban enterprise zones and tenant ownership of public housing. But Bush could not see the value of the message because he distrusted the messenger, who ran against Bush for the presidency in 1988 and has long been a leader of conservative activists. Kemp is not a "team player," Bush told aides. What briefly caught the president's fancy was an idea floated by politi-

If the election
were held today,
for whom would
you vote?

BUSH 37%
CLINTON 58%

Perot and conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, who challenged Bush in the early GOP primaries this year. The trait they share is an unwillingness to compromise—something Bush cannot understand. "He believes in negotiation, conciliation, discussion," says old friend and former Ohio Rep. Thomas "Lud" Ashley. "His first approach is to give you a firm handshake, look into your eyes and talk about what separates you from him. To that extent, he's an anachronism."

Associates say the president is so unsure of his bearings in this new, hostile

NOT



GOP fixture. Bush filled out his resume by becoming GOP chair during the dark days of Watergate and later serving as director of the CIA during the Ford years. Bush picked up some of his management style at the CIA. (AP)

advisers that he spend a night in the home of a black minister in south-central Los Angeles. It was exactly the kind of public-relations-driven gesture that has marked so much of his presidency. But in the end, Bush dropped the idea when the Secret Service objected for "security reasons." Kemp's comprehensive reform agenda was allowed to sink out of sight.

In a triumph of hope over experience, Kemp and other conservatives are now publicly urging Bush to adopt still another dramatic agenda for his second term. But Bush has rejected much less dramatic proposals before, such as conservative suggestions that he provoke constitutional fights with Congress by using "executive authority" to index capital-gains taxes to the rate of inflation and veto particularly offensive "line items" that are part of spending bills.

The reason Bush backed away from those fights illustrates the key way in which his decision-making style militates against the bold stroke. He has no overarching worldview of his own. And he compartmentalizes decision making—something he learned at the Central Intelligence Agency. Thus, he relies heavily on a handful of key aides whose job titles give them the authority to give him the last word on important issues. When Bush's legal advisers, White House counsel Boydén Gray and Attorney General William Barr, sent him memos concluding that the line-item veto and the capital-gains-indexing schemes were probably illegal, the president simply accepted their judgment without reference to his larger political goals.

Baker and others believe that overcoming this queasiness to confront Congress is essential to Bush's re-election. Bush has repeatedly ignored advice to do so, largely because Congress is an institution he came to love during four years there and also because he was warned by friends like House Minority Leader Bob Michel that Congress bashing would hurt GOP incumbents as well as Democrats. After aides asked him to lamaste Senate Democratic leaders recently for blocking his proposals on crime and economic growth, Bush shook his head. He said he couldn't do it because he'd inevitably need the senators' help later on other issues, such as possible confirmations to the Supreme Court.

Baker may be able to persuade Bush to sharpen his differences with Congress on tax reform and other issues, and the president surely will launch broadsides against congressional Democrats this week. But his longtime aides despair that he will ever imitate Harry Truman's give-'em-hell approach. Bush seemed to confirm those doubts in a recent interview with *U.S. News*. Starting in November, he said, political relationships in Washington could be "moved back to a more harmonious time. You've got so many new members of Congress that, regardless of who ends up with control, I think there's a chance to move things forward,

a much better chance after this election.

Under scrutiny. One of the things paralyzing Bush, besides his own temperament, is his growing preoccupation with bad notices and character attacks in the press. Barbara Bush told *U.S. News* and two other newsmagazines last week that despite their years in Washington, she and her husband weren't prepared for the overwhelming media scrutiny. Mrs. Bush recalls "the initial shock of discovering that everything we did was of major import, no matter how dumb it was—like, I don't know, swinging a golf club or something. That's a big deal."

But it was only the beginning. Bush complains privately that the media are obsessed with "playing gotcha" and embarrassing people in public life. After a recent spate of critical news stories about wealthy contributors who attended a Republican fund-raiser, Bush blew up. "Who's the little S.O.B. who's putting this stuff out on the President's Dinner?" he demanded. After a few days, the search for the leaker ended in futility and Bush was utterly frustrated that his own staff apparently was feeding the rumors.

Worst of all, Bush argues that the criticism and the rumors have grown too personal. Case in point: last week's front-page story in the *New York Post* alleging that he had an affair with a female aide in 1984. Bush publicly denounced the ru-

Who has the best understanding of the needs of people like you?

BUSH	23%
CLINTON	60%

U.S. NEWS

not as a "lie," and Mrs. Bush accused the news media of wallowing in sleaze. "Character is an issue if you're talking about cheating, lying, deceiving, maybe not keeping vows, I don't know," Mrs. Bush said. "But those are important things. You don't smear good men and good women when there's no proof. That's just ugly." The president's friends no longer for the "civilized" capital of his younger days when such matters never came up publicly.

With friends like these. The president has been especially rattled in recent weeks because past allies failed to rally to his cause. Friends worry this will also dampen his willingness in the future to charge into battle. At a recent private meeting with 50 business executives, his frustration boiled over. Too many Republicans, the president complained, were "queasy" about defending him publicly because he was down in the polls. Harking back to World War II, he told the hushed executives that he will always remain grateful to the pilot of his escort plane, called a "wingman," when he was shot down in the South Pacific. Bush said that as he bobbed helplessly in the water, his wingman risked his life by circling overhead and chasing off Japanese patrol boats long enough for the future president to be rescued by a submarine. I wouldn't be here today, Bush declared, if my wingman hadn't stayed with me, and he asked the business leaders to stay with him in his current hour of need.

Besides the character traits that dampen his capacity to lead boldly, Bush also has been physically drained by the presidency. Although he is still vigorous, the frantic pace has worn him down and he is starting to look his age of 68. Friends say he can't jog as fast as he used to and becomes fatigued more easily. "He's realized that there's only so much you can do in one day," says an old friend. "By 7 o'clock at night he knows it's time to stop worrying to make sure he's thinking clearly the next day. He stops to collect himself. He finally knows he can't go helter-skelter any more."

No crusades, please. The last and perhaps most immutable hindrances to Bush's capacity to change and take charge are his scant interest in ideas and his unease at leading showy crusades. Even making the case for his own reelection often comes hard. Some friends



Glad hand. Bush loves being president and very much wants voters to ratify his performance.

say that after nearly four years of presidential deference, Bush finds the prospect of getting down in the muck of campaigning an unhappy one. Longtime friends suggest that he has developed a sort of Gethsemane complex, hoping this cup will pass. During two separate White House meetings with agricultural leaders and energy-industry representatives, he simply asked each visitor in the Roosevelt Room to look at his proposals and compare them with Clinton's. I think you'll find, the president suggested, I have a "pretty good record." Several aides cringed at the understatement. But they expect that with Baker calling the plays, Bush will now do better at selling his programs.

Still, Bush loves being president, and he very much wants voters to ratify his performance by giving him a second term. He realizes he must go through the political ordeal and has mentally steeled himself for the battle. In the U.S. News interview, Bush said Clinton "hasn't begun to see anything hard-hitting."

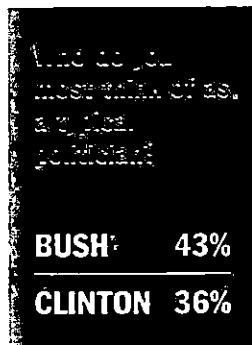
Even so, Bush still holds the old Washington insider's view that voters won't pay attention to the campaign until after Labor Day. He tells friends the key to success is the ability to "hold your discipline" and strike at the right moment. He predicts that he will roar from far behind,

as he did in 1988, sprinting to the finish line with attacks on Clinton and a few surprises of his own. "He's one of these guys who loaf through practice," says an adviser, "but always get up for the game."

His immediate goals at this week's convention are to unify his shaky conservative supporters, resurrect doubts about Clinton's fitness for the presidency and establish an agenda for a second term.

But more than anything else, Bush needs to show that he can break free from his fetters as a prisoner of Washington. He will never be a political outsider and can never credibly argue that he is an agent of fundamental change. But he could set a second-term mission focusing on a handful of domestic initiatives and promising to use his Washington experience to push them to success.

If he does not—and he wins a second term solely by convincing voters he is the lesser of two evils—he will be little more than a caretaker president over the next four years. He will preside over an enfeebled administration, disregarded at home and perhaps shunned abroad as irrelevant to the great issues of his time. And that surely was not what Bush had in mind when he stretched out his hand to adversaries atop the Capitol steps that chilly inaugural morning in 1989. ■



BY KENNETH F. WALSH

COVER STORIES

WARRIOR FOR

In an excerpt from their new book, TIME's White House correspondents depict George Bush as a deeply practical man who decided that what he most wanted to do in his first term was win a second term.

By MICHAEL DUFFY and DAN GOODGAME

SOME OBVIOUS QUESTIONS AWAITED GEORGE BUSH ON Wednesday, Nov. 9, 1988, his first day as President-elect of the United States of America.

What were his plans? Would he move quickly to make good on his vows to clean up the nation's skies, fully fund Head Start and broaden opportunities for disabled Americans? How would he persuade lawmakers to go along with such proposals after a campaign of ugly attacks on Democrats and considerable Congress bashing? How would Bush's kinder and gentler promises mesh with his oaths to halt regulatory red tape, rein in the Federal Government and reduce the deficit? How would Bush do all that and still uphold his "no new taxes" pledge?

Appearing before reporters that morning, Bush was asked to describe his mandate. He replied, "Well, I don't know whether I want to use the word mandate . . . I would simply say the people have spoken, the verdict was clear, and therefore I will take what I think the prime issues of the campaign were and work constructively with Congress to attain the will of the people."

Bush was forecasting a great deal when he eschewed the word mandate. His campaign had been a bewildering fugue of mixed messages designed to hold together an unlikely coalition of mainstream Republicans, activist conservatives, Reagan Democrats and independent suburbanites. Bush won with a coalition whose demands were so contradictory that it would prove almost impossible to govern. But then a mandate had never been Bush's objective. Getting elected was. He had assembled a coalition not to govern, but simply to acquire the 270 electoral votes he needed to win the presidency.

It was only a matter of weeks after Bush's Inauguration that his aimless style began to worry many of his aides. Bush, they complained, was flitting around from St. Louis to South Korea to South Carolina without communicating a clear sense of his priorities to the country or even to his staff. Only six weeks into his term, Bush felt obliged to call a press conference to deny that his Administration suffered from "drift."

In fact, Bush did have a strategy, and John Sununu, his chief of staff, revealed its essence during a fractious staff session in his big corner office on the evening of March 6, 1989. That meeting, unusual amid the informal, walk-in-anytime atmosphere of the Bush White House, was called at the urging of

From *Marching in Place: The Status Quo Presidency of George*

Bush by Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame, published by Simon &

Schuster, 1992 by Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame.



Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker

THE STATUS QUO



His is an old-fashioned "order" conservatism, which seeks to impose no new vision of society but rather to defend the status quo and avoid mistakes.

a group of senior officials, who for weeks had been telling one another, in whispered asides and computer-mail messages, that the President was being badly served by his scattershot planning.

Several senior aides recommended that the White House agree on a set of legislative priorities and political messages and pursue them single-mindedly over the next several months: coordinating Bush's travel, speeches, meetings and—especially—TV news coverage, in a theme-of-the-week, line-of-the-day routine. Hearing this, Sununu erupted. "No! No! Government doesn't work that way!" What he meant was that George Bush wouldn't work that way. Weekly themes, Sununu insisted, were "too conning, too cumbersome" to suit Bush's peripatetic personality or the political constraints that he had inherited. Bush, unlike Ronald Reagan, did not have a Republican-controlled Senate, effective control of the House or a clear mandate from the voters to accomplish any specific, big-ticket reforms.

Sununu then provided his aides what they needed: not a set of domestic priorities so much as a political strategy and a way of understanding what Bush was up to. What was the single, overriding goal of the Bush Administration? Sununu's answer: a "successful presidency" that would bring re-election in 1992. Next question: How can the Bush Administration best ensure that the voters judge it a success? The answer: by putting together a solid record of accomplishment on which to campaign in 1992: a checklist of bills passed that major constituencies would applaud, of bills vetoed that other constituencies—particularly conservatives—had despised; and a tally of presidential actions taken, crises handled, opportunities seized. Sununu referred to this presidential platform in the making as "talking points."

Here, finally, was "the vision thing": the image Bush saw when he imagined a better future for America was... himself in the Oval Office through January 1997! Silly as it might sound, this revelation proved useful as "an organizing principle," in the recollection of one senior official present at the meeting, and "gave us a quiet, internal coherence" that had been missing until then. Bill Kristol, the chief of staff to Vice President Dan Quayle, later explained that Sununu "had us think of the record that we'd like the President to run on in 1992 and work backward from there."

This approach offered another advantage, which Sununu described as "tactical flexibility"—a nimbleness, unencumbered by sticky specific goals or principles, that would allow Bush to quickly seize political opportunities as they arose. During the 1988 campaign, Bush committed himself to as few specific policies as possible, believing that such undertakings would confine him after the election. After Bush took office, his reluctance to commit himself only grew stronger and gained an additional rationale: laying out to the public a clearly defined agenda would make it more difficult for Bush to shift his attention to unexpected crises and opportunities, at home and abroad, that offered bigger political payoffs. Budget Director Richard Darman made this point to his colleagues at the March 6 meeting, in words that nicely prefigured the entire term: "Remember, much of how a President is going to be evaluated is how he handles surprises, not necessarily how he handles his own agenda."

BUSH THE REGULAR JOE

Americans sensed that they had elected a different sort of President when George Bush let it slip that he showered with his dog. This was something new: an emperor who admitted that he (at least for a few minutes every morning) had no clothes. The disclosure was not as startling as it might have been. Bush, American, a knew, or would soon learn, owned a bowling ball. He hated roccoli. He had trouble finishing his sentences. He had a fancy estate at Kennebunkport, Maine, which had been in his family for generations, but he ran errands to town and invited just about everyone to lunch. He preferred country to classical music. The anecdotes about Bush's "normal" habits tumbled forth from White House staffers like so many talking points. The message was obvious: the President is a regular Joe. "This is the first normal guy to hold this office in 25 years," a senior official said.

Some of those habits were not quite as advertised. During the 1988 campaign, Bush injected more of a Texas twang into his voice. "Fair" became a two-syllable word. He no longer intended an action; he was "fixin' to" do it. Bush did not excise all fancy words from his vocabulary, but he did spell them out syllable by syllable, as if reading them for the first time. Even "ed-jew-cav-shun" got this slow, snucks treatment. He had his picture taken throwing horseshoes rather than playing golf or tennis. Campaign officials discouraged photos of the Bush spread in Kennebunkport. The owner of an expensive speedboat and an avid angler for the exotic bonefish of the Florida Keys, Bush now emphasized his love of fishing for the humble largemouth bass and attended the Bass Masters exhibition in Alabama. He also let it be known that he liked to unwind with a beer (domestic, of course) and a big bag of pork rinds.

As soon as he was elected, Bush dropped most of his working-class affectations. It turned out that his favorite snack was not pork rinds but popcorn, and beer gave way to vodka martinis (on the rocks with lots of olives) and white wine. Bush once again strapped his watch to a striped-cloth band that had been banished during the campaign as too preppy. He similarly resumed wearing shirts with white collar and cuffs over striped or pastel-colored bodies: "what Roger calls my 'elitist shirts,'" Bush joked in a reference to his savvy campaign adman and image adviser, Roger Ailes.

Bush's eight years at Reagan's side taught him a great deal about how to be President and about how *not* to be President. He learned that a well-liked Commander in Chief, which Reagan was for most of his two terms, would be forgiven many a political gaffe or unpopular policy initiative. Bush also learned that a President who promised too much, who raised expectations for sweeping change, would, like Reagan, in the end be seen to fall short of the mark. So Bush set out to endear himself to the American public while at the same time working to lower its expectations both of him and of his presidency.

To the task, Bush brought something special: an ironic, self-mocking approach to the job. He went through the motions of being President that tradition dictated, but often with his tongue planted in his cheek. He once gathered his advisers in the Oval Office, placed a crystal ball on his desk and widened his

eyes over the orb, as a photographer snapped the picture with a telephoto lens and later forwarded the shot to a reporter's e-mail. "The President wanted you to know how he *really* makes decisions."

Film actress Melanie Griffith recalls standing on the road outside her home in Aspen, Colorado, and watching the President's motorcade go by one day in August 1990. In fact, it wasn't just any day; it was Aug. 2, 1990—the day after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. But Bush, seeing Griffith, stopped his car, activated the special speaker in the rear of his limousine—Bush calls this device "Mr. Microphone"—and barked at Griffith's one-year-old daughter. "What's the matter, Dakota? Never seen a talking car before?" Bush invited Dana Carvey, whose *Saturday Night Live* imitations of the President were frighteningly convincing, to the White House. There, during a 15-minute Oval Office chat, Bush and Carvey stood in front of the fireplace and talked simultaneously at each other, one being Bush, the other doing Bush. When Carvey began snorting the air with one hand and talking about "Daaaaan Quaaaaavle—getting stronger, learning ev-er-v daaav," Bush doubled over in laughter.

This downsizing of the presidency served a dual political

Shops

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BASS TOURNAMENT

Anecdotes about Bush's "normal" habits and hobbies like bass fishing tumbled forth from the White House.

purpose: Americans came to like Bush and to expect less of him. It was as if to say, "Like me? Trust me." And it was hard not to like a man who, surrounded by grim-

aced Secret Service agents, howled with laughter when he played the \$20-bill-on-the-end-of-a-string trick on unsuspecting waiters at the Chinese embassy; who would greet visitors to the Oval Office by placing a windup mechanical bumblebee on the floor and letting it buzz around; who walked around the White House with a voice-activated stuffed monkey that socked itself on the head whenever the Commander in Chief began to talk. As Bush's old friend from Yale, Thomas ("Lud") Ashley, liked to say, "It's easy to underestimate George Bush because he's so damned genteel and nice."

BUSH THE LOYALIST

In looking for a chief of staff, Bush wanted a bad cop and one who was loyal to him alone. Bush had watched his friend Jim Baker, as Reagan's chief of staff, privately blame the Commander in Chief for much of what went wrong and take the credit for most of what went right. Bush was determined to find a more seirless

chief of staff, and thus picked John Sununu, the deeply conservative New Hampshire Governor who had saved Bush's flagging presidential bid by helping him win his state's primary. Bush deployed Sununu as a double-sided human shield, whom liberals would blame for taking a moderate Administration hostage and to whom conservatives would turn when the President abandoned their causes. Sununu ran interference when Bush needed to shuffle to the right on such issues as judicial appointments or abortion, absorbing the blame of Bush's latest pander to his party's extremist wing. But because his ties to conservatives were so strong, Sununu could mollify the powerful G.O.P. faction when the President needed to veer back to the middle on taxes and fiscal questions. "Sununu took all the arrows," explained an aide, "and Bush got all the credit."

While Sununu seldom exceeded his brief from Bush, his style was gratuitously insulting. He made enemies that neither he nor Bush needed. Nor did Sununu realize that by treating people maliciously, he ceased to get the best out of them; once burned by Sununu, most Republicans and White House aides just stopped saying anything or making suggestions. It wasn't until Sununu flew out of White House travel rules in May 1991 that Bush realized how few friends his obnoxious chief of staff had.

Bush began to nudge Sununu out just before Thanksgiving 1991. Moving with characteristic stealth, Bush dashed off an identical note to seven or eight longtime political allies asking for their "advice" about the upcoming campaign. He sealed the notes in White House envelopes and passed them to his son George. The younger Bush inserted the letters in larger plain brown envelopes bearing his return address in Dallas. He followed up with telephone calls, speaking individually with each of the outside advisers. The response to the secret letters was nearly unanimous: the recipients reported that they'd love to work in the 1992 campaign but could not imagine doing so if Sununu would retain authority over the campaign as chief of staff. As one member of the high command put it later to another, "I'm not working for that little son of a bitch."

On the day before Thanksgiving, sounding more like a Dutch uncle than an executioner, the younger Bush tried to break it to Sununu gently in the chief of staff's office. "You know, I've talked to a lot of people. They're down on you. It's going to be tough for you to work with these people. I've got to tell my father, and you've got to talk to him about it." George W. delivered his heave-ho but left the session doubtful that he had accomplished his mission. Indeed, Sununu concluded that he still had some wiggle room left and went to see Bush, who told him to come to Camp David that Sunday.

When Sununu arrived he surprised Bush by fighting for his job. "I can survive this thing," he told Bush. "I can work through it." The Commander in Chief couldn't bring himself to cut the umbilical cord. Having relied on Sununu to do his dirty work, Bush discovered that there was no one around to ax the hatchet man. So Bush again demurred, postponing his next move for another day. "Let's think about it. Let's talk tomorrow."

On the morning of Monday, Dec. 2, Sununu tentatively offered to resign, thinking Bush would reject it. Bush's response seemed vague: "Let me see what we ought to do," he said, "how we can handle it." Sununu didn't get it at first, but

within an hour he realized that "maybe" meant yes. Bush's ambivalent refusal to a half-serious offer of resignation was in fact a request for the real thing. "He didn't clear it up," Sununu later explained to friends. "He didn't clear it up."

In fact, he did, but in his own way. Both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* led their front pages the next day with stories about Sununu's pending departure—unmistakable leaks from the President's allies. Sununu immediately went to see Bush and told him that they had both suffered enough. "I don't want my family to go through another day of this," he said.

Within days the former Governor had explained to friends that he was disappointed that Bush couldn't deliver the bad news himself but relied instead upon his son to do his dirty work. "What really bothers me," said a close Sununu ally from New Hampshire, "is that the President couldn't tell John to his face, that he sent his kid to do it. John deserved better than that, and I know it bothered John too."

Weeks later, after Sununu was gone, many of the same officials who had received the secret letters from the President tried to impress upon reporters that George W.'s role had been vastly exaggerated. As one insisted, "I know for a fact that he hadn't been sent there by anyone." This was revisionism. Bush was just covering his tracks after the kill, perhaps embarrassed that he lacked the guts to fire his chief of staff himself.

BUSH THE BIT PLAYER

In his first 22 months in office George Bush made the evening news a third as often as his predecessor. The tactic was intentional: Bush believed that too much time on television would only raise public expectations about what he could accomplish.

Atwater on Defeating Bush

WHEN GEORGE BUSH PUT TOGETHER HIS 1988 CAMPAIGN, HE MOVED TO ADDRESS his patrician image by hiring Lee Atwater, who was steeped in the status anxieties and resentments of working-class whites in his native South Carolina. Atwater war-gamed how he would run against Bush if he were working for the Democrats and decided that he would connect the voters' reservations about Bush's privileged and insular upbringing with their fears about the Republican Party's economic agenda. "One of the most potent and consistent factors in American politics is the distrust and resentment of élites," said Atwater, who died of a brain tumor in 1991. Many swing voters are convinced that "various élites and special interests are stacking the decks against them."

Thus, to beat Bush, Atwater would revive the latent image of the G.O.P. as "a bunch of rich, old snobs" and link it to a devastating caricature of George Herbert Walker Bush: chauffeured to the Greenwich Country Day School during the Great Depression, spanked by his father with a squash racquet, inducted into the nation's most élite secret society at Yale as well as the suspicious Trilateral Commission and launched into politics with the help of Washington politicians who played golf with his Senator father. If he were running against Bush, Atwater would build TV ads around pictures of the Republican nominee as a fop-pish-looking Ambassador to the U.N. during the early 1970s, with his half-rim eyeglasses, long hair and sideburns, and flashy neckties. Pictures of Bush playing golf, and in tennis whites, dancing a silly pirouette to celebrate winning a close match. Pictures of the sprawling oceanfront Bush family mansion in Kennebunkport, with a voice-over saying, "No wonder he wants to cut capital gains taxes on the wealthy..."

Don't get him wrong, Atwater cautioned. He loved and admired Bush and believed such attacks would be outrageously unfair; they would discount his decency and service to his country, his hard work and his sympathy for those who had not had his advantages. Still... Atwater drawled with a mischievous grin, "if I was managing the Democrats' campaign, I think I might be able to beat George Bush." Instead, with Atwater's help, Bush struck first by painting Michael Dukakis as the elitist in the race: the creature of Harvard and the A.C.L.U., too "sophisticated" to say the Pledge of Allegiance or to kneel in prayer. ■

shot in front. Press secretary Martin Fitzwater said, "The President of the U.S. cannot solve every problem from warts to measles." David Demarest, Bush's communications director, put it this way: "This President does not see himself at the center of national attention. Bush had reason to worry that if he became a commonplace in America's living rooms, the public would tire of him prematurely. Pollster Robert Teeter had data that suggested the public actually resents a President who is on the news every night. Teeter regularly surveyed Americans for their sentiments about Bush and discovered that, as he once put it, 'they don't like having to come home every night and turn on the television to learn what he did today.' A President, as



Bush put it, could get "overexposed." By keeping his head down, Bush was subtly telling Americans not to look to Washington, and particularly the White House, for answers.

Bush instead sought to dial back his exposure, trimming the role of the presidency in the lives of most Americans. In this way, he was making a virtue of necessity: his inability to affect a swaggering leadership style dovetailed with his minimalist agenda. Plainspoken by nature, Bush was uncomfortable with dramatic language and hyperbole. He often deleted the most memorable passages from his speeches as he delivered them. He skipped over emotional lines about patriotism and national service, both before the Gulf War and after. (Radio reporters, who relied more than most reporters on strong words from a President for good stories, routinely let loose howls of frustration when Bush omitted the best lines from prepared texts.) The President didn't really believe that ideas could change people's minds. That, he figured, required careful, one-on-one negotiation—the kind of personal hard pitch that works best after a personal acknowledgment in a presidential speech.

When their White House mess privileges were revoked early in 1989, Bush's speechwriters realized their work would be less important to the 41st President than it had been to his predecessor. His writers complained privately that the only portions of speech draft that the boss seemed to care about were the "acknowledgments"—the several paragraphs of names and perfunctory thank-yous that led nearly every Bush speech, in which he recognized by name the friends, political allies and

other famous people in every branch of Bush's life. People he knew who was not mentioned in the text—and he rarely knew that—would break away in the middle of his comments, pore over the summary, and often scribble a stiff note to the chief of staff or a staffer afterward. It was, several speechwriters explained, the only thing Bush ever complained about.

Several White House officials tried to take advantage of Bush's interest in public opinion polls to present him opportunities for rhetorical leadership. They sent the president surveys that asked respondents not only what they thought, but how much they knew and didn't know, and whether new information and arguments might change their opinions. For example,

In July-August 1990, poll by Teeter's old firm, Market Opinion Research, asked 1,000 registered voters whether the government spends too much, not enough, or just the right amount on federal farm subsidies. Most of the respondents, thinking of aid to small farmers in need of drought assistance and such, answered "not enough" (43%) or "the right amount" (12%). Then the respondents were told, "In 1988, 45% of federal farm subsidies went to farm operators whose average net income was \$96,000 per year. With this new information, 35% of those polled said that 'the federal program should be changed [and] we should only help small farms.'" This offered an opening for Bush to shift public opinion and policy against the farm subsidies for the wealthy that he said he opposed. But he failed to follow through in any bold way.

Nor did he think he needed to. Midway through his term, Bush concluded that his Administration had already done enough to win re-election. "Let me suggest the following," Sununu said in November 1990 to the annual meeting of the Conservative Leadership Conference. "There's not another single piece of legislation that needs to be passed in the next two years for this President. In fact, if Congress wants to come together, adjourn and leave, it's all right with us. We don't need them."

BUSH THE GENERAL

Saddam Hussein was a hard man and reckoned he knew a patsy when he saw one. The Iraqi leader had watched with contempt as Bush tried for years, as Vice President and President, to appease him with trade concessions, intelligence sharing and an obsequious, boys-will-be-boys attitude toward Saddam's use of chemical weapons and torture against his own people and his threats against Israel and Kuwait. Saddam also saw how Bush had tried to appease the rulers of China after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre, and Mikhail Gorbachev after his March 1990 crackdown on Lithuania.

But after Iraq invaded Kuwait, Saddam learned better about Bush, and so did Bush's countrymen. In the opening words of his somber televised address on Aug. 5, 1990, announcing the initial dispatch of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia, Bush could have been describing himself as easily as America: "In the life of a nation, we are called upon to define who we are and what we believe."

In the gulf crisis, George Bush found something to believe in. He saw almost immediately that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait threatened vital U.S. interests and must be reversed—probably by force. And perhaps for the first time in his long political career, he never wavered. He denied the consensus of his aides on several crucial questions, including the decision to intervene in the first week of August and the move in early January to seek explicit backing from Congress before starting the

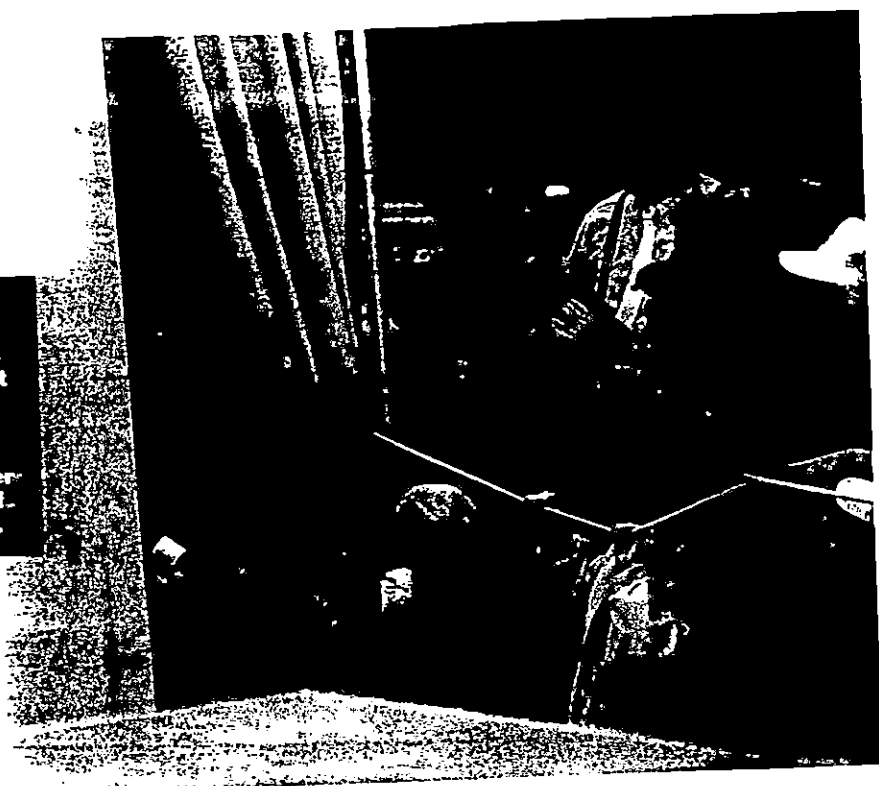
Bush deployed Sununu as a double-sided human shield. "Sununu took all the arrows," explained an aide; "and Bush got all the credit."

war, he encountered public resistance and a dozen times in the crisis and became involved in soaring rhetoric, with bold actions, each of which shifted public opinion toward support of his view.

Crucial to Bush's success in winning support at home and abroad was his well-practiced and ruthless use of deception. He repeatedly misled Saudi Arabia, the other coalition allies, the American public and Congress by exaggerating the nature of the threat that Iraq posed to Saudi Arabia and by concealing a number of intentions: the massive size and duration of the military deployment he had in mind, his immediate determination not only to defend Saudi Arabia but also to liberate Kuwait and his private assessment from the early weeks of the crisis that all-out war was likely.

Through it all Bush radiated an eerie calm and sense of command. Gone was the shrill, arm-waving creature who reversed himself on taxes, civil rights and abortion. The qualities Bush displayed throughout the Gulf crisis—stubborn resolve and adherence to principle, resourcefulness and foresight—were particularly striking in contrast with his reckless performance at home. In his speeches Bush evoked a "new world order" in which the U.S., as the sole superpower, would cooperate with the humbled Soviet Union and work through the U.N. to resolve conflicts. This new order represented an appealing hope and vision, but Bush focused his war aims squarely on the restoration of the old order, which he and his aides strictly defined as the status quo *ante bellum*—the situation that existed before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In the Gulf crisis Bush performed with uncommon con-

Bush, shaking hands in Billings, Montana, in 1990, set out to endear himself to the public while working to lower expectations of his presidency.



viction and ingenuity, but he served as he did at home: as a warrior for the status quo.

The U.S. strategy toward Iraq was worked out far in advance during a relaxed, four-hour session between Bush and Brent Scowcroft, as they trolled for bluefish off Kennebunkport. The two men assumed the U.S. would do whatever was necessary to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, but was that enough? What further objectives should they pursue? The overthrow of Saddam? Destruction of Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear-weapons programs and its ballistic missiles? As a lesson in the dangers of expanding one's war aims, Scowcroft recalled the U.S. experience four decades earlier in defending South Korea from invasion by the communist North. Rather than merely expel the invaders, the U.S. tried to unify Korea by marching all the way to the border with China. In response, China intervened. The conflict lasted nearly three more years, cost tens of thousands of additional casualties and poisoned U.S.-Chinese relations for 20 years. All to end up back at the status quo *ante bellum*.

If it came to war, Scowcroft argued, the U.S. would have ample opportunity to bomb deep inside Iraq, to destroy its unconventional and ballistic weapons and to cripple its conventional army as an offensive threat. But those objectives must remain unstated. Nor must the overthrow of Saddam be a public objective. When he retreated from Kuwait, or was driven out, Bush and Scowcroft were assuming, his generals and Baath Party leaders would tear Saddam apart like carrion and elevate a new leader who would be eager to restore ties with the rest of the world.

As it turned out, the ground war lasted only one hundred hours. But even weeks after victory over Iraq, Bush was nagged by the problems of the Kurds. Baker had just returned from a visit to the Kurdish

Light 'Em Up

AFTER TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE, BUSH RESEMBLED NOTHING SO MUCH AS A MEDIEVAL boy king who woke up one morning, found himself atop the throne and began tugging at the bell ropes for servants, ordering up royal carriages and scheduling banquets and tournaments. "In case you hadn't noticed," Bush often explained, "I really love my job."

Bush's ebullience often seemed limitless—as hundreds of local Congressmen and political officials who attempted to buttonhole him during a presidential visit to their states discovered. Most politicians try to put to good use the brief ride from the local airport into town, making a pitch for help with a project or a hand in solving a snarled political problem.

Bush, however, often pre-empted such appeals with an adult car game called "Light 'em up." In the back of his armored Cadillac limousine, Bush faced forward with his guest on the jump seat facing aft. As the limo moved through the streets, Bush would pick out someone from the crowd, usually an attractive woman or child, point and wait until—pow!—eye contact and the victim realizes, "He's looking at me! That's when the target 'lit up.'" Because the limo was moving forward, it fell to the guest facing aft to report to the President when he asked, "Did I get her? Did I light her up?" And then the game would begin again. The anticipated tête-à-tête about the local water project never came off. The bewildered politician's disappointment, not to mention the spectacle of another local dignitary forced to play the silly game, never failed to amuse the White House staff—or the President.

refugees in northern Iraq and begged Bush to describe the horrors he had seen. What was more, the camera crews with him had seen them too: night after night, the networks were feeding the news with pitiful Kurdish children dead and dying. Then Bush received a phone call from President Furgut Ozal of Turkey. The plight of the Kurds, Ozal insisted, was "an embarrassment to you and a political threat to us, and it will get worse. Please me." Then Ozal said firmly, "Here is what you must do. First, you must get the Kurds down out of the mountains to the plains where they can be helped. Second, to get them out of the mountains, you must protect them from the Iraqi military."

This went against Bush's oft-stated instinct to avoid entanglement in Iraq's ferocious tribal conflicts. Yet as Bush canvassed the European allies, he learned, as Baker had warned, that they were prepared to move without the U.S., leaving him to look cold and heartless and, more important, like a man surrendering the leadership of the new world order. By Tuesday evening, Bush had turned his policy 180°. He would send ground troops into northern Iraq to protect the Kurds. "So much for our nice, clean victory," carped one White House opponent of the new policy, "and for not getting bogged down in Middle East politics."

The Kurds would be only the first bit of unfinished business in Iraq to gradually corrode what should have been an untarnished triumph for Bush's leadership in diplomacy and war. Yet those who chided Bush for not "finishing the job" by ousting Saddam seldom thought through the costs and difficulties of such a mission. "Saddam was not going to sit and wait on his veranda for us," said Bob Gates, then Scowcroft's deputy. "We saw how difficult it was to find Manuel Noriega in a much smaller country with a smaller army." Saddam's ouster would have required a full-blown takeover of Iraq, incurring additional U.S. casualties. It would have committed the U.S. to putting a new government in place and would certainly have splintered the wartime coalition, leaving the U.S. to do it alone. "Can you imagine how we would be pounded," Gates said, "if

In the Gulf crisis, Bush found something to believe in. And perhaps for the first time in his long political career, he never wavered.

we were bogged down in an inconclusive civil war in Iraq."

At even victory began to work against Bush. Critics reported that although Americans were mightily impressed with Bush's performance during the Gulf crisis, they resented the fact that he did not apply the same skills to reversing America's economic decline. "He never exerted the same kind of leadership on domestic issues that he did in the Persian Gulf," said Representative Leon Panetta, the California Democrat who chairs the House Budget Committee. "There's no question President Bush could have a significant impact."

BUSH THE CAUTIOUS COACH

When Bush says he considers himself a conservative, he sees his role as a *conservator*: one entrusted with an inheritance and concerned less with expanding it than with guarding it. His is an old-fashioned "order" conservatism, which seeks to impose no new vision of society but rather to defend the status quo and to avoid mistakes of commission—in sharp contrast with the risk-taking, china-breaking conservatism of Reagan and Barry Goldwater.

Bush often volunteers, in contrast with the rhetoric of Reagan, that he does not "hate government." Bush is, however, deeply skeptical and pessimistic toward attempts of government to force the pace of human progress. He believes that progress comes, when it comes, through gradual changes in attitudes. When Bush ran for the U.S. Senate from Texas in 1964, for example, he made opposition to civil rights legislation the centerpiece of his campaign. "I believe that the solution to this grave problem," he stated in a campaign brochure, "lies in the hearts and goodwill of all people."

The first duty of a President, Bush believed, was "prudence," a quality he esteemed above all others. Bush further defined this duty in terms of the teachings of Hippocrates, the ancient Greek known as the father of medicine, who counseled young physicians. In trying to heal, first take care to do no harm. Though masked by the President's sunny disposition and boundless energy, the phrase "Do no harm" became a pessimistic leitmotiv for the Bush Administration. Where John



...neuv won the presidency in 1960 on the slogan "We can do better." Bush's byword, uttered often by him and to him in private strategy sessions, was "We could do worse."

"I don't want to make any four-term mistakes like Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs," Bush told his advisers. Bush could always see the pitfalls he wished to avoid more clearly than any affirmative goals he might have in mind. De-

manding his restrained response to the Soviet crack-

down on Lithuania in early 1990, Bush quoted

one of his favorite philosophers, Luigi Berra, saying,

"I don't want to make the wrong mistake." When he

was pressed in late 1991 to fight the double-dip recession with a middle-class

tax cut and extended unemployment benefits, Bush demurred, endorsing the laissez-faire view that recessions can be beneficial in helping

businesses to become "leaner" and "more competitive." He added that "my goal is to see that government doesn't get in the way." Bush also argued that recessions are largely self-correcting, saying, "That's an argument for not doing anything

dumb... that's going to make it worse."

Bush often tries to portray his dearth of principles and his irresolution as virtues. Asked by an Iowa student why he reversed his stand on abortion rights and embraced Reagan's staunch pro-life stance, Bush replied, "Have you ever changed your mind? That's one thing about intellectual honesty."

At other points, however, Bush has defended his abortion switch by pointing out that the number of abortions had grown enormously and convinced him that the practice should be curtailed by law. This line of argument is common with Bush, and telling. Few particular practices, whether abortion or S&L shysters forking out billions in taxpayer-insured deposits to their cronies in commercial real estate, are abhorrent to Bush inherently, but only when taken to excess. Thus, after reading *Den of Thieves*, the James Stewart tale of Wall Street market rigging and self-dealing, Bush pronounced himself disturbed by the "greed" involved but drew no larger conclusions about deregulation of taxpayer-insured financial industries. Thus, the moral question at the heart of the abortion debate—the rights of a fetus versus those of its mother—are of less interest to Bush than the number of fetuses involved.

Pollster Teeter, like Bush, often quotes former Republican National Committee chairman Ray Bliss, who advised that in politics one should always wait a few days before taking an important position or making a major decision, because "by then, you might not have to decide at all." With the Democrats in control of both houses of Congress and with Bush disinclined to wage partisan jihad, compromise seemed the President's only hope of accomplishment. Still, even Teeter warned Bush to guard against the impression that he was some sort of national real estate broker whose only goal was to close a deal, any deal. Teeter and other close advisers urged Bush to "tell people what you would do if you were a dictator, if you didn't have to deal with Congress."

Bush seldom followed that advice. Whenever he was asked why he wasn't leading on some controversial issue—say, the need to reduce the burden of regressive Social Security taxes on

He wasn't passive or indolent, but he was reactive, always less interested in doing anything specific as President than in just being President.

MR. PRESIDENT

middle-income wage earners—Bush would spread his arms, shrug and reply, "Why don't Republicans and Democrats [in Congress] rise up and do something about it?" Bush expected the Democrats in Congress to take the lead in domestic policy and told them so repeatedly in private sessions. While Reagan had staffers dig out Harry Truman's old placard THE DUCK STOPS HERE and place it on his desk, Bush as President sent the thing back into storage.

Bush left no doubt of his defensive, risk-averse temperament in a 1989 interview about his baseball career at Yale, where he served as team captain and first baseman, despite having one of the worst batting averages on the squad. Asked what kind of manager he would be, Bush replied, "Probably fairly cautious. I'd play by the averages, probably get people on, be cautious about too much stealing and bunt 'em over... I think just steady is what I'd say."

Bush lacks a clear rationale for a second term in part because the imperative that drove his first four years—re-election—will be moot on Nov. 4, 1992. Absent the political goal of winning a second term, Bush would have no star to chart by. Already, the Bush White House is in danger of intellectual exhaustion after not four but 12 years in office. Many of the brightest Bush aides have no plans to stay around for a second term because they know the fun that goes with the heavy lifting of legislation is over. "You've got to get out of here soon," said one top official as he pondered his options in the spring of 1992, "because *nothing* is going to happen here in a second term."

A second Bush term would look a lot like the first: more of the same, only less. Bush would rely on his instincts, reacting to events as necessary. His goals wouldn't be bold, but then his actions wouldn't be imprudent. Like the experienced captain of a cruise ship, Bush would take care to coddle the first-class passengers, and though he would be indifferent to the vessel's course and destination, he could at least be trusted not to sink it.

Officers training school should test women's true mettle

WASHINGTON—On Monday, Aug. 17, the 250 men, and women, of Company E will begin their six months of training at The Basic School, Quantico, Va., the Corps' finishing school for newly commissioned second lieutenants.

The 22 women of the class will be fully integrated into the training, unlike their separation into all-female student platoons for the past decade.

Henceforth, no differences. The women officer students will take the required 20-mile hike in full combat gear. They will participate in pugil stick fights, featuring the padded sticks used in the Corps for practical training in the violence of bayonet combat, although a Marine Corps spokesman said it hasn't been decided whether the bouts will be strictly

David Evans

female-versus-female or will include female-versus-male contests.

Clearly, though, the Marine Corps decision is a step on the road to unrestricted employment of women in combat.

Such a policy would be a mistake, emblematic of a country playing "a game" with its national defense, according to Dr. Martin van Creveld, an esteemed military historian at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Van Creveld used this phrase, "a game," in blunt testimony a few weeks ago before the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Services. The commission is slated to submit its recommendations on the women-in-combat issue to President Bush in mid-November.

"I am here with one purpose in mind: namely, to explode the myth which seems to be prevalent in the United States about the role of women in the Israeli military," he told the commissioners.

"It seems that many people in [America] believe that Israeli women are routinely training with weapons and serving in combat units and ... there [are] any number of pictures of pretty women with their weapons that tend to reinforce that illusion," he said.

"The fact is that no Israeli woman has served in combat since 1948, and even though the IDF [Israeli Defense Force] has very often been made to face overwhelming, almost desperate odds, we are very proud of the fact that at no time have we deliberately exposed Israeli women to the risks of combat," he declared.

In the guerrilla war for independence against the British, women did serve in the underground, Van Creveld said.

"They often were used to smuggle weapons, because it was thought that British soldiers would be more hesitant to search them than men," Van Creveld recounted.

However, women did not participate in larger combat operations, such as "a military retaliation raid against an Arab village," Van Creveld said.

"The first thing that the IDF did after it was established [in 1948] was to exclude all women from combat," he said.

"In fact, when war breaks out, the first thing the IDF does is to take out all the women from the combat zone. Not always successfully so ... in 1973 when we came under surprise attack, women [soldiers] got killed by missiles being dropped on military camps in the Sinai. But this is not policy and is something which we try to avoid at all cost," Van Creveld said.

The Israeli policy is based on the physical demands of combat. Even flying a combat jet, Van Creveld said, "will leave you completely drained ... and that is a high-tech job, right?"

"Are there some women capable of doing it? Undoubtedly. Are most women [physically] less capable of doing it than most men? Undoubtedly.

... that is the best possible reason for excluding women from combat," he asserted.

At this point, commissioner Kate O'Beirne challenged Van Creveld. Even if "there might be only 10 females in all of Israel who qualified ... how would you permit a cultural taboo, or whatever ... to stand in the way of allowing whoever is best, given

"Because the added overhead that you would need in order to incorporate those females would be so large as to make the whole exercise counter-productive," he replied.

For example, more replacements would be needed in the personnel pipeline to deal with the so-called "unexpected" [non-combat] loss rate due to medical problems, accidents, and what have you. Among American women sailors deployed to the Persian Gulf in 1990 and 1991, the rate was 9.4 percent, more than double the 4.0 percent loss rate for men assigned to the same ships. Even when the pregnancy factor is taken out, the unexpected loss rate for females remains slightly higher than for men.

The presidential commission is now amassing comparable unexpected losses for the Army, Air Force and Marine Corps.

Regarding the larger issue of women in combat, Van Creveld was adamant: "The very fact that this issue is being discussed ... simply shows that you don't take the military seriously."

And if the Marine Corps program doesn't feature female-versus-male pugil stick bouts, Van Creveld will have his proof.

Some women prefer to preach 'values,' not practice them

By Myriam Marquez

When Hillary Clinton said she wasn't the type to stay home baking cookies and having teas, she was honest, but not politically smart.

The spouse of the Democratic presidential nominee should have known better than to push the homemaking hot button.

The women's movement wasn't about mothers feeling guilty for working or for staying home. It wasn't about being snooty over each other's choices. It was simply about enabling women to make the choices that best suit them and their families.

In "Backlash," Susan Faludi, a reporter for The Wall Street Journal, dissects how the Reagan culture of the New Right put all women on the defensive, regardless of their choice. One chapter details the hypocrisy of the women leading the New Right.

Let's start with the most well-known female anti-feminist, Phyllis Schlafly. "The woman who opposed the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] because it 'would take away the marvelous legal rights of a woman to be a full-time wife and mother in the house supported by her husband' was a Harvard-educated lawyer, author of nine books and a two-time congressional candidate," Faludi notes.

Then there is Connaught C. Marshner, who started as a researcher for the Heritage Foundation in 1973, and went on to become director of the Free Congress Foundation's "family policy" division by 1979. In her 1982 book "The New Traditional Woman," Marshner wrote: "A woman's nature is, simply, other-oriented. . . . Women are ordained by their nature to spend themselves in meeting the needs of others."

While she was pushing mothers to stay put at home because nature ordained it, this is what Marshner was doing in 1976: She was pregnant with a second child, juggling two jobs and a book contract, while her husband was going to school in Texas.

"Rather than move west and sacrifice her work, Marshner stayed on in Washington and sent her 1-year-old son to her mother's house in Baltimore. In the final months of the pregnancy she rejoined her family in Texas, so that her husband could handle the child care and cooking—'Thank goodness for Bill'—while she finished the book," Faludi writes.

By 1987, Marshner, in her fourth pregnancy, decided to leave Washington politics and write from home. Heritage Foundation's Paul Weyrich called Marshner "a classic example of what I'm talking about—women just can't do it all. Every single one of the girls I've had here who've had children has left."

A strange comment, Faludi notes, when you consider that several women in Weyrich's office—from his finance manager to his vice president of operations to his secretary—have children. And several are single mothers.

And let's not forget Beverly LaHaye, who founded Concerned Women for America. She's married to Moral Majority co-founder Tim LaHaye. When LaHaye's youngest child "was still in diapers," she went to work as a teletype operator for a stock brokerage, starting at 6 a.m. She found the job "exciting."

By May 1988, LaHaye was ruling over her "Concerned" empire from Capitol Hill. "Women must put family as their top priority," she said. "If that means giving up the career, then so be it. It's just the natural way. It's built into us as women."

Gee, LaHaye seems to have forgotten all about that "exciting" job at the brokerage firm.

Oh, the contradictions of the New Right.

Hillary Clinton may not have stayed home baking cookies, but she managed to go to most of her daughter's ballet lessons and softball games, bake cookies once in a while, and work full time. She ought not have to apologize for taking pride in doing both her jobs.

It's the New Right's women leaders who owe all of us an apology. This hypocritical lynch mob has made a living by telling women they're better off at home—no choice about it. They have aggrandized their own careers, without one ounce of guilt, at the expense of all the women they have made to feel guilty.

VIA SATELLITE



Life

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, 1992

Stepfamilies aren't bad for most kids

By Karen S. Peterson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Most children are not psychologically damaged by divorce and remarriage, says an ongoing, government-sponsored study.

In fact, 80% do quite well in stepfamilies, researcher James Bray told the 100th conference of American Psychological Association Saturday.

"While these kids are at risk for problems, most are doing as well as children in nuclear families," says Bray, a psychologist with Baylor College of Medicine, Houston. His findings will fuel the controversy over the effects of divorce on kids. Bray says his work "clarifies" earlier, highly publicized research, done without a control group, that found half of children of divorce damaged up to 10 years.

Bray's work finds more friction in stepfamilies than nuclear families and that tensions worsen with time. But "there is more negative interaction between parents and children in all families as kids move deeper into adolescence."

Over four years, Bray evaluated 99 nuclear and 99 stepfamilies. The children had entered a stepfamily between

Stepping into parental shoes

Forty percent of all kids will be in a stepfamily before age 18, James Bray offers this advice:

- Biological parent must be the disciplinarian at first while the stepparent builds a relationship with the kids.
- Stepparent should parent "indirectly" by tuning in to stepkids' activities.
- Both must talk with kids often and candidly about being in a stepfamily.

ages 6 and 8 and were from 6 to 14 at the study's start.

Among findings:

► 90% of kids in intact families were doing well psychologically; so were 80% of kids in stepfamilies.

► Girls don't have more problems than boys in stepfamilies, but girls "seem to react to conflict with more concern."

► Couples in first marriages and remarried couples both say they're happy; but researchers found remarrieds interacted more negatively.

Can the boob tube finally get serious?

Bold new programming to promote literacy

Ten years ago, on his 92nd birthday, television pioneer Vladimir Zworykin marveled at his creation. "I didn't even dream it would be so good," he admitted. "But I would never let my children come close to the thing."

It is a view shared by countless parents and educators convinced that television is the enemy of literacy and a corrosive influence on youthful minds. This fall, those cynics may have to reconsider. In its largest venture since the launch of "Sesame Street" over two decades ago, Children's Television Workshop is introducing the first-ever example of what might be dubbed literacy TV. Called "Ghostwriter," the new Sunday evening prime-time show is a hip, suspenseful, adventure series with a radical twist: Its young cast relies for help on a ghost who communicates only through the written word. The show's characters must read to participate in the unfolding mystery and write their way through abundant obstacles; at home, viewers must do the same.

Congressional boost. "Ghostwriter" may be just the beginning of this new variation on educational TV. Congress is pushing on several fronts for greater use of the medium's instructional potential. Its Office of Technology Assessment is currently studying telecommunications' potential for improving literacy, and two Democrats, Rep. Ron Wyden of Oregon and Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, have drafted legislation that would vastly expand the outlets for children's educational programming. Kennedy's Ready to Learn Television Act, introduced last week, would require the dedication of an entire channel on the new public-TV satellite to instructional shows aimed at preschoolers and elementary-school children. Wyden's bill would require each broadcast network to dedicate one hour a week to such programming, a far more concrete licensing requirement than that imposed by the Children's Television Act of 1990, which has had negligible impact on what America's kids see.

At least one cable network has already taken the literacy initiative. The Disney



"Ghostwriter" mystery. Solution in the writing

Channel's current top-rated morning show is "Adventures in Wonderland," which uses Lewis Carroll's characters and linguistic antics to introduce new vocabulary and explore such grammatical concepts as homonyms and idiomatic speech. (In one episode, the Red Queen "loses her voice" and sends the Mad Hatter and March Hare scurrying to find it.)

But no effort to date comes close to the ambitions of "Ghostwriter." For four years, CTW has been working with researchers at Harvard's Graduate School of Education to develop a curriculum and teaching strategies for the show. "We found that kids hit a wall," says CTW President David Britt, "and that wall is called fourth grade. At that moment, a kid shifts from learning to read to having to read in order to

learn." Fully half of all children never manage that shift, according to Colette Daiute, a Harvard professor of human development and a consultant to CTW. "Fifty percent of all kids tested in grades four, eight and 11 have only minimal literacy skills, meaning they can decode individual words but are unable to comprehend or communicate complete, complex thoughts." The numbers are worse still for minority kids, the new show's principal target.

Reaching them meant providing a world to identify with: The cast is black, white, Hispanic and Asian, the setting a gritty Brooklyn neighborhood, the celebrity guests such local heroes as Spike Lee. Knowing they'd fail if the show got overtly pedantic, the creators wove reading and writing seamlessly into a hot, graphically jazzy show produced by Liz Nealon, an originator of MTV.

They also decided to take the show literally to the streets. With 4-H, the YMCA, the Boys and Girls Clubs of America and the Girl Scouts, CTW has developed an array of Ghostwriter activities. They created a new full-color *Ghostwriter* magazine and will distribute 20 million copies to schools and after-school centers in low-income areas. They have syndicated a newspaper feature and arranged with Bantam Books to publish a series of 12 low-priced "Ghostwriter" paperbacks. "For kids who've had nothing but bad experiences with reading and writing, it's al-

most impossible to remediate directly with print," explains Rita Weisskoff, an education professor who is the show's director of content. "So we use nonprint ways to engage them again and only then move them back into print."

CTW has invested \$21 million in the project, a third of which came from its own coffers, enriched by "Sesame Street," and an additional \$5 million from a grant from Nike. Produced in association with the BBC, the show is set to debut in the United Kingdom; other foreign co-productions are not far behind. Perhaps E. B. White's hope that television would be "our Lyceum, our Chautauqua" was not so naive as it originally seemed.

BY MIRIAM HORN

College presidents leaving in droves

By Frank James

While a recession may generally be a bad time to hunt for work, one job category appears to have plenty of vacancies: college president.

In recent months, the presidents of the University of Chicago, De Paul and Loyola Universities, the School of the Art Institute and colleges like Columbia, Lake Forest, Wheaton and Knox, in Galesburg, Ill., have announced they are stepping down.

And on the community college level, the heads of City Colleges of Chicago and Triton College in River Grove departed, though in both cases kicking and screaming.

Few in Illinois academia can remember a period when so many top higher education posts were vacated almost simultaneously.

In fact, announcements of departures have been coming so furiously that some of the very presidents about to leave have wondered if something sinister is behind the rash of exits.

Furthering the impression that college presidents are bailing out with unnatural frequency is the flux at world-class research uni-

versities across the country.

University leaders Benno Schmidt at Yale, Michael Sovern at Columbia, Donald Franklin at Stanford and Keith Brodie at Duke all have called it quits in the past year.

The Chronicle of Higher Education, the bible of academia, appears of two minds when it comes to explaining what is happening.

In the June 17 issue, a story about all the departures ran under the apprehensive headline "Spate of Resignations Prompts Concern about Health of College Presidency."

Less than a month later, however, the Chronicle did the editorial equivalent of whistling past the graveyard. "Because some of the recent resignations were at 'prestigious' institutions, they have sparked more general interest than usual," it said. "But the number of presidential vacancies—214 by the Chronicle's count—is not unusual."

Indeed, during a typical year, there are 300 to 400 presidential vacancies at the nation's roughly 2,000 four-year institutions, said a Carnegie Foundation report titled "Choosing a College Presi-

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Colleges

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dent: Opportunities and Constraints."

Certainly the ages (many are in their 60s) and lengthy tenures of many presidents could explain all the announcements, whose timing may just be coincidental.

But some say all the smoke means fire and that the flames are the pressures of the modern president's role.

"The job of a college president is tough," said Stan Rives, who quit as president of Eastern Illinois University in Charleston last December. At that time, he said the main reason for quitting was his job was "less enjoyable than it used to be."

"It's fun and exciting, but it's tough. For anybody who's going to do it seriously, it's about 15, 16 hours a day and seven days a week," much of which is spent fundraising, Rives said.

Then there are all the campus constituencies, the faculty and students to deal with. Furthermore, the president of a public university has to glad-hand with legislators, who appropriate much of its budget.

"I think what you're seeing is the result of a tough job. I think people get kind of worn out," Rives said.

As difficult as the job is, many Illinois school presidents have remained in place decades past their colleagues elsewhere. On average, tenure for college or university presidents nationally is seven

years, according to a Carnegie Foundation report.

But some Illinois presidents have had terms more than three times that.

Community college leaders can be another matter entirely. Both Nelvia Brady at City Colleges and Michael Bakalis at Triton were fired after only a few years in their offices. Both ran afoul of their trustees, getting embroiled in political battles that seemed to have more to do with power than academics.

The pressures of the job did not lead to his decision to quit, said Loyola's Rev. Raymond Baumhart, 68. He became Loyola's president in 1970, the year of the Kent State shootings. Then, with all the student unrest over Vietnam, the pressures seemed greater.

By the time he retires in mid-1993, he will have been president 23 years. He said his longevity is partly due to a strong board and good lieutenants who helped him oversee the university's growth into a major research center with a giant, nationally respected medical center.

Age was a big factor for going, Baumhart said. "As you get older, you say, 'Hey, I'm not what I once was. It's time to move on.' That's about where I am."

"I was beginning to say, 'Hey, this presidential load is getting heavier.' That was the first time I had felt that. . . . and then I asked myself about health, about memory. My memory isn't what it once was."

"The problem in this job is you have to give a year's notice. So

you're trying to guess: How am I going to be a year from now? What kind of problems is the university going to have then?"

Since Loyola's key officers have been in place at least two years and the school was stable, the time had come to hand over the presidency, Baumhart said.

Lake Forest College's Eugene Hotchkiss III matches Baumhart's 22 years, while Hanna Gray at the U. of C. will have served 15 years by the time she goes. Rev. John Richardson at De Paul has been president 11 years.

Richardson concedes the danger of a lengthy term is a stale leader lacking innovative ideas. But good reasons exist for longer presidencies, he said.

"Especially since presidents these days spend so much time in fundraising, it's extremely helpful to have a few extra years so presidents can become better acquainted with both the foundations and the corporate community," Richardson said. "And those friendships do build over the years. . . . I would hope my successor would remain in office for at least 10 years."

In April, John McCall, Knox College's president for 10 years, announced he was resigning his prestigious post for an unusual one. He and his wife plan to leave Galesburg to work in an underdeveloped country as aid workers.

"Being president is a demanding job, but I found it was actually getting more interesting," he said. "But I set a limit of 10 years when I wanted to give something back."

A THOUSAND POINTS OF SLIGHT

Why is it that the thousands of independent school boards running our 15,000 school systems cannot turn out high-school graduates whose achievement scores match those of the Japanese? Everyone with school-age children knows that we have let our public school system wither and atrophy, especially the seventh to 12th grades.

Has George Bush been the education president? Only in the sense that Herbert Hoover was the prosperity president. The intentions may have been honorable, but the thousand points of light have never been turned on. In his last two budgets, the president has asked Congress for less money for elementary, secondary and vocational education than it would take to maintain even the current low levels of service. He argues that education is largely a state and local responsibility. Major elements of the much ballyhooed Bush Project America 2000 have been stalled or watered down. The education president has been a noneducation president, and it's hard to believe the situation would improve in a second Bush administration.

Since millions of middle-class children must depend on the public school system to give them the skills appropriate to a 21st-century economy, they are being condemned to careers of lower skills and hence lower wages—and America is being condemned along with them. Once we could put out products that foreigners could not match technologically; today, with over 75 percent of our products facing foreign competition, it is too often America that cannot compete technologically. If our new generation is not trained to develop its brainpower, the key to the high-wage industries of the future, the economy will be forced to become a low-cost, low-skills producer. The unskilled worker, whose real wages have dropped by almost 20 percent in the past 20 years, will have to labor for the wages of the equally unskilled who live in poor societies. (We have become the source of relatively cheap labor for Europe and Japan.) Since higher levels of man-made skills are now the critical comparative advantage, it is skilled people who will determine where the key industries of the next few decades are to

be located—and that, in turn, will define America's economic future.

On his record, Governor Clinton looks more like an education president. He shares many program objectives with President Bush: a national student standard, measured by national exams; measurement of state-by-state progress; expansion of Head Start; increasing the freedom of parents to choose a school, and increasing the flexibility of teacher certification. The key difference is that he is much more willing to commit funding and political capital than Mr. Bush is. He would increase federal funds for educational and training programs by more than \$10 billion in 1993, and by \$20 billion in 1996, over the present \$32 billion federal program. As well as being willing to spend more, he has demonstrated a stronger personal commitment—critical when the next president takes on the education interests.

These interests have been resisting sweeping changes in educational systems that are too often top heavy and hidebound. Just look at the large cities, where teachers make up less than half of school-system employees and often are paid less than administrators.

Big changes are needed. We must attract talent, and instill dedication, to

teaching. For a start, this means finding a way to match the wages of our schoolteachers with those found in countries like Germany and Japan, where they run roughly 50 percent higher—\$45,000 to \$50,000 per year vs. about \$33,000 in America. But if pay increases are in the offing, teachers will have to provide more. This means longer school days and a longer school year, ending the uniquely American (and crazy) long summer shutdown. Teachers will also have to take on more of the administrative burden so that these costs can be reduced to make up for the salary increases.

This major commitment to education cannot begin soon enough. "America is now sauntering through her resources ... she will be obliged ... to pull herself together ... husband her resources, concentrate her strength ... trust her best, not her average, members." Woodrow Wilson said it more than a century ago. He spoke of our time, too.

'George Bush has been the education president only in the sense that Herbert Hoover was the prosperity president.'



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Port Authority Helps Homeless Find an Exit

By CATHERINE S. MANEGOLD

More than a decade after New York City started grappling with a surge in homelessness, a program by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey to combine police enforcement with treatment has cleared out the authority's midtown bus terminal and started to wear away the building's image as a grim example of the link between bureaucratic failure and human pathos.

Only eight months after the program's start, social workers for Operation Alternative have handled 6,000 referrals for mental illness, drug and

alcohol abuse and abject poverty.

They have also raised a tentative hope that the city's slow-moving bureaucracies may have finally started sketching out answers that move beyond the sweeps and crackdowns that typified early efforts, which were attacked as cruel and ineffective.

Advocates for the homeless give the Port Authority's approach grudging praise and complain only that the program should be better financed and integrated into a citywide plan. They argue, and public transportation officials increasingly agree, that longterm

solutions will benefit both the homeless who live in public transit areas and the passengers who use them.

The benefits for the 185,000 people who pass through the terminal each day are clear. Once a nagging reminder of the city's social and economic ills, the terminal no longer represents a grim gantlet for bus passengers dodging beggars, drunks, thieves and destitute drug addicts. Hallways and corners that once were littered with the crouched and covered forms of up to

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Port Authority Finds an Exit for Homeless

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400 or 500 homeless people are now both empty — and clean.

Officials with the Port Authority link that change to a sharp drop in crime. In the program's first seven months, reports of robberies in the terminal dropped by 39 percent compared with the same period last year. Reports of pickpockets were down by 41 percent and of assaults, by nearly one-fourth.

"Eight months ago when I came here," said Capt. William G. Cafaro, who supervises police operations at the Port Authority, "the big complaint was the homeless. Now, it is smoking."

The police report a similar though less dramatic drop in crime in the vicinity. In the Midtown South precinct that includes the Port Authority Bus Terminal, robberies declined by more than 15 percent in the first four months of this year compared with the same period last year. Grand larceny and assaults declined by 6.4 percent and 7.9 percent respectively.

When the police encounter someone who is homeless in the corridors, they tell the person to move along but also ask if he or she wants treatment or shelter. Many homeless people return to the streets, but some accept the offer and are escorted to an office on the ground floor.

Finally, Options

There, social workers from the Manhattan Bowery Corporation and the Partnership for the Homeless, working under a contract with the Port Authority, direct homeless people to places to sleep, eat and recover from everything from heat exhaustion to multiple addictions seven days a week. "What this program has allowed us to do," said Janis M. Beitzer, the terminal's manager, "is to separate out different cases. The tendency is really to lump everyone together."

Still, seen against a broader background, the Port Authority's project is like a pea inside a bucket, a small glimpse of success in a deep well of failure. The sidewalk along Ninth Avenue is crowded with people living in boxes and eking out a bare existence. So are surrounding streets.

Summer is the slowest season for shelters. But most are full. A nearby Manhattan Bowery Corporation shelter and one run in the Bronx by the Partnership for the Homeless, which handle Port Authority referrals, are packed to capacity. Winter will surely make matters worse.

And with unemployment up and Federal financing for social projects already cut and facing further reductions, the problem continues to grow. Mary Brosnahan, the executive director of the Coalition for the Homeless, says that her group, which sets up regular food lines at various sites around the city, is feeding twice as many people as it did just six months ago, even at the Port Authority. At one food line in Harlem, there are now 50 children under 13 who depend on the nightly meals. And because the demands on that group have expanded suddenly in recent months the meals have been cut back.

Critics say that public programs that stress evicting the homeless from public housing and bus terminals and train stations are the cruelest of

all. "You shouldn't get tough on the issue, you should get smart," said Norman Siegel, the executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union and a long-time advocate for the homeless. "The city needs to develop a comprehensive plan to finally, once and for all, get beyond this terrible problem. We've been dealing with this for 12 years, and I don't see the light at the end of the tunnel."

No comprehensive program is in place. Yet the Port Authority's effort is one positive sign. "The Port Authority is one of the most progressive of the groups," said Ms. Brosnahan. "We just want to push them to be more progressive."

Operation Alternative's roughly \$500,000 budget is barely one-thirtieth of the \$15 million allocated to the Port Authority police. And it constitutes less than 1 percent of the Port Auth-

A bus terminal's offers of shelter and treatment seem to actually help.

ority's annual \$54 million budget. Mr. Siegel called the budget "insufficient," and said the city should commit at least \$5 million toward a broad approach that would integrate housing with job training and treatment.

Advocates for the homeless said last week that the two groups hired by the Port Authority have been one factor in the program's success. They tended to criticize an older program, initiated in 1991 by the Metropolitan Transit Authority. Though that program, too, uses social workers to convince homeless people to get help, advocates said the M.T.A.'s follow-through is insufficient.

"Maybe they cleared up their problem," Mr. Siegel said of M.T.A. directors' claims that the number of homeless in the subways has dropped to about 700 to 1,000 from about 3,000 to 5,000 in the late 1980's. "But they dumped it onto the rest of the city."

Convincing the Homeless

Bernard Cohen, director of the M.T.A.'s department of policy and planning, defended the M.T.A. program and stressed that it, too, contains a treatment component. During a tour of Grand Central Terminal with social workers last week, he said, he was told about a man who had lived there for four years. The social workers said they had just convinced the man to buy a ticket on Metro-North to go to a treatment center outside the city.

"I said, 'How do you know he got on the train?'" said Mr. Cohen. "So we walked over to the platform and, sure enough, he poked his head out and started chatting."

Wendy Feuer, the M.T.A.'s director for transit and facility design and one of the organizers of the program for the homeless, said she believes it is still evolving. "We are getting more sophisticated at handling these things," she said. But she pointed out that some people are more resistant than others. "It's as though it's the

last six miles of a marathon, when you really have to do hard work."

It took 10 years and a heart full of failure before Tony, 24, finally sought help and stayed with it. Last March 16, on the second day of a cold snap that covered Manhattan with a clear blue sky but left thermometers drifting between 17 degrees and a high that barely cleared the freezing mark, he wandered into the Port Authority Terminal to ask for help.

"I knew I had to stop or die," Tony said, who asked that only his first name be used to protect his family. He described a life of homelessness and drug abuse. "It got to the point where someone would want to kill me, someone including the police."

Shifting on a metal chair and recounting his years on the streets, Tony said his troubles started at 13 when a cousin invited him to help sell heroin and cocaine on the streets of Harlem. For three years, he took his pay in fancy clothes. Then, on his 16th birthday, he got a shoe box stuffed with \$16,000. He also got a message: His cousin told him that from that day forward, Tony would be in business for himself.

Within a year, the cousin was dead and Tony's life started unraveling. In quick sequence he was shot, stabbed and attacked with a baseball bat. His drug use increased; his luck ran out.

Several times he quit taking drugs. Always he went back. By March, he knew he was near some personal end point, a moment when he had to change. He had heard that the Port Authority's program worked.

Help for Some, Not All

Today, Tony still lives in a shelter run by the Manhattan Bowery Corporation. But he is off drugs, is working on his high-school equivalency diploma and has a paying job working every night with homeless people who, like him, wander in to seek the program's help.

Not everyone wants it. Last week, as a driving rain pelted rush-hour commuters, Mary Jane Manley and Lewis Terry sat on 41st Street, under the second-story link between the terminal's two buildings and shared a cigarette. Ms. Manley was drinking Thunderbird. Mr. Terry was sipping from a large bottle of beer inside a paper bag.

They passed the cigarette back and forth and said they had heard about the program. Mr. Terry said he did not go because he was a Vietnam veteran and would go to a Veterans Administration hospital if he needed help. Ms. Manley fished into a pocket for a letter of referral to the Port Authority's program.

"I want to go," she said. "I want to get myself back together again. Maybe this weekend. Maybe I'll go in there this weekend." Then she excused herself and her friend. They were busy drinking and talking. There were still a few drags in their cigarette. Ms. Manley tucked her referral letter away again. The center, she knew, would be open another day.