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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Office of the President  
**Series:** Daily Files  
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**OA/ID Number:** 90732  
**Folder ID Number:** 90732-002

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**Folder Title:**  
Saturday, October 31, 1992

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>

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SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT  
Saturday, October 31, 1992

	B <u>Racine</u>	Racine, Wisconsin
8:15 am	The President and Mrs. Bush depart Marriott Hotel for <u>Train Station, Burlington</u>	
8:50 am	B Arrive Train Station <u>for Burlington Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	Burlington, Wisconsin
10:50 am	B Train arrives for Sussex <u>Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	Sussex, Wisconsin
2:00 pm	B Train arrives for Oshkosh <u>Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	Oshkosh, Wisconsin
5:05 pm	B Train arrives for Stevens <u>Point Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	Stevens Point, Wisconsin
8:30 pm	Train arrives for Chippewa <u>Falls Welcome</u> (Kaufman)	Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin
9:25 pm	Departs Train Station for Chippewa Valley Regional Airport, Eau Claire, enroute <u>La Crosse</u>	
10:35 pm	<u>Arrives Holiday Inn</u>	La Crosse, Wisconsin
	<u>RON La Crosse</u>	

UNP 10/30/92  
5:00 pm



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT  
Sunday, November 1, 1992

	<u>La Crosse</u>	La Crosse, Wisconsin
9:05 am	<u>The President departs Holiday Inn for La Crosse County Republican Headquarters</u>	
9:10 am	<u>Arrives GOP Headquarters for Live CNN "Newsmaker's Sunday" Interview with Frank Sesno (Smith)</u>	
10:10 am	<u>Departs for La Crosse Airport en route Detroit, Michigan</u>	
1:50 pm	<u>Arrives Oakland University</u>	Detroit, Michigan
1:55 pm	<u>Oakland County Welcome (Kaufman)</u>	
2:30 pm	<u>NBC "Sports Machine" Interview with George Michael (Smith)</u>	
2:45 pm	<u>Private Time</u>	
4:15 pm	<u>Departs Detroit for Newark, New Jersey en route Fairfield, Connecticut</u>	
6:35 pm	<u>Fairfield Welcome (Kaufman)</u>	Fairfield, Connecticut
7:30 pm	<u>Departs Fairfield for Shorthills, New Jersey</u>	
8:30 pm	<u>Arrives Shorthills Hilton</u>	Shorthills, New Jersey
	<u>RON Shorthills</u>	

UNP 10/30/92  
5:00 pm



**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 31, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	8:35 AM PM	8:41	Governor John H. Sununu Princess Resort Hotel Scottsdale, Arizona 602-585-4848	Tlkd-ok 8:37 AM via Cellular STU-III
OUT XXX	8:45 AM PM		Vice President J. Danforth Quayle En route Cedar Rapids, Iowa SAM 27000	WCL 8:49 AM via Cellular STU-III
OUT XXX	10:30 AM PM	10:40	Mr. Rick Dees Office, Hollywood, California 213-464-4300	Tlkd-ok 10:33 AM
XXX INC	10:48 AM PM	10:53	Vice President J. Danforth Quayle En route Cedar Rapids, Iowa SAM 27000	Tlkd-ok 10:53 AM via INMARSAT
OUT XXX	11:20 AM PM	11:27	Conference Call: President Hosni Mubarak Residence, Cairo, Egypt 290-5051	Tlkd-ok 11:24 AM
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. John K. Naland White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Katherine E. O'Loughlin White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Bruce O. Riedel Residence, Mc Lean, Virginia 703-847-0863	

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 31, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	12:27 AM PM	12:28	LTC Paula K. Trivette Marriott Hotel, Racine, Wisconsin Racine Signal 4-3385	Tlkd-ok 12:27 AM
XXX INC	6:41 AM PM	6:50	Mr. Kenneth Raynor Residence, Kennebunkport, Maine 207-967-2222	Tlkd-ok 6:45 AM
XXX INC	6:53 AM PM	6:59	Mr. Robert Boillard Residence, Biddeford, Maine 207-284-4146	Tlkd-ok 6:56 AM
XXX INC	6:53 AM PM	7:07	Mr. C. Boyden Gray Residence, Washington, D.C. 337-0792	Tlkd-ok 7:00 AM
XXX INC	7:09 AM PM	7:13	Secretary James A. Baker III Marriott Hotel, Racine, Wisconsin Racine Signal 4-3312	Tlkd-ok 7:10 AM
OUT XXX	7:27 AM PM	7:30	Mr. George W. Bush, Jr. Residence, Dallas, Texas 214-692-6604	Tlkd-ok 7:29 AM
OUT XXX	7:27 AM PM	7:31	Mr. William Bush Residence, Saint Louis, Missouri 314-993-1210	Tlkd-ok 7:30 AM
XXX INC	7:50 AM PM	7:55	Mr. Frank Miller Residence, Racine, Wisconsin 414-639-0685	Tlkd-ok 7:53 AM
XXX INC	8:03 AM PM	8:06	President Ronald Reagan Waverly Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia 404-953-4500	Tlkd-ok 8:05 AM

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 31, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
XXX INC	AM 12:04 PM		Mr. Raymond Siller Office, Washington, D.C. 456-2721	Tlkd with Mr. Farish 12:05 PM
XXX INC	AM 1:04 PM		Mr. Peter O'Donnell Office, Dallas, Texas 214-742-7211	WCL 1:08 PM
OUT XXX	AM 4:35 PM	4:46	Conference Call: President Carlos S. Menem Residence, Buenos Aires, Argentina 756-2550	Tlkd-ok 4:41 PM
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. John K. Naland White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Katherine E. O'Loughlin White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Charles A. Gillespie Residence, Arlington, Virginia 703-534-9748	
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Roseanne M. Hill Office, Washington, D.C. 395-3860	
OUT INC	AM PM		Ms. Patsy Arizll Residence, Great Falls, Virginia 703-759-6886	



*daily 10/31*

Rose:

Ha! Ha!

Thought the Pres  
might get a kick  
out of this.

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

THIS  
HAPPEN  
IF YOU SEE  
SOMETHING  
HORRIFYING,  
BLOOD-CURDLING  
AND TERRIFYING  
IN YOUR  
LIVING ROOM.

KLEENEX



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49-01

... the PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATES ARE  
ON TV AGAIN.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

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DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Saturday, Sunday, Monday October 31, November 1,2,1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

TOM SHALES

## On the Tube: All Talked Out

**“I**’ve tried to uphold the dignity of this office,” said George Bush with a straight face, or as straight as his gets. Larry King listened thoughtfully, or as thoughtfully as he gets.

But surely dignity was one of the first victims of the 1992 presidential race as it was run on television, where all campaigns are now fought. The talkshowfication of America

continues apace; now the political process is conquered too.

Perhaps when 1996 rolls around, presidential candidates will take turns popping up on sitcoms or soaps or “Beverly Hills, 90210” just to show they’re regular Joes. And Janes. They can play themselves on “Saturday Night Live.”

Where did it all start spinning hopelessly out of control? When Bill Clinton and wife Hillary

turned up on cable’s Nashville Network for a little spontaneous hog-calling? Or when Bush, in a sad fit of desperation, buttonholed Katie Couric during her “Today” show chat with Barbara Bush and wouldn’t go away, hanging around like a stage-door Johnny hoping to get a glimpse of a star?

For Bush to claim he’s upholding “dignity” on CNN’s “Larry King Live” seems painfully

See SHALES, D8, Col. 1

## TOM SHALES

SHALES, From D1

ironic. If he were really all that interested in upholding dignity, he wouldn't have been there. It was the Friday night before the election, however, and this year the candidates have proved they never met a camera they didn't like, unless of course it's a camera under the province of journalists.

King asked Bush about referring to Clinton and Al Gore as "bozos" and calling Gore "Mr. Ozone." Bush said, "I think maybe 'bozo' was wrong," but added that he felt duty bound to continue calling Gore "Mr. Ozone Hole" (thus misquoting himself) because of Gore's alleged environmental extremism.

Of the "bozos" crack, Bush conceded: "Maybe it hurt my dignity to do that."

Dignity and decorum may, of course, be lost values in TV's noisy new national village, and maybe nobody thinks a thing of it anymore. Still, at least a few observers must have squirmed when King ended a previous Bush visit by telling viewers to be sure to tune in tomorrow night when his guests would be Suzanne Somers and Whoopi Goldberg.

He's got the president of the United States sitting there, for Pete's sake, and he's doing program promo Friday night's "special 90-minute edition" of "Larry King Live" only amounted to about an hour and three minutes of questions and answers, the rest of the time going to commercials and plugs for other CNN shows, but at least those were done back at the studio and not by King as the president sat there.

Four years ago, this sort of thing didn't happen. The scaling down and informalizing of everything hadn't gone quite so far, and you didn't have quite such jarring juxtapositions. On Friday night, Larry told viewers to be sure to tune in Monday for Robert Redford.

King is no slave to propriety, obviously, or to good taste, having done all his candidate interviews, including the one with Bush in the White House, in shirt sleeves and suspenders.

It is true that John Kennedy, Richard Nixon and other political figures appeared with Jack Paar on "The Tonight Show" and on Paar's prime-time hour in the late '50s and early '60s. This was considered a change of pace, however, a chance for political figures to show their human sides (Nixon memorably played the piano).

But the Paar show wasn't the center ring for the entire political process. No other talk show was, either.

So high is the interest level in the election that today, Sally Jessy Raphael is generously going to put aside the pimps and the hookers and the Siamese twins and actually devote one of her shows to politics. Of course, some viewers may call that a step down rather than a step up.

Barbara Bush will be piped in from Des Moines for the occasion.

The last weekend before Election Day was thick with campaign talk, of course, but the candidates themselves were not that much in evidence. Bush did show up on CNN's scantily rated "Newsmaker Sunday," where he continued in his last-ditch strategy of calling things crazy and nutty and wacky.

The polls are "totally out of whack," Bush told Frank Sesno, decrying "nutty pollsters" and "nutty polling." He said it's been "a crazy year" in American politics. It's not enough that Bush and the other candidates have gravitated toward the gentler and easier soft-talk shows like King's; Bush also goes to

great lengths to trash the more serious talk shows, which he has called "crazy" and populated by "talking heads."

Bush told King on Friday night that he objected to "these talking heads that come on" and "those paid talking heads that come on those Sunday talk shows and write me off." He denounced post-debate analysis on all the networks and told King, "You got a guy, Bode, B-o-d-e" on CNN, mispronouncing correspondent Ken Bode's name (Bush said "Boad" instead of "Boh-dee"), but then offering a quick impression of him:

"Looks to us like Bill Clinton won the debate again," Bush said in a deep mocking voice as he did the impression, then scoffed, "Well I mean, come on!" Bush praised King for not having any of that peaky old analysis. Take a bow, Larry.

Somewhere, Spiro Agnew is smiling.

On the Sunday talk shows yesterday, there was amused acknowledgment of Bush's flailing. "First, gentlemen, thank you for taking the time to join us on one of these crazy, nutty Sunday talk shows," Tim Russert said to party chiefs Rich Bond and Ron Brown on "Meet the Press." Even Sesno picked up on it, greeting Bush with, "Welcome, Mr. President, to one of those nutty Sunday talk shows."

"Don't take it personally," Bush replied. "I mean, I'm very selective in who I put into that category." Who's in and who's out? He hasn't said. Bush also gave this advice to viewers: "Don't listen to those who say we're in a recession."

Having savaged the scribes, Bush prepared to mingle with the Pharisees; he made a much-ballyhood appearance on MTV, widely considered Clinton Country, last night. All this turned out to be was Bush fielding a few questions on the back of a speeding train from MTV's Tabitha Soren. Bush seemed peevis and cranky and not really very concerned with impressing the MTV audience.

Hardly a talk show exists that has been safe from visits by candidates or their minions. If Morton Downey Jr. were still on TV with his shout-fests, they might have turned up there for some verbal brawling.

Barbara Bush recently popped up on "Live With Regis and Kathie Lee," the popular syndicated daytime show usually preoccupied with movie stars and make-overs. Hillary Clinton and Margot Perot also appeared on separate episodes of the series. Both Clinton and Perot talked positively about their husbands and in general terms about the rigors of campaigning. Barbara Bush, however, barged out of the chute with a load of vitriol for Bill Clinton, including the seemingly rehearsed remark, "He talks the talk but he can't walk the walk."

It was a singularly shrill and embarrassing performance, but by now shrill and embarrassing performances on all sides have become so numerous that little attention was paid.

We're lucky it's ending because everybody is getting testy. Yesterday on "This Week With David Brinkley," Sam Donaldson was startlingly rude to Cokie Roberts, snapping at her and patronizing her as if patterning his behavior on "The McLaughlin Group's" boorish Fred Barnes, who displays chilling hostility in comments directed at fellow panel member Eleanor Clift.

Brinkley was endearingly succinct. Regardless of who wins tomorrow, he said, it will all be over: "Peace," he said, "at last."



PATTY WOOD for The Times

First Lady Barbara Bush joins Norma Frachtman making calls from Bush headquarters in Houston.

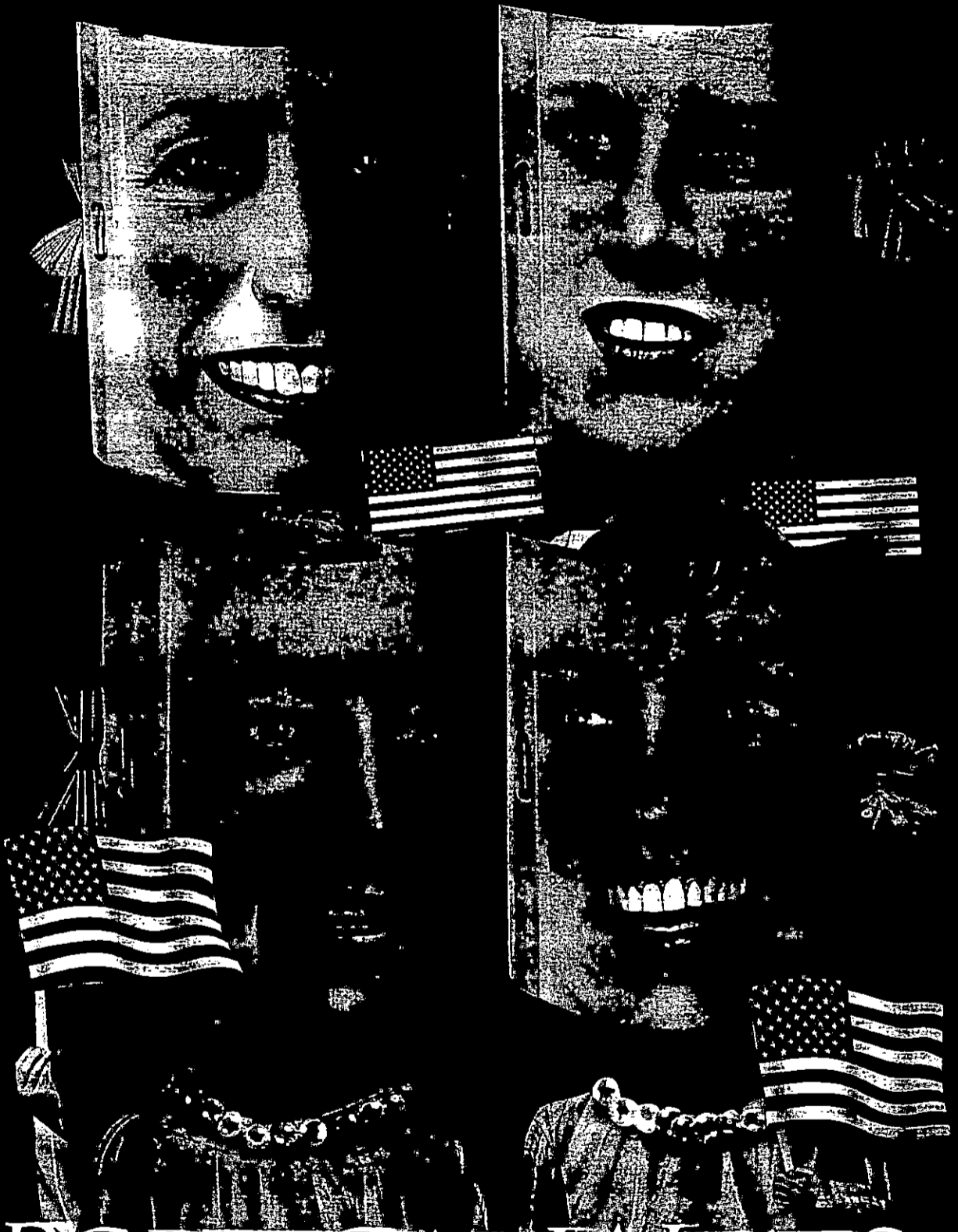
CAMPAIGN '9

# GOES TO TI



**OH, BABY:** First Lady Barbara Bush holds infant at rally yesterday in West Chester, Pa.

AP



# POLITICAL WIVES

*How Barbara, Hillary, Marilyn and Tipper Have Betrayed American Women*  
*By Marjorie Williams*

# FIRST Ladies

★ ★ ★ ★

*Why political*

*wives make*

*such bad*

*role models*



By Marjorie  
Williams

*Illustrations by  
Janet Woolley*

Ah, the Year of the Woman. Eleven women have achieved major-party nomination for the Senate. In House races, 106 women have been nominated—a 50 percent increase over the previous record. The exponential growth in women's political representation raises some interesting questions: If women finally achieve office in significant numbers, will they wield power differently from men? How much of their appeal is based on their very inexperience, and how do they convert that edge to a more lasting source of power? Is the anti-incumbent rage that has helped boost women this year a sustainable force in our politics?

But that's not what we're talking about, in this year of the woman. Instead, we are asking ourselves: How does Barbara really feel about abortion rights? Does Hillary spend enough time with Chelsea? Is Marilyn responsible for Dan's success? Can Tipper shake her image as a prude? —

8.1

AT A TIME WHEN WE MIGHT BE LEARNING to think anew about women, we are focused, instead, on wives. If anything, the women who are "running" as spouses of the major-party nominees for president and vice president have had a greater prominence than ever this year, as accessories to the "values" subtext of the presidential campaign. Both the warring campaigns and the news media have found these four women irresistible as manipulable symbols of some of the most powerful themes in Americans' lives.

Offering a contrast between a 67-year-old grandmother of 12 who dropped out of college to marry and never again held a paying job and a 45-year-old attorney who earns six figures a year and has only one child, this "race" has been said to represent a symbolic referendum on all America's conflicted feelings about feminism, family and child-rearing. Initially aimed at Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton, this scrutiny eventually broadened to fold in Marilyn Quayle and Tipper Gore as possible auguries of the future of American womanhood.

Insistently, the media have polled Americans: Do they like Hillary? Why not? Do they like Tipper better? What about Marilyn? At one point, a Time magazine pollster actually asked voters if they agreed that Hillary Clinton "doesn't pay enough attention to her family."

As the most high-powered career woman ever to be married to a major-party nominee, Hillary Clinton has carried the biggest share of symbolic freight. First she was the pragmatically supportive wife who inoculated her husband against Jennifer Flowers. Then she was the pushy careerist who slurred homemakers; and finally, the radical feminist who wanted children to sue their parents for making them take out the trash. And when her poll ratings plummeted, it was taken as a sign that Americans can't stomach powerful women with careers and minds of their own. She has been called everything from "the Winnie Mandela of American politics" to "the overbearing yuppie wife from hell."

Then Tipper Gore came along to balance out Hillary Clinton: perfect, a baby boomer wife who had admitted smoking pot, but who had chosen to stay home with her children while her husband plunged into politics. Democratic operatives leapt at the chance to bracket the two wives: See? We're in favor of major careers *and* in favor of staying home with the kids. Even her earlier campaign to pressure the music industry to put content warning labels on records containing raunchy lyrics—which had been a major liability with the Hollywood funding elite in 1988, when her husband ran for president—was now seen to be an asset: safely in the past, safely the cause of the least powerful member of the "team" of four that now represented the ticket, a convenient piece of armor for a party under assault for its attitudes toward family values.



Of the four, only Barbara Bush has dealt with political spousehood the old-fashioned way, by pouring her life completely into his.

For the Republicans, of course, Barbara Bush was already the perfect foil to Hillary Clinton. But in August, as the Republican convention approached, the GOP also began to boast that it had an asset in Marilyn Quayle: As a 43-year-old law school graduate, political operatives pointed out, she had all the generational appeal of Hillary Clinton—and none of her drawbacks. This was the thinking that led to her unprecedented, prime-time address to the Republican convention. She was the model baby boomer conservative: a career-woman who for all but a few years of her adult life had refrained from actually practicing her career.

The use made of these women by the respective campaigns has been clear, at every stage. Less clear is why we all fall for the patently political invitation to hash out, on the giant and hostile stage of a presidential campaign, our most intimate ideas about women and families. By thinking of these women as conducting a symbolic struggle that represents the competing choices in all our lives, we do ourselves no favor.

Already, our conversation about women's responsibilities and women's lives is artificially polarized by the two options of professional self-fulfillment and children; to frame the conversation around a presidential campaign hopelessly confuses the debate by muddying it with a third pressure—the impossible strictures placed on the American political wife.

It is true that Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton, Tipper Gore and Marilyn Quayle all represent some rough attributes of their various generations, ideologies and backgrounds. But all four are women whose lives were perhaps most indelibly molded by their decisions to marry professional politicians bent on reaching the highest levels of office.

Marilyn Quayle seems to seethe with the effort of biting back her pride in situations that minimize her achievements.



OF THE FOUR, ONLY BARBARA BUSH HAS dealt with political spousehood the old-fashioned way, by pouring her life completely into his. *There is no conflict between my life and his*, says Mrs. Bush's public face; no conflict, no controversy.

But for the three younger women in the race, there has been tension between their expectations, as post-feminist baby boomers, and the traditions of politics. Smart, ambitious women like Marilyn Quayle, Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are groping toward some uneasy amalgam of autonomy and sublimation—in which their own legitimate ambitions and careerist personae are melded into their husbands' careers. This, increasingly, is the direction of the modern political spouse: it is the unspoken subtext that has warped the debate over these women and what they mean in our lives. And what really upsets people about these women—often subliminally—is the mixture in their message. Hillary Clinton, Marilyn Quayle and, to some degree, Tipper Gore have attempted to have it both ways.

This is not an easy thing for feminists to

Discuss. Their first response, in the face of the Republican Party's reflexive attacks on Hillary Clinton, is to rush to the defense of a woman being excoriated by Pat Buchanan. (This is true even among Democrats who grant that it is legitimate to examine the record of an activist spouse who has been frank about her intent to weigh in on policy if her husband is elected. Hillary Clinton's writings are in fact less radical than the GOP makes them out to be—and more radical than the Clinton campaign and most of the media have acknowledged.) The GOP rhetoric about her has been ugly, opportunistic, overtly anti-feminist. "Hillary Clinton in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank," cracked Bush strategist Roger Ailes. And Richard Nixon—who knows a thing or two about promoting humility in a political spouse—told the *New York Times*, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."

Doubtless there are voters who think of Hillary Clinton as pushy, strident, too independent. But there is considerable evidence that a majority rejects Republicans' official anti-feminism. To many voters, Bill Clinton's willingness to treat a powerful woman as a partner is an attractive quality in him. In one national poll conducted by *Vanity Fair* magazine, 84 percent of the respondents said they had no problem with a president's spouse having her own career. In another, conducted by *U.S. News & World Report*, 66 percent favored Hillary Clinton's continuing her law career if her husband reached the White House.

But voters also believe, in large numbers, that there is *something* disturbing in the Bill & Hillary Show, a discomfort that has also occasionally touched the partner acts of the Quayles and the Gores. It has a lot to do with these women's life decisions, and the contortions required of anyone trying simultaneously to be a good political wife and an independent woman. It is the women themselves who frame this debate, and they have framed it disingenuously.

CONSIDER WHAT HILLARY CLINTON, Marilyn Quayle and Tipper Gore have in common. All three trained themselves for careers, earning both college and graduate degrees. And each, to a differing degree and at a different point along the road, agreed to put that career second to her husband's. In every case, it was not the birth of a child but the stepping-up of his political career that curtailed her professional life.

All three women have, with varying degrees of bitterness and acceptance, uttered some version of Hillary Clinton's infamous remark slamming "tea and cookies." These remarks must be heard not as contempt for other women who choose to subordinate career to family, but as defensiveness: a level of defensiveness that is found only in people whose sense of self is embattled. Political wives live in a medium that defines them as



Her husband's presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton suggests, is simply another way for her to pursue her own career interests.



had no plans to run for office, she told *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and David S. Broder.) After the couple moved to Washington, with a second son born three days after the election, the competing claims of politics and family and work became too great, and she decided to postpone resuming her career. As Tipper Gore was learning at the same time, and Barbara Bush had learned before her, the demands of a congressman's career create a heightened version of other couples' balancing acts. He has late nights in session, frequent weekend trips home to the district, constant fund-raising meetings. Like a great many other political wives, Marilyn Quayle would learn to let off steam in sardonic comments about being a single parent.



Tipper Gore's chosen route to her own identity was through a high-profile cause that relied considerably on Al Gore's political clout.



appendages of their husbands. Every woman encounters, in some parts of her life, society's unequal treatment of men and women. But a political wife *swims* in it, living in a culture that reveres his power and sees in her only opportunities to increase it or the danger of reducing it. Politics is a quietly, witheringly hostile atmosphere for wives.

Marilyn Quayle, despite her conservative politics, has always seemed deeply pained by the contradiction between her professional ambitions and the subculture she lives in. She met her husband in law school, where she was a more successful student than he, and she was so clear about her legal ambitions that when their first child was born, she opted for induced labor two weeks early so the birth would not conflict with the Indiana bar exam. After the Quayles left school, she started an independent practice, juggling work and motherhood like any other striver of her age and social class.

Her law career ended less than two years later, in 1976, when Dan Quayle decided to run for Congress. (This was a surprise to her: He had promised her that he had no plans to run for office, she told *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and David S. Broder.) After the couple moved to Washington, with a second son born three days after the election, the competing claims of politics and family and work became too great, and she decided to postpone resuming her career. As Tipper Gore was learning at the same time, and Barbara Bush had learned before her, the demands of a congressman's career create a heightened version of other couples' balancing acts. He has late nights in session, frequent weekend trips home to the district, constant fund-raising meetings. Like a great many other political wives, Marilyn Quayle would learn to let off steam in sardonic comments about being a single parent.

So she joined her ambitions to her husband's. In her August GOP convention speech she explained through her steely smile, "I chose to leave my law practice and join his campaigns. Our marriage is a partnership, and for me it was a reasonable decision, it wasn't caving in."

But in moments when her guard is down, she has shown a more resentful attitude. In discussing that decision with me during a 1988 campaign interview, she snapped, "I'm not just a little housewife that's been sitting at home." About becoming the vice president's wife, she recently said, "I thought, man, it's going to be tea and crumpets and I would just go nuts." More than one observer has noted that Marilyn Quayle seems to seethe with the effort of biting back her pride in situations that minimize her achievements.

Today Marilyn Quayle has a six-office suite in the Old Executive Office Building—twice the size of the offices Barbara Bush occupied as the wife of the vice president. She described to Woodward and Broder a role going well

*continued on page 24*

## VIVES

*Continued from page 15*

beyond her own volunteer work promoting disaster preparedness and breast cancer research and detection: The Quayles talk three or four times during the workday, she said, describing herself as his chief political adviser. Staff members, she told Broder and Woodward, run things by her to see "if I think it's important enough to bring it up to Dan." If she rules otherwise, "they let me make that decision instead." Hers is, she emphasized, a "professional" role on the vice president's staff.

Hillary Clinton is the most obviously career-oriented of all these women, the "newest" of these new political spouses. She has pursued her career longer, and with greater drive, than any of the others. But even she made the decision, at various points along the way, that Bill Clinton's career would come first.

Just out of Yale Law School, with her pick of plum legal jobs, she moved to Arkansas to be with Clinton, who was firmly resolved to start a political career in his native state. When Arkansas voters objected to her feminist profile, including her retention of her maiden name, she took his name after five years of marriage. She did the lucrative law work that subsidized the Clintons' lifestyle, even when her interests were clearly more focused on the public policy causes in which she was involved. And when he decided to run for president, she put her legal practice on hold to campaign for him almost full time. Finally, when Gennifer Flowers dropped her bombshell in the midst of the New Hampshire primary, Hillary Clinton steeled herself to the humiliating role of defender, implicitly acknowledging to millions of people that her husband had betrayed her.

If she has made sacrifices, she does not acknowledge them: Her husband's presidential campaign, she suggests, is simply another way for her to pursue her own career interests. Like Marilyn Quayle, she has been vocal about her influence. "As far as I'm concerned, the main reason I'm interested and involved in this campaign is because of the issues I'm involved in," she told the *New York Times* in February, stressing that she was in it not for the political help she could offer her husband, but for the policy impact she hoped to have.

Both Clintons, early in the campaign, presented Hillary as an equal partner in his political career. In January, Bill Clinton told a CNN interviewer that he might appoint her to a Cabinet post. "I wouldn't rule it out," he said. "She'd be the best I could find." At fund-raisers, he used to say, "Buy one, get one free!"

After polls began to make it clear that she was becoming a liability to the campaign, she began softening her image. At the Democratic convention, she confined herself to the traditionally decorative appearances at her husband's side; and one could hardly turn around, inside Madison Square Garden, without being offered what was represented as a chocolate-chip cookie baked from her recipe (never mind that none of these cookies faintly resembled the cookies from any other batch). There was no more talk of a Cabinet post, or of getting two for the price of one. But even in the fall campaign, when she began making appearances on homemaker-oriented talk shows such as ABC's "Home,"

In each case, the woman's solution was to graft her ambition onto that of her husband, easing for herself the contradictions of her life.



she still spoke of advancing a "children's agenda" in the White House, including a personal involvement in legislation affecting children.

After Barbara Bush, Tipper Gore has seemed the most traditional of the four candidates' wives, and the most content to be so. She has ruled out a resumption of her career until her youngest child, now 9, graduates from high school. It is a fair guess that, if Al Gore someday makes it to the Oval Office, Tipper Gore could and would fairly easily adapt herself to the anachronisms of First Ladyship. But even for her, political spousehood has been a struggle to maintain some kind of identity.

Tipper Gore married straight out of college in 1970, and began studying for her master's degree in psychology, with plans to become a child psychologist. Along the way, she worked as a news photographer. But when Al Gore decided to run for Congress in 1976, she dropped her career.

When they arrived in Washington, Tipper Gore made the discovery common to political wives that she was now an invisible being: Mrs. Congressman. "Even at parties, you are given this sort of depre-

ating attitude," she told journalist Tom Grimes in 1988. To friends she expressed a fear of doing nothing but attending endless teas. So she and some other women in a similar predicament organized the Congressional Wives Task Force, which met weekly to study serious issues—nutrition, the homeless, the problems of the elderly. In 1985, by which time Al Gore was in the Senate, she founded—along with Susan Baker, wife of then-Treasury Secretary James A. Baker III—the Parents' Music Resource Center. She wrote a book inspired by PMRC's work, *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society*.

But Tipper Gore's chosen route to her own identity was through a high-profile cause that relied considerably on Al Gore's political clout. As she has always acknowledged, the lion's share of the attention she was able to command, including a highly charged 1985 Senate hearing chaired by her husband, was available to her chiefly as Mrs. Congressman.

EACH WOMAN HAS COMBATED THE inequities of political spousehood in the best way she could find—but always with care not to upset the rules, or challenge too far the little hypocrisies, of family-values politics. In each case, the woman's solution was to graft her ambition onto that of her husband, easing for herself the contradictions of her life—while blurring for the rest of us some central issues of autonomy and marriage.

In Tipper Gore's case, nine-tenths of the fuss over PMRC was over the fact of its founders' marriages to powerful men. Without Al Gore's implied power to censor, Tipper Gore's crusade might have been seen in a much more positive light, and debated more fully on its considerable merits. As it was, she unwittingly stirred powerful stereotypes of the bored housewife, with nothing better to do than stifle sexuality.

Of the four women at issue in this election, Marilyn Quayle is the one who has tried hardest to have it both ways, telling conservative audiences of her devoted work with the PTA, and more moderate, female audiences of her professional prowess. She wishes to get credit as the vice president's "partner"—while also being free to slam Hillary Clinton as a member of "the liberal, radical wing of the feminist movement." In other words, she wants the personal fruits of liberation, while helping her husband to gain the political fruits of the most conservative policies possible toward women.

Hillary Clinton's hypocrisy is of a different, more subtle kind. Much of her unpopularity with voters springs from a well-founded uncertainty over the hybrid role the Clintons have described for her—an uncertainty that Hillary Clinton

has airily dismissed as sexism. As she told Gail Sheehy for *Vanity Fair*, she doesn't see what all the fuss is about: "No one gives George Bush a hard time when he gets advice from Jim Baker."

Of course, all First Ladies influence their husbands to some degree. As Marilyn Quayle told Woodward and Broder, "Even Barbara Bush has been in on just about everything her husband's done. Oh, yes, you're dreaming if you think she hasn't."

Voters can live with this influence, as long as it's relatively subtle and can fall under the rubric of a wife looking after her husband's interest. But the perception of Hillary Clinton, as the campaign has developed, is of a woman who wants power for herself.

To voters trying to parse these signals, it has hardly mattered that she is well credentialed for almost any high government post; or that, as her friends have pointed out ad nauseam, she is a more plausible candidate for attorney general than Robert F. Kennedy was when his brother appointed him to that job.

The point isn't that she is qualified. The point is that the Clintons have so blurred their two careers that they have obscured the boundaries between them.

Whether she is Marilyn Quayle or Hillary Clinton, the more a woman argues that she remains an autonomous being who is advancing her own professional passions through "partnership" with the man who actually garnered the vote, the more she seems to be an interloper, eager to push her agenda through his career. Voters are legitimately suspicious of this.

Sane people have a healthy affection for boundaries; for assigning responsibilities and authority in such a way that the person assigned them can be held accountable. People elect one president, and they want only one president.

BUT THE WORST THING OF ALL ABOUT this transitional model of political wife, represented by the younger women now at center stage, is this: They pretend it is possible to have all the rewards of autonomy at the same time they continue to promote the sentimental standards of family politics. At least Barbara Bush spares us the maddening fiction of the new woman embedded in the old family.

While only Marilyn Quayle, of the four, has seemed to endorse the divisive GOP version of "family values" presented in Houston, all are playing some softer version of the same game. While Marilyn Quayle flashes her career woman credentials to take the sting out of her "partner's" harsh stand against abortion rights, family leave and other laws concerning women, Tipper Gore blinks back photo-

genic tears as her husband turns their son's brush with death to political advantage, and Hillary Clinton smiles and talks about cookies and defends her man against charges of adultery.

What clearer actions can we reasonably expect, from women who are aspiring to the anachronistic role of official consort to the president or vice president? In the specific case of Bill and Hillary Clinton, he might do best, if he wins this election, to assign his wife a formal role in his administration. Like RFK's appointment, it would be immensely controversial; but in the long run it would be clarifying to have her occupy a specific job, with Senate confirmation requirements and a clear accountability. It would no doubt make her a high-profile target for the president's political enemies. But it would also legitimize her in the public eye, without stirring an endless, spurious debate about feminism and wimpiness every time she hit the headlines.

But however the Clintons might play it, we should keep this in mind: Hillary Clinton, for all her achievements, is not the right test case of the "new" political spouse. That role will someday fall to a president's wife who continues to pursue a career *entirely unrelated to that of her husband*. A lot of women would love the chance to vote for a man unthreatened by marriage to a successful doctor, engineer or architect—especially a man who respects her lack of desire to be embroiled in *his* career.

Such a woman might, one imagines, have less patience than Barbara Bush and Tipper Gore and Marilyn Quayle and Hillary Clinton for living as a symbol. I'm delighted you won Iowa, dear, one imagines her saying, and I'll come to the convention to celebrate your success. But for most of the political appearances between now and then, you're on your own.

The eventual result would be an end to the phony family politics that now turn political wives into Rorschach images. We could resume wrestling with the lives we actually live, with our own jobs and our own children and our own struggles to find out what fairness means in a marriage, free of the tyranny of "role models" whose own lives are fantastically distorted by the practice of politics.

First Ladies will always wrestle with how to handle the job. It has always been a confining role for any thinking woman, and it's not going to get less complicated any time soon. But it's a quaint problem, to be faced every four years only by the poor soul who has made the mistake of marrying a future president.

Once we see this clearly, the next time a pollster asks us if a politician's mate is an adequate mother, we'll give the question the derision it deserves. ■

11-2-92

SUZANNE FIELDS

## The final campaign daze

be retired, along with "a thousand points of light," since George Bush never understood what speechwriter Peggy Noonan meant by either idea, anyway. If Bill Clinton makes it to the Oval Office, he'd better bring a magic set with top hat and rabbit to show us how he can be "pro-growth and pro-environment," or "pro-business and pro-labor," or offer a "middle class tax cut and reduce the deficit."

Voters are cynical about campaign promises, but President Bush's vow not to raise taxes may look like a little white lie next to President Clinton's broken promises.

No matter who is the next first lady, full hips will be in fashion and chocolate chip cookies will be the afternoon snack of choice, beating out jelly beans and pork rinds. Whether Barbara or Hillary give teas in the White House, doting motherhood (or grandmotherhood) will be flaunted. A refashioned Hillary will imitate what came naturally for Barbara. (Tipper and Marilyn have already established maternal images.)

The power of pillow talk, with or without separate pillows, will be debated again only if the Clintons move into the White House, and Hillary

see FIELDS, page E4

## FIELDS

From page E1

Clinton is likely to make us remember Nancy Reagan and Rosalyn Carter, the last "high negative" first ladies, as sweetness and light.

A Democratic victory will be hardest on the fiftysomething crowd that will confront the first president and vice president, younger than they are, for whom Vietnam not

*It's difficult to remember a single visual image from this campaign that's comparable to Mike Dukakis in a tank or Willie Horton on the loose.*

World War II is the touchstone for contemporary history and manhood (even if it's a touchstone the new president tried never to touch).

As we begin to look back on this campaign, so dominated by television, it's difficult to remember a single visual image comparable to Mike Dukakis in a tank or Willie Horton on the loose. Fair or not, those images became powerful symbols of substantive issues. Voters saw Mr. Dukakis as soft on crime, and Willie Horton as crime.

If George Bush pulls off his comeback of the century, he will do it because he persuaded voters to question Bill Clinton's character and his ability to lead. If Bill Clinton wins, the economy will have made the difference.

It wasn't an awful campaign but it wasn't a great one. Nevertheless, may the best man win. Hail to the Chief.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992 A5

CAMPAIGN '92



# Quayle Continues to Hint That Clinton Lacks Fidelity

By PAUL RICHTER  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CINCINNATI—Vice President Dan Quayle Sunday made a last frantic dash through the swing state of Ohio, dropping hints as he went that Democratic standard bearer Bill Clinton lacks fidelity.

Speaking to reporters at the airport here, Quayle said that what the American people want "is a President who has been faithful to his country, faithful to his principles, faithful to his family. And George Bush certainly is that man."

Asked if he specifically was calling Clinton unfaithful, Quayle replied: "I'll let others answer that."

Quayle repeatedly has attacked Clinton's truthfulness. He has only hinted about allegations regarding Clinton's unfaithfulness to his wife.

Quayle flirted with that topic again Sunday when he charged that Clinton had failed the character test applied by Democrats when the late Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.), nominated to be secretary of defense by then-newly elected President Bush, was defeated in his confirmation battle.

Quayle said that, in discussing Tower's nomination, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) "talked about women. He talked about alcohol. He talked about conflict of interest. He talked about three categories."

Quayle asserted that Clinton failed "the Tower test" because of his varied and contradictory statements about his draft record. But the vice president stopped

short of directly condemning Clinton for infidelity.

The vice president revisited the trust theme during a stop in Portsmouth, Ohio.

"Would you trust Bill Clinton to take care of your family?" Quayle asked a crowd of several hundred at the U.S. Grant Middle School. "Would you trust Bill Clinton with your children?"

As the crowd responded with a resounding "No," Quayle added: "Then let's make sure we don't exchange George and Barbara Bush for Bill and Hillary Clinton."

Quayle visited the two-bedroom clapboard home in Portsmouth, Ohio, where he had spent the first 18 months of his life. He lived in the modest house when his father was advertising sales manager at the Portsmouth Times.

The vice president used the visit to try to make a favorite point: that despite the multimillion-dollar fortune of his maternal grandfather, Eugene Pulliam, he came from modest beginnings.

"This is another example of the wealthy silver-spoon background that you people in the media have been reporting all these years," he told reporters as he left the house.

The Quayle campaign also touched down in the western Kentucky city of Hopkinsville. But torrential rains and tornadoes forced cancellation of a later Quayle rally in Louisiana, another state where the race is tight.

Sun 1-Nov-92 14:49 EST

## POPULAR FIRST LADY A BOON TO PRESIDENT

By Sue Kirchhoff

WASHINGTON, Nov 1, Reuter - These days, Barbara Bush is vastly more popular than her underdog husband, so much so the president has joked it is a shame she is not on the Republican ticket for Tuesday's presidential election.

But despite drawing cheers on the campaign trail as she stumps tirelessly for the president, the first lady seems ready to tackle life after the White House should Democrat Bill Clinton defeat her husband Tuesday.

Mrs. Bush has said openly in recent days she longs to leave Washington to more spend time playing with her grandchildren and putting in her garden.

She has also questioned the constant demands of public life, complaining of media attacks and lack of privacy.

"It's just not fun to run when lies and things, hurtful lies (are published)," Mrs. Bush said in a recent interview.

With her comfortable figure, shock of white hair and signature costume pearls, Mrs. Bush, 67, has become a kind of national grandmother -- and has piled up sky-high public approval ratings even as her husband's popularity plummeted.

Despite her easygoing demeanor, however, Mrs. Bush is by all accounts a savvy politico with a tough, flinty side that sometimes peeks through.

In an infamous slip she said 1984 Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro was something that "rhymes with rich." In the current campaign she tartly pointed out Bill Clinton did not deny having an extramarital affair.

When polls showed the president's tough anti-abortion stance hurting him, the first lady in August broke a long self-imposed silence to declare that abortion was a personal matter and had no place in the Republican Party platform.

In recent months, Mrs. Bush has been the subject of some less-than-flattering news articles, including a long Vanity Fair magazine story that painted her as an autocrat angry with her husband and out of touch with her family.

A Washington Post article borrowed from Little Red Riding Hood to exclaim sarcastically, "What big teeth you have, Grandma," while a barrage of publications laid out unproven claims her husband had a long-time affair with a female aide.

The negative articles were hotly disputed by her family and friends and did little to dull her luster among ordinary Americans. Mrs. Bush has drawn enthusiastic crowds on the campaign trail, often winning more cheers than her husband.

During the second presidential debate in October President Bush even remarked wistfully, "I think if Barbara Bush were running this year she'd be elected, but it's too late."

Mrs. Bush, raised Barbara Pierce in an affluent New York suburb, met her husband at a Christmas dance when she was 16 and quit Smith College in her sophomore year to marry him.

She travelled with Bush from the oil fields of Texas to a diplomatic post in China to the halls of Washington where he held appointed posts, the vice presidency and the White House.

Along the way she raised five children, and lost a 3-year-old daughter to leukaemia. In the vice presidential mansion and the White House, Mrs. Bush was an energetic champion for literacy and better education.

Her selection as Wellesley College's 1990 graduation speaker was criticised by female students who said a college drop-out and stay-at-home wife was not a proper role model.

But she had them on their feet cheering with a personal address that defended her choices -- and called for tolerance as other women struggled to make theirs.

"At the end of your life, you will never regret not having passed one more test, not winning one more verdict or not closing one more deal. You will regret time not spent with a husband, a child, a friend and a parent," she said.

Her defence of the family and willingness to recognise less-traditional families -- "However you define family, that's what we mean by family values" -- also wowed them at the 1992 Republican National Convention.

Mrs. Bush wrote two books in the White House under the byline of Bush family dogs, Millie and C. Fred. "Millie's Story" became a best-seller, with profits donated to charity.

2/10

Sat 01-Oct-92 15:16 EST

## Campaigns Wrestle with Trust as the President Faces New Questions

An AP News Analysis

By JOHN KING

AP Political Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — For months, President Bush has worked to turn the campaign his way on a simple, fundamental question: "Who do you trust?" Now, as Election Day nears, the president is being put to the very test he hoped would topple Bill Clinton.

"It was President Bush who tried to make trust the No. 1 issue, more important than the economy or change," says Duke University presidential scholar James David Barber.

"It's a perfectly reasonable strategy, but as always, these things can backfire," Barber said. "If he wants to raise questions about trust, he should be prepared to answer them."

At issue is the president's account of his role in the Reagan administration's decision to swap arms for hostages with Iran. When the subject came up in 1988, then-Vice President Bush said he was "not in the loop" and didn't know some of Reagan's top aides were vehemently opposed to the swap.

Now, that account appears at odds with some new material on the subject. First came a memo revealing the disbelief of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger when he read Bush's "not in the loop" remarks. Then on Friday, in a second indictment of Weinberger for his role in the scandal, special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh made public a note in which Weinberger wrote that Bush was at the table when he and then-Secretary of State George Shultz voiced their objections.

"George Shultz — I opposed — Bill Casey, Ed Meese — VP favored — as did Poindexter," said Weinberger's note.

That appears to contradict the account Bush gave The Washington Post in 1987: "If I'd have sat there and heard George Shultz and Cap express it (opposition) strongly, maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something, it's hard to react. ... We were not in the loop."

After the new indictment on Friday, the president changed his story a bit. "I did know of the objections," Bush said Friday for the first time, adding, "but I didn't know how strongly."

The subject dominated much of a Larry King interview show with Bush on Friday night and put Bush in an unusual position, because in virtually every speech, Bush lays out a trust test: "You've got to tell the truth if you want to be president of the United States."

Even first lady Barbara Bush has sounded the theme, saying the first rule of parenting is urging children to "tell the truth — be honest."

Both lines are aimed clearly at Clinton. Bush says that the Arkansas governor hasn't told the truth about his maneuverings to avoid the Vietnam draft, or about where he would raise taxes to pay for his programs, or about his record in Arkansas.

There was no chance that questions of Clinton's trustworthiness would disappear before Election Day. Bush stressed the theme as he campaigned by train across Wisconsin, and the Washington Times published a story Saturday saying Clinton's University of Arkansas ROTC file disappeared in 1974, and quoted former program workers as saying that friends of Clinton asked for the files and that they were forced to hand them over. The Clinton's campaign called the accusation "hogwash."

More generally, Clinton's retort on the question of trust has been to say that he has told the truth, and that the president who broke his "Read my

Lips" tax pledge and promise to create 30 million jobs can't be trusted himself.

The campaign will end with both camps on the attack on the subject. Republican Senate leader Bob Dole on Saturday called the new arms-for-hostages material "politically inspired, probably motivated by the Clinton-Gore team ... liberals, Lawrence Walsh and others, to nail the president."

Clinton said Bush has "done a lot of loose talking about trust" and tried to turn Bush's favorite test on the president: "President Bush says this election is about trust, character and judgment. He has seriously called into question those issues and now has to answer your questions on all three counts."

2-8

Sat 31-Oct-92 1:11 EST

Report: GSA Did Unauthorized Work for VIPs

By KIM I. MILLS

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Federal building guards have stopped serving as chauffeurs for visiting VIPs in New York, but the government will still provide cars and communications equipment, a spokeswoman says.

The guards had provided unauthorized motorcade and security services to distinguished visitors, and even drove officials to sporting events and Republican fund-raisers, said an investigative report released Friday.

But Katherine Gaddy, a spokeswoman for the General Services Administration, said the property management agency stopped providing chauffeurs early this year, shortly after the investigation began.

"This practice had been going on for around 20 years and because they were providing the transportation and communication, they provided drivers," Gaddy said. "What we have changed now is the agencies can come to us and request fleet vehicles and communications systems to go with those; we just don't provide the drivers any more."

She denied that the workers were acting as bodyguards, but several GSA workers interviewed during the investigation said they believed that was part of their job. They also said they carried guns.

The federal report documented 129 instances between June 1988 and December 1991 when GSA employees provided transportation, communication, escort services and protection to dignitaries ranging from top Bush administration officials to a Vatican representative.

"Taxpayer money was being wasted on these trips, and GSA is primarily responsible for letting it go on as long as it did," said Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, who released the investigation by the GSA's inspector general.

Glenn noted that some \$50,000 had been reimbursed to the GSA by agencies and individuals who "took advantage of GSA's one-stop advance and logistical team."

Gaddy said no laws were broken. "It's a perception problem more than anything," she said. She also questioned why Glenn was releasing the report now, since it was completed in June.

Glenn is in a close re-election race.

The inspector general found that the GSA had no established policy regarding out-of-town dignitaries.

But the agency's general counsel advised investigators that the GSA's Federal Protective Services Division "can only provide transportation and communication services to government officials while in the conduct of official government business. ... FPSD has no authority to provide security and protection services to government officials while off GSA-controlled real property."

The practice of using GSA employees as VIP chauffeurs came to light in June 1991 when The New York Times reported that then-White House chief of staff John Sununu availed himself of their services during trips to New York.

Government inspectors found that Sununu had used GSA security details eight to 10 times, including a trip to a New York Giants football game and another to a stamp auction.

At the time, President Bush's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, defended Sununu's use of government cars and drivers on trips to New York as "totally appropriate," and said many Cabinet and administration officials used that service.

Indeed they did, according to the report.

Those who used GSA details included then-Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher; Education Secretary Lamar Alexander; Energy Secretary James Watkins; Housing Secretary Jack Kemp; Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan; Labor Secretary Lynn Martin; Bush; Vice President Dan Quayle; and first lady **Barbara Bush**.

GSA employees also told investigators they had transported several administration officials, including Kemp and Sununu, to GOP fund-raisers.

Thu 29-Oct-92 17:44 EST

First Lady urges Republicans to get out vote

MIAMI (UPI) — With a statewide poll showing the presidential race in a dead heat, Barbara Bush on Thursday urged her fellow Republicans to get out the vote for her husband.

The first lady made stops in Miami and Tampa encouraging fellow Republicans to push for every possible shred of support in the tightly fought contest.

"George Bush is going to win in November, but we've got a lot of work to do," she told Miami's Women for Bush organization. "We need every vote. Every doorbell you ring and every phone call you make counts."

Bush, who took the stage to chants of "Viva Bush" and "Four more years!" gave a 20 minute speech contrasting her husband's record with Bill Clinton's performance as governor of Arkansas.

She was joined on the podium by state and local campaign chairwomen, her Mexican-American granddaughter Noelle, and Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., all of whom echoed Bush's admonitions not to slow down yet.

"Get every vote out," said Beverly White, Florida chairwoman for the Women for Bush organization. "Dade County is very important. There's more voters in some buildings than there are in some counties in northern Florida."

Bush's talk focused on job creation and said the president's programs have brought the nation to increased prosperity.

The enthusiastic audience, composed mostly of Hispanic women, often drowned out Bush with cheers and yells, booing loudly when Bush made points critical of Clinton.

"I should take all of you on the road with me," Bush quipped.

Mary Collins, a Dade commissioner and vice-chairman of the county's Women for Bush group, said she believes her candidate is "way ahead."

"There's a beat to a campaign," Collins said. "I've been in it for 20 years, and I can feel it. We're winning. Enthusiasm may not be enough, however, if Bush voters don't make it to the polls next week."

Florida traditionally has been a Republican stronghold in presidential elections, but according to a survey by Mason-Dixon Political-Media Research this week, President Bush leads in Florida by a slim 3 percentage points, less than the study's 3.5 percentage point margin of error.

It found that Bush should command 40 percent of Florida voters, Bill Clinton 37 percent and Ross Perot 16 percent. Florida has 25 electoral votes, making it one of the country's larger prizes.

The trick to solidifying their lead, Bush supporters said, is to make sure everyone who plans to vote for Bush actually casts their ballot. And they claim that polls showing a Clinton lead could do just that.

"I think the publicity saying Clinton is ahead will help," said Silvia Lopez, a Miami housewife attending the event. "Because of that Republicans are more eager to go out and vote. They know they can't just stay at home."

1 of 3

# The New York Times

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

## On the Trail, the Contradictory Sides of Bush

By MAUREEN DOWD  
Special to The New York Times

LA CROSSE, Wis., Nov. 1 — In the blue caboose where he was sipping tea to soothe his worsening cold, the President was somber.

It was Saturday morning at the start of a scenic train trip through Wisconsin. Barbara Bush was talking to two grandchildren, Sam and Ellie, and looking at presents from supporters. And Mr. Bush was speaking to Ron Kaufman, an aide who had come back to give him new poll numbers indicating that his surge was flattening after a day of news reports suggesting that he was more in the loop on the Iran-contra scandal than he had yet allowed.

Apparently oblivious to the news

photographer in the room who later described the scene, Mr. Bush did not hide his vexation. He took off his baseball cap and tossed it on the table, and he and Mrs. Bush quizzed Mr. Kaufman about what the numbers meant.

### Going Into Campaign Mode

But whenever he stepped out to the back of the train for rallies in Wisconsin farming towns, the President went into the campaign mode his friends call "jet propulsion."

The words tumbled out in a bracing, breathless aria of insults: "The Waffle Man, moving away from it all." "Governor Taxes and the Ozone Man." "Governor Clinton, over the last 24 hours, has been frantically flopping around like a bass on the side of the Arkansas River." "He smokes a little but he didn't inhale. Sure. Who believes that?" "A couple of yuppies dressed as moderates — watch your wallet." "Tell all those Washington — those kind of salon leaders." "These deadly talking heads." "When these instant replay guys come on the television, it doesn't matter what they say."

While Barbara Bush was on the train, Mr. Bush tried to exercise some

restraint. But as soon as she dropped off at dusk, the President began calling people "bozos" again.

"A new Congress is coming in," he told the crowd at his last stop in Chippewa Falls, his voice cracking as the words cascaded faster than ever, "so a lot of these bozos are going to be gone — excuse the expression."

Racing to finish, Mr. Bush truncated his litany of complaints about Bill Clinton's record in Arkansas and sim-

*Continued on Page A12, Column 3*

cont.

11-2-92

2 of 3

# On the Trail, George Bush's Contradictory Sides

Continued From Page A1

ply barked, "And on and on and on."

In his final days on the campaign trail, it has been possible to see, in kaleidoscopic array, all the contradictory sides of George Bush: the endearing screwball charm; the cool determination to use whatever line of attack will work, even if Presidential dignity and factual accuracy are sometimes sacrificed; his desire to be seen as a decent man and his puzzlement when his rhetoric of resentment is taken too seriously; his elation at bashing critics and rivals, and his fatigue and frustration at having to justify his actions as President — and now as Vice President — when he feels he has done a good job and is far the superior candidate.

Mr. Bush treats his political persona with a certain good humor and theatrical distance, much like his grandchildren treated the Halloween costumes they wore as they cavorted through the train on Saturday evening. (Sam was a mouse and Ellie was a movie star who grandly assured reporters, as she held out her

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## An endearing charm, a ferocious message.

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trick-or-treat bag, "Money is fine.")

It is as though the Bush campaign mask is an exaggerated behavior to put on in the right season to scare people into giving you what you want and what think you deserve.

The President offered a telling response last week, when he was quizzed in an "Ask George Bush" session in Columbus, Ohio, about his repeated warnings that Mr. Clinton's position on fuel economy levels would cost every Ohio auto worker his job. With a frankness disarming or alarming depending on your point of view, Mr. Bush replied: "I hope I didn't say all the auto workers. Maybe in a hyperbole or an exaggeration for a campaign I did."

As he opens a scare-attack on Mr. Clinton's character, he usually gives

Cont-

11-2-92

3 of 3

a little laugh, a self-conscious signal to the audience that he is not as harsh a person as his ice-pick prose might suggest. He often grins his way through the worst of what he says. And in the midst of ranting against Mr. Clinton and Congressional leaders and the press, he sometimes throws in a congenial word about how he really likes them, except when they get in the way of his keeping his job.

His manner in his speeches is often strangely at odds with the blistering words.

"I believe that you've got to close your eyes, imagine in that dangerous situation an American leader without any experience, completely untested, a leader about whom literally we know very, very little," he ominously told a rally in Burlington, Wis., on Saturday. "And what we do know is this troubling pattern that I mentioned — this pattern of being on one side, pattern of indecisiveness."

Mr. Bush does not let assertions that he has prevaricated on taxes and the Iran-contra affair slow him down. As he told Larry King on a call-in television show in Racine, Wis., on Friday night, when Mr. King asked if he had ever lied to the public: "I don't believe so. I've said things that didn't work out to be true. I've meant things at the time that didn't work out."

#### Who? Me?

The President frequently seems taken aback if people judge him by or act on the words he says on the campaign trail. When some network cameramen ran into President Bush and his chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, having dinner at a restaurant in Billings, Mont., a week ago, they told Mr. Bush that his press-bashing at rallies had incited some ugly incidents. They had been yelled at, yanked at, poked at and spit at by Bush supporters.

The President assured the "photodogs," as he likes to call them, that he had not meant anything personal. Characteristically, Mr. Bush did not fully appreciate the link between words and action, between his "red meat" lines and the resentful reaction of his supporters.

The next day, he began inserting a line, when he started railing against the media, that the press traveling with him should get "amnesty."

"Don't take it out on the cameramen," he told an audience in Michigan. "Some people get so excited there, they were jabbing the American flag into the back of these poor guys. These are the good guys."

#### Ignoring the Contradictions

Because it is just campaign "hyperbole," the President does not have to acknowledge the contradiction in making punching bags of some

groups — Congressional leaders, lobbyists and the press — that he had once assiduously courted, inviting them for barbecues, movies and state dinners.

And he sees no contradiction in complaining that this has been the ugliest campaign he has ever seen, and in making own contribution to that: an endgame that focuses on zinging on character and trust rather than laying out a substantive plan for the future.

As he began one more day racing around the country, Mr. Bush sounded listless and sour in a CNN interview this morning, saying that the press coverage of this campaign had been the worst ever and refusing to explain why his account of his role in the Iran-contra affair was at such variance with the contemporaneous

## The President grins during his harshest attacks.

notes of Caspar W. Weinberger, the former Secretary of Defense.

His aides were equally snappish. One Bush aide confronted a New York Times photographer and said of the Sunday paper: "Two Perot pictures. Two Clinton pictures. One Bush picture. Don't think we're not watching."

#### Two Sides of Baker

Although Mr. Baker, the man expected to work another political miracle this year, was spotted at moments on Saturday's train trip grimly staring out at the passing farms and autumn foliage, he was his usual debonair, unflappable self when he ventured out in public to watch the President's speeches.

At one point, waiting inside before a rally, Mr. Bush peered out of his train window and saw his old friend and talking to a cluster of reporters.

Mr. Bush grinned and moved his fingers in a pantomime of a chattering mouth.

Mr. Baker grinned back and went over to stand underneath the President's window. The chief of staff did, his own pantomime back to the President, of a man bailing water out of a leaky boat. "He thinks I'm leaking," Mr. Baker laughingly told a reporter when he returned.

Asked if he would like a little more time in the campaign — a common lament among Bush staffers — Mr. Baker looked straight at the questioner and replied, "No."

# TIGHTER

# THAN A DRUM

By DEBORAH ORIN  
*Washington Bureau Chief*

Maybe, just maybe, for once we won't know who won until after the election is over.

President Bush was just 1 point behind Bill Clinton in CNN's latest poll, which suggests the president is getting a boost from Ross Perot's fade and issues like trust and taxes.

A Newsweek poll shows Clinton's lead is down to 2 points and several other polls, including Bush and Clinton tracking polls, and many state polls show the race getting very close.

Only a CBS survey shows an opposite trend, with Clinton's lead rising to 10 points, up from 5

points last week.

Clinton still seems to hold the edge in the Electoral College — the only vote that really counts — but it is now possible to envision a longshot scenario where Bush could put together 270 electoral votes.

In the latest surveys:

■ It was Clinton 41 percent, Bush 40 and Ross Perot 14 in CNN's tracking poll of likely voters, conducted Wednesday and Thursday by the Gallup Organization. It has a 3-point margin of error.

■ It was Clinton 41, Bush 39 and Perot 14 in a Newsweek poll, also taken by Gallup on Wednesday and Thursday, with a 4-point error margin. Newsweek said

that, based on past elections, the undecided voters are likely to break for Clinton.

■ ABC News had it Clinton 41 percent, Bush 37 and Perot 17 in a poll of likely voters taken Wednesday and Thursday. Clinton's 4-point lead was sharply down from 9 points in the same poll a day earlier.

■ But CBS News had it Clinton 45, Bush 35 and Perot 15 in a poll taken Tuesday through Thursday with a 3-point error margin.

All these polls focus on the people seen as most likely to vote. The Clinton camp claims the pollsters have underestimated the number of young people and poor people who actually will vote.

unt.

**CAMPAIGN '92**

**"The first thing you teach your children  
... is 'Tell the truth, be honest.'"**

BARBARA BUSH

Unlike the others, CBS pollsters call voters from 10 a.m. through 10 p.m. The others call only in the evening.

Regardless of national polls, Clinton has the cushion of solid leads — 16 points or more — in New York and California, the two biggest states with 87 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win.

Bush is now believed to be edging ahead in Texas and Florida, but to hit 270 electoral votes the

president must win almost all of the following states where Clinton now has a small (and apparently shrinking) lead: Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and New Jersey.

In the Bush camp, everyone was pushing the idea that Clinton just can't be trusted — a theme that polls suggest is paying off for the president — and First Lady Barbara Bush led the charge.

"The first thing you teach your

children, when they're little, is 'Tell the truth, be honest.'" Mrs. Bush said on "CBS This Morning."

Asked if she trusts Clinton, Mrs. Bush replied: "Well, I don't know which Bill Clinton to believe."

But the First Lady also said it "wasn't so nice" for her husband to describe Clinton and running mate Al Gore as "bozos," adding: "I'm surprised George said that. But maybe that was in a heated moment."

Clinton, in Pittsburgh, said: "All I can say is, Bozo makes people laugh and Bush makes people cry — and America is going to be laughing on Tuesday."

Gore, derided as "Ozone Man" by Bush, fired back: "Maybe he's been out in the sun too long."

Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos pointed to renewed questions about Bush's Iran-Contra role as well as the FBI probe of the U.S. treasurer, Catalina Vasquez Villalpando, a Bush appointee, as proof the trust issue should cut both ways.

But CNN's tracking poll suggests the trust question cuts against Clinton. When voters were asked to pick the most honest candidate, it was Bush 41 percent, Clinton 24 and Perot 19.

The same poll also showed that the economic issue is now a draw because, though voters rate Clinton higher on jobs, they rate

Bush better on taxes.

Clinton himself sought to brush off character questions as "all the trash they're putting out" — but ordinary voters were also wondering about character questions.

At the Candlewick diner in East Rutherford, N.J., for an informal town meeting on ABC's "Good Morning America," Clinton got zapped with one.

"Do you think somebody that is not faithful to his wife can be faithful, as a president, to the people he serves?" one voter asked.

"Yes. I think we've seen that in presidents in the past, but if you're implying that I'm not [faithful], you're wrong," Clinton said.

2  
2  
2

## Overheard

**M**y dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos."

GEORGE BUSH, *on the Clinton-Gore ticket*

**I**t means you'd throw yourself on a live hand grenade for George Bush. I'm not sure Millie would, but I think she would. But I know I would because I know he'd do the same for us. . . . Millie said in her book—I think it would be Millie, not I, who'd make this brilliant statement—that you have to adore someone who adores you."

BARBARA BUSH, *asked to explain the dedication "To George Bush, whom we both love more than life" in "Millie's Book," the volume co-authored by the First Lady and her pet*

BY ROBERT ROY—PITTSBURGH PRESS

NEWSWEEK: NOVEMBER 9, 1992 21

## Bush flails away

Last Sunday, The News endorsed Bill Clinton, noting that George Bush had "run a campaign defined by ugly innuendo and virtually bereft of ideas." Bush's statements over the past few days underscore just how empty and bizarre his message has become.

In Michigan, he demeaned the office of President by behaving like a schoolboy in a screaming match. Dragging the presidential dog into the campaign, Bush declared, "Millie knows more about foreign affairs than those two bozos" — referring to his opponents. And he denounced Albert Gore, Clinton's running mate, as the "Ozone Man" who would leave Americans "up to our neck in owls and outta work." Bush's apocalyptic scenario is patent nonsense. But the hope here is that he has it partially right, that Clinton-Gore will, indeed, leave two Americans out of work — namely George Bush and Dan Quayle.

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

*George, Bill and Millie*

Reaching new heights of eloquence in describing Bill Clinton and Al Gore, President Bush declared that "my dog, Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos." Whether Millie's command of Mr. Bush's specialty surpasses that of the two Democratic contenders remains to be seen. Their record is yet too slender to render a final bozo balance sheet. Mr. Bush's record, however, is ample.

Now, one does not lightly go about calling Presidents bozos. But by slapping the bozo label onto a man who might be elected President in two days, Mr. Bush has broken the bozo barrier — and has invited measurement by that same exacting standard.

Unquestionably, Mr. Bush skillfully supported Mikhail Gorbachev in the dissolution of the Soviet empire and Helmut Kohl in forging German unification. He beautifully corralled Ar-

played more than 100,000 troops to the Kuwait border. Never once in that time did Mr. Bush tell Saddam — or even hint to him — that the U.S. would react to an Iraqi attack with U.S. force. Never once. Indeed, on the day before the invasion, the White House opposed legislation to stop further credits for Iraq. Was Mr. Bush understandably blinded by Arab assessments of Saddam's peaceful intentions or was he caught in the web of his own bozocraft?

In July 1989, only weeks after Chinese dictators had democratic dissidents shot down in Tiananmen Square, Mr. Bush secretly dispatched Brent Scowcroft, his national security adviser, to Beijing. The idea was to reassure Beijing's leaders of the President's affections despite the harsh American words about that unfortunate event. Was that trip a clever display of realpolitik or totally insensitive bozocraft?

More than a year ago, Mr. Bush told leaders of an imploding Yugoslavia that the U.S. wanted to keep that country whole. Serb leaders took this as license to use force against break-away republics. An excusable miscalculation or bozocraft?

Serbs and Croats have been massacring Bosnian Muslims for almost a year. Mr. Bush and his Eurofriends have been feeding the dying victims, but reject even the most limited military steps to defend them, like arming them. Prudent restraint on Mr. Bush's part to avoid another Vietnam — or phony excuses from bozos who fail to understand the elemental need for humanitarian intervention in any new world order?

After an inexplicably long delay, Mr. Bush offered a hastily drawn plan to assist reform in the ex-Soviet republics. Then, as seems to be his pattern, he ignored the situation — as the Russian economy collapsed and dangerous right-wingers gained the upper hand on Boris Yeltsin and the reformers, imperiling the dismantling of thousands of nuclear weapons. The distractions of campaigning or a bozo-like carelessness about the centrality of a peaceful Russia in a new world order?

These and other policy flops raise profound doubts about Mr. Bush's reputation for masterly statecraft. They suggest, rather, an arrogant disregard for complexities, a blindness toward new world politics, a bozocraftiness. Now, Mr. Bush says he wants to bring those same attributes to the solution of America's problems at home. Watch your wallet, Millie. □

Bush measured  
by his own  
bozo standard.

abs and Israelis into direct negotiations and pushed for freer trade agreements. Above all, he brilliantly stitched together the alliance against Saddam Hussein.

These represent considerable statecraft. Most of his other actions abroad approach or cross the line into bozocraft.

Mr. Bush's denials notwithstanding, there is substantial evidence that he knew — and approved of — President Reagan's efforts to trade arms to Iran for the release of American hostages. In other words, Vice President Bush thought it made sense to let Teheran know that it could acquire more U.S. weapons simply by kidnapping more Americans in Lebanon. Was this a mere mistake or bozocraft?

President Bush provided billions of dollars in credits and technology with military uses to Saddam until only months before the invasion of Kuwait. He did so despite knowing that Saddam had employed poison gas against the Kurds, still backed terrorists and was pushing ahead with secret programs to develop nuclear weapons. Was this a reasonable policy to bring Saddam "into the family of nations" or bozocraft?

In late August 1990, Saddam de-

# The longest election year ever? Don't wake me up until Wednesday

By CLAUDE LEWIS

The greatest thing about this year's presidential election is that it will be over tomorrow evening.

A long time ago I began to wish that election campaigns lasted two months instead of two years.

All these people who pretend to be statesmen instead of the petty politicians that they are, come at us with their mouths full of lies. They say the most outrageous things with straight faces. We look at one another and wonder if they are for real.

It doesn't matter what their names are or which party they belong to. They just open their mouths and the words fall out. Before you know it, you suspect that somebody, from another country or planet, is talking. They twist, distort, revamp and reorder history. They take credit for things that never touched their lives and they ignore past

promises that lived no longer than the time it took to deliver them in some speech.

By August of every election year, just about everybody's had it up to their eyeballs with the promises and charades.

This year was different in that there was an independent little joke named Ross Perot who talks like a farmer that rushed out after someone took the padlock off the barn door.

Just because he's accumulated a few billions, Perot thinks that qualifies him to be president. But you don't solve world problems with one-liners. Perot is interesting television but the world does not move forward on sound bites.

The moment we met Perot's running mate, Adm. James Stockdale, everybody knew that Perot wasn't serious about winning the White House. Stockdale's a nice man but his performance during the debates provided us with our first positive view of Dan Quayle.

Perot insists the American people should

go into the voting booth tomorrow and pull the lever that would make him the president of an already troubled America.

On Friday, he was still shouting that he was going to win the election. He didn't even smile when he said it. You have to wonder how smart Perot really is. Any person who would spend upwards of \$65 million just to make it in the history books must need a lot of reassurance.

Then there is this fella named George Bush who acts as if he is just starting out in politics. He tries to ignore the fact that he has been a part of what is wrong with America for more than 30 years. He rarely mentions his role as vice president under Ronald Reagan's questionable leadership.

President Bush flinches whenever anybody brings up his support of Saddam Hussein just prior to our invasion of Iraq.

He enjoys taking credit for the collapse of communism. Although the Cold War ended

on his watch, you can hardly credit him with wrecking the Soviet Union. Fortunately, that fatally flawed system self-destructed.

In a moment of unbridled candor, Bush told interviewer David Frost last December, "I will do what I have to do to be reelected." And he has. He's accused Vietnam protester Bill Clinton of being unpatriotic. He's accused Congress of thwarting his every effort.

The President claims his dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than those "bozos." Meaning Clinton and Gore.

On the subject of Bush's foreign policy and his championship of democracy, where was he when those students were murdered in Tiananmen Square, demonstrating for democracy?

If elected, will Clinton go down in history as the best American president? I don't think so. But the man has the vision that Bush lacks, the knowledge that Bush needs, and the courage to make difficult decisions that

will lead our nation out of the morass and malaise that envelops us.

I believe that Clinton will be better able to work with Congress, whatever its political composition. While I disagree with his position on choice, Clinton's views go beyond mere political expediency.

It has been a long time since we have been blessed with real leadership in this country. Whatever his faults, Clinton is an articulate and thoughtful man, one wise enough to know that he does not have all the answers.

With Bill Clinton as President, America has a chance to rediscover itself. The reelection of George Bush means four more years of blaming others. He is the president of the fast-growing industry in the nation — the Excuse Industry. No more excuses: America can do better.

Claude Lewis' column runs Monday and Wednesday

# The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

## Bill's Excellent Adventure

■ Several Yale classmates of Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly were kind enough to send us his jam-packed, name-dropping update for the October '92 class notes:

"We are still having fun three years into life in the Bush administration," Reilly writes. "All of us were with the President and Mrs. Bush the evening the bombs were falling on Baghdad and the Scud missiles on Israel. The Bushes seated Libbie [Reilly's wife] next to

Vaclav Havel at the recent state dinner for him. And I watched 'Sleeping With the Enemy' with Princess Diana while flying from Belem to London on Prince Charles's plane. So you see, it's not all sewers and Superfund sites."

We're thrilled for you, Bill.



Reilly, tales to tell.

## Stumping for Doro's Dad

■ First Son-in-Law Bobby Koch, married to the president's daughter, Doro, is a bit suspect in some GOP circles, having long worked for Democrats. Koch, who now heads the Wine Institute's D.C. office, recounts a speech he gave to an industry group in Bakersfield, Calif.

"I told the I had worked on the Hill and

they booed," he said during President Bush's train trip across Wisconsin Saturday. "Then I told them I had worked for [former House Majority Whip Tony] Coelho and they booed more. Then I told them I had worked for [House Majority Leader Richard] Gephardt and the place went crazy. I thought they would throw me out."

He calmed the crowd down by saying he was now "just another Democrat for Bush."

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON



Mr. Bruce Willis  
Rusglen Films  
Suite 420  
1453 Third Street  
Santa Monica, California 90401



GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON  
October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Bruce,

Just wanted to let you know how much I appreciate all you did for me this week. Your terrific support kept me, and the crowds, upbeat and enthusiastic. It was great having you at my side.

We're down to the final days now and I'm convinced we will win. Again, my sincere thanks.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



Mr. Carmine Zozzora  
2443 Solar Drive  
Los Angeles, California 90046



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Carmine,

Just a quick note to say thanks so much for your support and encouragement out on the road this week. It was great having you with us and I really appreciate all you did.

Only three days till the election and I'm feeling confident. We will win! Thanks, again.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'George Bush', located below the typed name.

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON



Mr. Gerald McRaney  
1290 Inverness Drive  
Pasadena, California 91103



GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON  
October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Mac,

Just a quick note to say thanks, again, for your terrific support this week. We're down to the final days now and I'm still confident we'll win, but it always helps to have people like you at my side. Many thanks, my friend.

Only three more days till victory!

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Gay B.*

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON



Mr. Arnold A. Schwarzenegger  
Oak Productions  
3rd Floor  
3110 Main Street Plaza  
Santa Monica, California 90405

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Arnold,

Just a quick note of thanks for your wonderful support this week. You really charmed the crowds and kept them upbeat. It was great having you at my side.

Only three more days to go and I'm convinced we will win. Barbara joins me in sending our warmest best wishes to you and Maria.

Sincerely,

*Gay B*

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON



The Honorable Terry E. Branstad  
Governor  
State of Iowa  
State Capitol  
Des Moines, Iowa 50319



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Terry,

Just a quick note of thanks for my successful visit to Des Moines. I really enjoyed the group on Tuesday and appreciated the opportunity to answer their questions and hear their concerns. It was great seeing you and Chris.

We're down to the final days now, but I am convinced I will win. Thanks so much for all you have done for Barbara and me in this tough political year. Your support means a lot to us. With warmest best wishes,

Sincerely,

Rose- FYI  
Previous trip tku to  
Oak Ridge Boys from

GEORGE BUSH

GEORGE BUSH



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Duane, Joe, Steve, and Richard,

Just a quick note to say thanks, again, for your  
terrific support. We're down to the final days of  
this tough campaign and I'm convinced we will win.  
I really appreciate all you've for Barbara and me.  
It means a lot to us.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

r  
. of  
in.  
me.

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON



Mr. Bruce Willis  
Rusglen Films  
Suite 420  
1453 Third Street  
Santa Monica, California 90401

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON  
October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Bruce,

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We're down to the final days now and I'm convinced we will win. Again, my sincere thanks.

With warmest regards,

*Thanks so much. Sincerely,  
Great!*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'G. Bush'.

# Southwest Research Associates

P.O. BOX 721 • LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79408 • (806) 745-2507

Just in over the  
President's  
personal fax.

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/31

TO: Ms. Robin McLean

FROM: Bob Blake

FAX # 745-5066

DATE: 10/30/92

\* Please call 806-745-2507 if not received in good order.

TOTAL PAGES (including this page) : 7

This the latest "Pulse of America" Survey.

# Southwest Research Associates

P.O. BOX 721 • LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79408 • (806) 745-2507

R. K. Towery  
Jane Anne Stinnett  
Lisa Nowlin

## SURVEY OVERVIEW

Southwest Research Associates is pleased to present the results of this survey. This report contains the results of a telephone survey of 400 randomly regenerated telephone numbers from Lubbock and surrounding counties. Responses to the survey were gathered on October 27, through October 29, 1992. As is always the case, responses to a random sample may result in a sample that is slightly at variance with the actual ethnic population of the total audience. For instance, in this case the number of respondents who identify themselves as Hispanic, while closely representative of the U. S. Hispanic population as a whole, is somewhat under-represented of that population. Effect upon the results is minimal in this case, since a larger than necessary sample was taken. Sample size should result in an accuracy level of plus or minus 5% with a confidence level of 95 percent.

# Southwest Research Associates

P.O. BOX 721 • LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79408 • (806) 745-2507

R. K. Towery  
Jane Anne Stinnett  
Lisa Nowlin

Pulse of America  
October 27 - 29, 1992

1) First, could you please tell me if you are registered to vote.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 97%  
No \_\_\_\_\_ 3%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_

2) Could you tell us if you have already voted or plan to vote in the upcoming election?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 86%  
No \_\_\_\_\_ 3%  
Already voted \_\_\_\_\_ 9%  
Undecided \_\_\_\_\_ 2%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 0

3) If the election were held today, who would you probably vote for: George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?

(Rotate names)

Bush \_\_\_\_\_ 50%  
Clinton \_\_\_\_\_ 26%  
Perot \_\_\_\_\_ 11%  
Undecided \_\_\_\_\_ 11%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 2%

4) In a race between the major party candidates George Bush and Bill Clinton who would you probably vote for?

(Rotate names)

Bush \_\_\_\_\_ 59%  
Clinton \_\_\_\_\_ 29%  
Undecided \_\_\_\_\_ 7%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 5%

5) Recently much attention was given to the Presidential debates by the press and others. First, could you tell me if you watched any of the debates?

(If Yes, ask:)

Yes watched \_\_\_\_\_ 89%  
No, didn't watch \_\_\_\_\_ 10%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 5%

6) Do you feel the debates gave you information concerning any of the candidates you did not have before?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 44%  
No \_\_\_\_\_ 45%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 11%

7) Do you feel the debates made a difference in your attitude about who you are going to vote for?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 30%  
No \_\_\_\_\_ 57%  
Undecided \_\_\_\_\_ 2%  
No answer \_\_\_\_\_ 11%

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R. K. Towery  
Jane Anne Stinnett  
Lisa Nowlin

Pulse of America  
October 27 - 29, 1992  
Page 2

- 8) Do you feel the national media has tended to favor one candidate over the others during this campaign?

Yes	_____	57%
No	_____	33%
Don't know	_____	8%
No answer	_____	2%

(If yes, ask:)

- 9) Which candidate do you believe has been favored? Bush, Clinton or Perot?

Bush	_____	6%
Clinton	_____	49%
Perot	_____	2%
No answer	_____	43%

(Rotate names)

- 10) In the race for U. S. Representative for the 13th Congressional District, if the election were held today, would you vote for Beau Boulter, the Republican, or Bill Sarpaulius, the Democrat?

Boulter	_____	32%
Sarpaulius	_____	30%
Undecided	_____	21%
No answer	_____	17%

(Rotate)

- 11) If the election were held today, in the race for Railroad Commissioner, would you be more likely to vote for Barry Williamson, the Republican, or Lena Guerrero, the Democrat?

Williamson	_____	56%
Guerrero	_____	26%
Undecided	_____	12%
No answer	_____	6%

(Rotate)

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R. K. Towery  
Jane Anne Stinnett  
Lisa Nowlin

Pulse of America  
October 27 - 29, 1992  
Page 3

Now I am going to read you a list of elected officials and I would like for you to tell me how you feel about their handling of their jobs, either approve, or disapprove.

13a) Gov. Ann Richards	Approve _____ 70%
	Disapprove _____ 24%
	No answer _____ 6%
13b) State Sen. John Montford	Approve _____ 73%
	Disapprove _____ 10%
	No answer _____ 17%
13c) State Rep. Dalwin Jones	Approve _____ 47%
	Disapprove _____ 14%
	No answer _____ 39%
13d) District Attorney Travis Ware	Approve _____ 39%
	Disapprove _____ 29%
	No answer _____ 32%
13e) Mayor David Langston	Approve _____ 55%
	Disapprove _____ 8%
	No answer _____ 37%

Now just a few final questions for statistical purposes only.

14) What is your age, please?	18-24 _____ 15%
	25-29 _____ 10%
	30-34 _____ 9%
	35-39 _____ 9%
	40-44 _____ 9%
	45-54 _____ 12%
	55-64 _____ 14%
	65-over _____ 22%

(READ RESPONSES)

15) What do you consider your race or ethnic background black, white, hispanic or what:

Black	_____ 4%
White	_____ 85%
Hispanic	_____ 10%
Asian	_____ 0%
Other	_____ 1%

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Pulse of America  
October 27 - 29, 1992  
Page 4

R. K. Towery  
Jane Anna Stinnett  
Lisa Nowlin

16) What is your occupation?

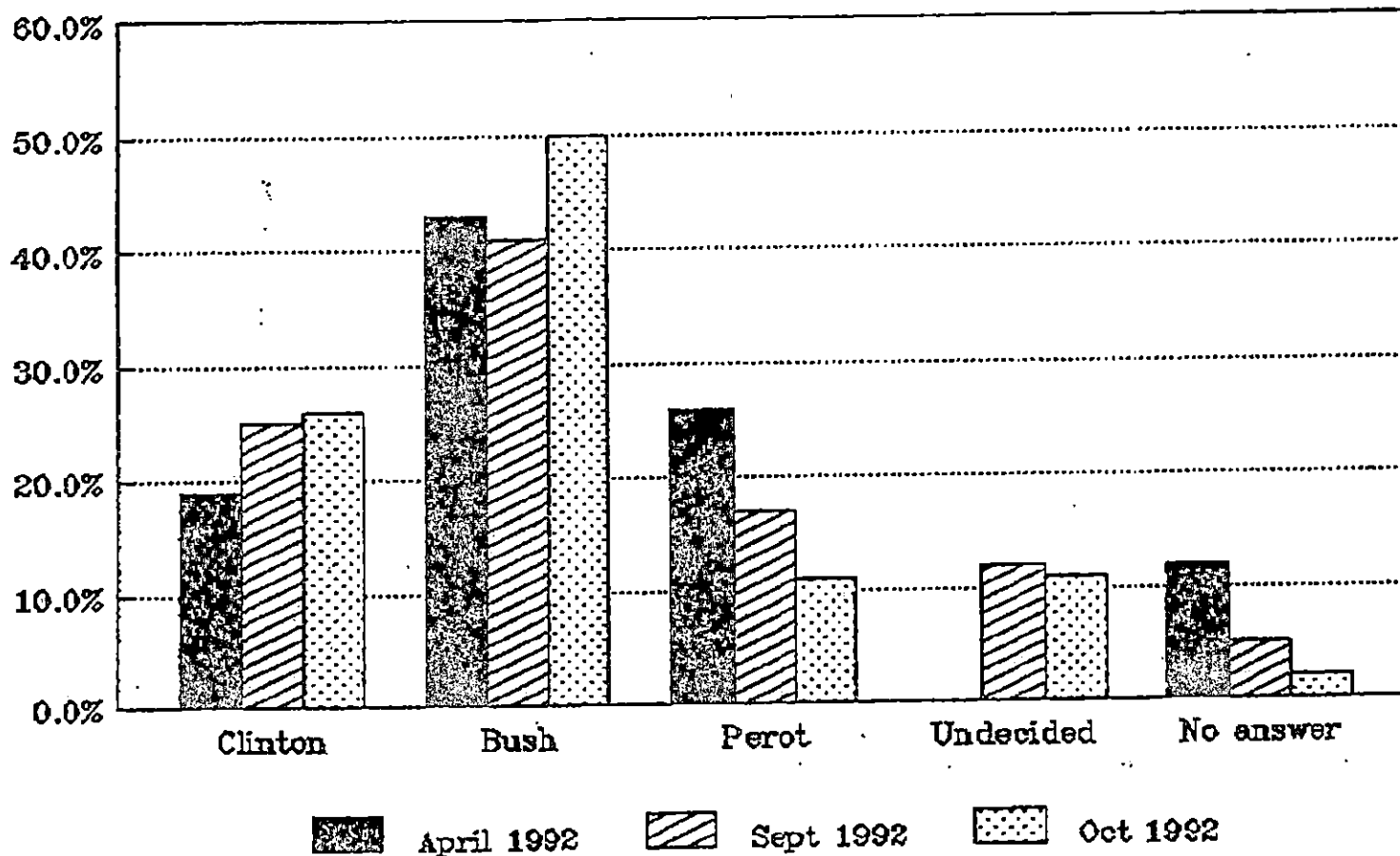
Retail/Sales	10%
Medical/Nurse	4%
Housewife	10%
Professionals	
Attorneys/Drs.	6%
Oil & Gas	1%
Military	1%
Farming/Ranching	2%
Teacher	6%
Student	10%
Retired	21%
Unemployed	2%
Other	27%

17) Sex (by observation)

Male	46%
Female	54%

OCT-30-92 FRI 13:09 R-S-TAPP&COMPANY P.07

# IF ELECTION WERE TODAY WHO WOULD YOU PROBABLY VOTE FOR



SOUTHWEST RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

Phone (806) 762-8044

Robert W. B.  
Box 2388  
Lubbock, Texas 79401

Rose,

This isn't bad. I don't think an acknowledgement is necessary, you?

*Not necessary*

Our last outgoing to Bob Blake was 28 Oct.

Robin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/31

October 30, 1992

(Oct 28 ltr attached fyi)

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20020

Dear Mr. President:

Governor Bill Clinton and Senator Gore continuously criticize you about "Trickle Down Economics". You should tell them that if Bill Clinton is elected President the American people would have a "Tidal Wave" of new taxes and spending programs.

Sincerely,

*Bob*

Bob

RWB/km

WE WILL WIN!

762-8044

702 Lubbock National Bldg.

*Robert W. Blake*  
Box 2584  
Lubbock, Texas 79408

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Ms. Robin McLean

FROM: Bob Blake

FAX # 745-5066

DATE: 10/30/92

\* Please call 806-745-2507 if not received in good order.

TOTAL PAGES (including this page) : 2

Robin, please get this to the President.

I really appreciate all of your help.

10/31  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
*The Ilikai*  
hotel nikko waikiki

Copy of your  
earlier response  
attached.

October 21, 1992

Dear Mr President —

Just a quick note to let you know that I saw the final debate while I have been in Honolulu (not possible in Fiji!), and you did a superb job in your presentation. I am so proud of the leadership that you have given to our country and to our world. Thank you! You are, and will always be, a winner!!

Keep up the good work.

In case you are wondering, I am attending the 7th International Oceanic Airspace Conference with the express purpose of lobbying American airline carriers to stop in Fiji.

Love to Barbara — You are doing a fabulous job & I'm proud to be on your team!

Affectionately

Eric

*Copied outgoing  
from daily file  
10/22*

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Evelyn I.H. Teegen  
Ambassador to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu & Kiribat  
Embassy of the United States of America,  
Suva, Fiji  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20521-4290



GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON  
October 22, 1992

Dear Evie,

Thanks so much for your phone call -- sorry I missed it. Glad to hear you were able to watch the last debate. Your words of support and encouragement mean a lot in this tough political year.

Just back from four days on the road, and I am out again tomorrow morning. Only 12 more days to go, but I remain confident of winning.

Thanks for all you're doing and best wishes to you and Dick.

Con Afecto,

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1992  
(La Crosse, Wisconsin)

Dear Russ,

Your note caught up to me in Wisconsin. It was good hearing from you, and thanks so much for the kind and supportive words. I have full confidence in you and know that you will do well at Commerce.

As I head down this final stretch, with only three days to go, I remain confident of victory on election day.

Barbara joins me in sending our warmest best wishes to you and all Cancillas.

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Major Russell Cancilla,  
U.S. Army, Retired  
8810 Arley Drive  
Clifton, Virginia 22153

R2 thank him - 10/26

Russell Joseph Cancilla <sup>LS</sup>

Mr. President

Just a quick note to let you know  
I recently started my new position as  
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for US &  
Foreign Commercial Services in Commerce. I  
can't tell you how much my family and  
I appreciate your personal interest in this.

Rest assured you have my utmost  
support in doing my very best to ensure  
the administration is professionally repre-  
sented. I am honored to serve in  
your administration!

On a personal note, I want to thank  
you for the opportunity to serve as your  
Army Aide. I hope in some small way  
I made a contribution to making your  
life more comfortable. It was a pleasure  
I shall cherish forever.  
I eagerly anticipate your reelection  
and look forward to an exciting year  
more year. May God bless you and keep you safe!  
Very Respectfully,  
Tom Conville

President George Bush  
The White House

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/24/92

*Daily*  
*Connie*  
*well Dave!*  
*Thanks*  
*55*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1992

2 SEP 22

NOTE TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER  
SUBJECT: Russ Cancilla



We have good news on Russ Cancilla.

The U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service at Commerce has offered him the job of principal deputy assistant secretary, and he's accepted. We're doing the paperwork as I write.

Daily 8/25

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SUBJECT:

Dear Russ:

Congratulations on your retirement. On behalf of a grateful Nation, I am pleased to commend you for 20 years of devoted service to our country and for a job well done.

Throughout your career in the United States Army -- serving in Panama, the Middle East, the Pacific Rim, and, most recently, here in our Nation's Capital -- you have handled demanding assignments with dedication, professionalism, and considerable skill. I particularly commend all that you have done to help the Military Office in carrying out its mission for the benefit of the Presidency and the American people. You can be proud to have contributed so much to our national security during this time, and I'm deeply grateful for all of your hard work.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes to you and Loretta for every future happiness.

Sincerely,

Major Russell Cancilla, USA  
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2 AUG 20 P 1: 16

August 20, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

SUBJECT: Major Russell Cancilla

I've talked with Russ Cancilla about getting him a job in government. We will take care of him. The one he mentioned to you - Assistant Inspector General for Investigations at Treasury - is career. It has been advertised as open only to current civilian federal employees, so Russ is ineligible. I have a call in to John Robson to see if there is any conceivable way to include Russ in the competition. Even if so, however, he needs a job in two weeks, and the Treasury career process will take much longer than that. Therefore, Russ has agreed to let me look government-wide for a political appointment he can be immediately placed in.

✓  
Thanks!!

7

*Constance*



THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

August 14, 1992

To; Connie Horner/ Rose Zamaria

Mjor Russ Cancilla, my outstanding Army Mil Aide is leaving the service at the end of August.

He would like to go for the asst. (deputy?) I.G. spot at Treasury. It fits his background which includes investigatory work.

He has been outstanding and I would like him to be given the job over there at Treasury.

Russ will be in DC this coming week. Please get him in and let's see if we can't get this deal done..

Thanks so much.

*CR*

GB

Secretary

*[Handwritten signature]*



Sussex Wisconsin

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Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin



Stevens Point, Wisconsin



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