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[George] Bush General Background, 1989-1990

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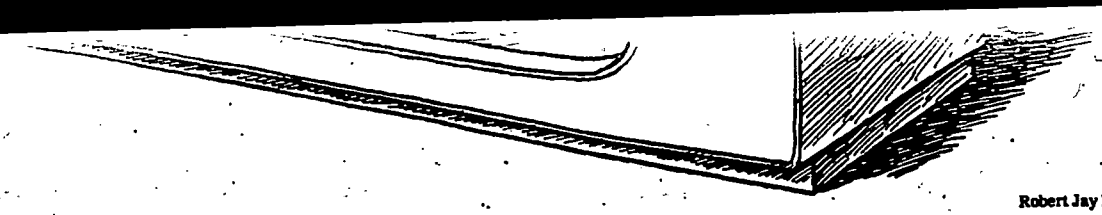

Robert Jay Kaufman

Fight Baseball's TV Fadeout

By CURT SMITH

FOR 37 years, the "Game of the Week" has been Saturday's national Main Street, a televised grandstand linking baseball to provinces hundreds of miles from the nearest big league city. It is network television's longest-running sports program; indeed, according to the A. C. Nielsen Company, it is the most popular April-August weekly sports series of the 1980's.

Yet unless common sense prevails, yesterday's game — incredibly — was the final "Game of the Week." For under baseball's new four-year exclusive contract with CBS, to take effect next season, that network will broadcast — annually, and haphazardly — the pathetic total of 12 games in 26 weeks.

The new commissioner, Francis T. (Fay) Vincent Jr., who, like A. Barlett Giamatti, inherited the pact from Peter Ueberroth, hopes to save the "Game of the Week" by reversing this decision. For its demise will mark the greatest fiasco in baseball's 69-year broadcast history, slashing network exposure and, inevitably, maiming its appeal. Only CBS can help Vincent preserve TV's oldest sports institution. And must.

Consider:

¶Under the CBS pact, baseball will become a network nonperson. This year, NBC and ABC aired 40 major league games; last season, pro football boasted 216 networkcasts. What should we term next year's 12-game schedule? *The Dirty Dozen? The Twelve Days of Baseball?* For much of America, baseball will now be out of sight; how long before it becomes out of mind?

¶This contract abandons the network whose baseball reverence is perhaps TV's worst-kept secret; NBC, which has covered the pastime since 1947, wanted to broadcast a 1990 "Game" each Saturday. In contrast, CBS's sports head, Neal Pilson, flaunts his network's baseball nescience by saying, "The emphasis on baseball will now be on the post-season." (Bart Giamatti often said, "Of all sports, baseball's regular season matters most.")

Giamatti, like Vincent, knew that baseball and any network need a healthy regular season for the post-season to prosper. Like readers deprived of a novel's first six chapters, October viewers will have to watch something they know little of from April to September.

¶History teaches that network television is any sport's best selling tool. It enters every living room, and shapes the viewing habits of a nation. The new format mocks that history, and foolishly shifts regular-season reliance to cable (e.g., the majors' new ESPN pact, 175 games a year). Reaching barely 58 percent of all homes, cable should be baseball's television icing, not the cake.

¶Most cruelly, the CBS arrangements scent of Social Darwinism — survival of the richest — and disenfranchise those who love/need baseball most: the poor and elderly, the habitants of inner cities, farms, and gentle small towns. These Americans lack access to cable, or the funds to afford it. Nor can local-team broadcasts link them to baseball: in huge chunks of America, such coverage does not exist; where it does, local television has proved unable to spur baseball's national popularity. Even Ripley would disbelieve: 12 baseball games a year.

When the new contract was announced last December, these truths were overlooked. Instead, reports focused on its gargantuan price tag. Negotiating the contract, Ueberroth lured $1.1 billion from CBS for the entire package, and for the simplest reason. Only CBS needed baseball's post-season games so desperately — to lift October audiences, and promote its flagging prime-time schedule — that it would pay anything to gain exclusivity.

What should we term next year's 12-game schedule? 'The Dirty Dozen'?

Baseball was something to be used, not loved. That CBS wouldn't telecast a weekly "Game" didn't trouble Ueberroth. Nor does it Pilson, today.

Yet even then, it troubled those who looked beneath the dollar sign. And in recent months, the pact's details, becoming public, have been ridiculed — in print and letters to the commissioner's office — as a 1990-93 black hole. Increasingly, the network deal has become sport's outcast child; no one will claim parentage.

Ueberroth stepped down April 1. His successor was one of the noblest public servants of our age. Bart Giamatti loved the pastime and grasped the contract's flaws. Indeed, at the time of his death, Giamatti was preparing to meet with CBS officials in an attempt to preserve the "Game of the Week."

By striving to insure weekly exposure, Giamatti acted honorably. By facing indisputable facts, and, thus, preserving the "Game of the Week" — baseball can now honor him.

First, network facts. Giamatti knew that the new pact burdens the major leagues with minor league coverage. CBS's 1990 schedule lists no September games, the very time when virtually every team slashes local coverage. For Americans sans cable, baseball will — unbelievably — be blacked out in the most crucial part of the season.

Next, local television: its facts mock those who contend that individual broadcasts by clubs can somehow supplant the "Game." Local exposure varies wildly; moreover, few clubs play — let alone, air — games each Saturday afternoon, increasingly moving to Saturday night. (Déjà vu: in the 1960's, baseball shifted emphasis from network to local TV. The result? A decade in which the N.F.L. surpassed baseball as America's most popular sport. The CBS pact repeats that mistake.) Worse, any local increase will do nothing for the millions of fans not part of local networks.)

Finally, there is cable. Its facts, too, deride those who talk of ESPN's becoming baseball's new TV umbilical cord. ESPN's coverage, almost solely after dark, will be off-limits to young kids. And to reach even cable's 58 percent penetration, you must be in a room that's wired.

These facts are hardly state secrets. Ueberroth knew them — and didn't care. Like Giamatti, Fay Vincent knows them — and does. Let Pilson, then, allow Vincent to preserve the game. Both have a stake: CBS has gambled everything on baseball; baseball requires a window on the land. Both know, as Vincent says, that "people are concerned, as Bart was, and I am, about the Game's end — I am searching for a solution." The solution is to have CBS air its 12 scheduled Saturday games, then explore the following options.

CBS can present Saturday/Sunday 10:30 morning games, bridging Pee-wee Herman and Charles Kuralt with afternoon sports programming. And, CBS can air 8 P.M. Eastern time, Saturday games, bumping network TV's lowest-viewed lineup (its three regular Saturday night series finished 54th, 64th, and 67th among all 70 network prime-time series). Also, CBS can schedule late-night Saturday games from the Pacific Coast, preempting a Rubik's Cube of old movies, talk-show repeats and assorted fare.

In each case, the network baseball audience would surely equal its replacement: morning and late-night games, especially, would oppose almost no local TV games. This design would give the network more games to recoup rights fees; serve fans, who, rightly, feel abandoned, and preserve baseball's national identity. It would ensure a "Game" each weekend, if not, necessarily, each Saturday afternoon.

Since 1953, the "Game of the Week" has enlarged America's family album of big league fans, becoming a movable feast, available everywhere. The "Game," says Nielsen, is spring and summer's most widely watched sports series. It deserves to live, so that baseball can thrive, and remain the chosen sport of the American people.

Curt Smith's most recent book is "Voices of The Game," a history of baseball broadcasting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITING STAFF

FROM: BOB SIMON

Yes, broccoli is starting to get a little stale, but this is cute.

Kids advise Bush on broccoli

By Lynn Smith
Los Angeles Times

COSTA MESA, Calif. — He could pretend to chew it but slip it to the dog under the table instead.

He could put it on his brother's plate when Mom isn't looking.

He could ask politely to be excused, then flush it down the toilet.

Or, as leader of the free world, President Bush could do what he in fact did last week — claim executive privilege and just say no to broccoli.

Disagreeing with his taste, but empathizing with a 65-year-old man finally breaking free from maternal orders to eat dreaded vegetables, fifth-graders at Costa Mesa's Whittier Elementary School sent Bush their own advice about what to do with broccoli Monday.

File photo

President Bush, broccoli hater

The president said last Thursday, "I do not like broccoli and I haven't liked it since I was a little kid and my mother made me eat it, and I'm president of the United States and I'm not going to eat any more broccoli."

Like it or not, 20 of the 28 students in Sharon Ball's class in Costa Mesa said that they eat broccoli at home. A mother-pleasing majority, 17, said that they eat it because they "love it." A fearless few said that they would rather die.

"It tastes like grass," said Lucina Aguilar, 11.

"I think broccoli is sick," wrote Abel Rodriguez. "You should fill a spaceship with broccoli and send it to the sun."

Many of the children, recent targets of anti-drug programs, compared broccoli to drugs, illustrating their letters with crayon drawings of a green stalk of broccoli with a red circle and a line through it. One boy titled his drawing, "Broccoli Can Kill You!!!" Another read, "Dare to Keep Kids off Broccoli."

Some gently suggested that Bush might grow out of his dislike of broccoli. "I know how you feel," wrote Reyna Estrada. "I don't like it that much. My mom made me eat it when I was a little girl. Now I am 11 years old and I enjoy eating it a lot."

Photo Copy Preservation

MEG GREENFIELD

The Broccoli Breakthrough

How one famously unpopular vegetable brought out the best in the president

Although I myself don't have what you would call a *thing* about broccoli, if it all disappeared from the face of the earth tomorrow you would hear no complaint from me. But it is not my shared, if unimpassioned, distaste for the dimly smelly stuff that makes the president's direct attack on it so pleasing to me. Nor is it this distaste which prompts me to say that I don't much care one way or the other whether he is, as his critics somberly charge, exploiting this dislike for political gain and for the points it wins for hairy-chestedness. I mean: so what? The important fact is that, even though it's only broccoli we're talking about, it has prompted George Bush to come right out in a direct, forthright, subjective, unambiguous, declarative, deeply felt, unashamed, first-person-pronoun sort of way and tell us what he feels. We know an awful lot about Bush, but we hear rather little of this kind from him. I wish we would hear more.

There has been a great deal of analysis of Bush's speaking style lately and an increasing amount of parody, some of it very funny. The "Bush" who appears regularly on "Saturday Night Live" is the best presidential impersonator I've heard since the hilarious takeoff on JFK by Vaughn Meader became famous almost 30 years ago. Everyone has down pat the verb-poor, pronoun-deprived sentences, the gestures and inflections, the characteristic diction. This deflating kind of treatment, of course, comes with the presidency just as surely as "Hail to the Chief" and other inflating perks come with it. But what seems most basic to me in Bush's public-speaking style doesn't get the attention it deserves. It is precisely this absence of subjective revelation—"I think this . . . I want that . . . I do not like the other . . . etc."

Having said this, I am prepared for an avalanche of examples to be thrust my way showing Bush saying what he thinks, wants, doesn't like and so forth; and I am sure that a wealth of these may be mined from the printed transcripts and taped recordings of his prose, since, unavoidably, we all use these formulations from time to time in our daily speech. But the key and, to me, distinguishing feature of Bush's speech is the remarkable extent to which he does not—the remarkable extent to which he tends to describe rather than declare himself.

Think about what you hear. Bush is always telling you how to look at what he is doing, or what the impression is he is trying to create, or where he should be placed on the scale you may be creating in your mind between two positions or how he and his administration feel they are now "postured" in relation to some circumstance. When he speaks to the press or directly to the public it is often almost as if he were reading a third-person news account about what he is saying—as distinct from actually saying it. He seems to be writing the news stories for the reporters as he speaks to them, not so much expressing as reporting on himself from their point of view.

I do not pretend to know what accounts for this. You can view it as surpassingly self-conscious and self-concerned or as surpassingly self-effacing and modest. That is, it could equally easily be preoccupation with image or discomfort with overuse of the word "I" and the presumption of egotism this carries. Put in the descriptive mode, the things Bush says about himself could be construed by him as sounding more detached, impersonal, government-business oriented than a lot of conversation about what he himself does, thinks, likes, wants.

There is at least one school of thought (shared by a number of his conservative critics just now) which holds that Bush just doesn't have strong feelings about anything with the possible exception of Dick Gephardt and green vegetables and that this accounts for his oddly detached, third-person utterance. These critics would explain that Bush doesn't directly share his convictions because he doesn't have any, being—in this view—wholly a creature of technique and process. Another, the psychobabble school, has it that his strict upbringing and a heavy dose of don't-think-you're-so-hot humility administered by his parents generated his particular public-speaking style. I offer the theory that for any much-covered political person, the day-after-day TV and other coverage that converts your life into a kind of slick story or sitcom must present an overwhelming temptation to fiddle, edit, manipulate and direct, so that you eventually come to see yourself precisely as the central figure in the serial and grow ever more cut off, at least in public, from the real as distinct from the sitcom you.

Me-I problem: The few glimpses I have had of the private Bush over the years tend to confirm the picture painted by his friends of a different kind of man. And it is surely true that whatever the real broccoli hater is like, Bush is far from being the first or only political figure in our time who has had an awkward struggle with the me-I problem of recurrent public speech. Some, like Jesse Jackson, go to the royal-sounding "we"; others, as the late Hubert Humphrey did, tend to describe themselves by name. None of it helps. And others too—Nixon, Reagan and Carter in quite different ways—were given to this systematic projection of some contrived kind of personage on the big political screen. The posturing and the manipulation of symbols from the D-Day commemoration to the overnight visits with just plain folks and the studious posing in carefully set places—all of this has a full, rich history of exploitation predating Bush.

And yet I think there is something distinctive in this president's way of talking about himself. He does not fall into the self-descriptive style, as some of his predecessors did, only when he is trying to puff himself up or to concoct an absolutely stellar, Nixon-type I-was-the-coolest-man-in-the-room image. On the contrary, this is, by now, his preferred and customary public idiom. He is his own one-man running newspaper analysis of the significance of what George Bush really thinks and cares about, which is not the same thing as saying, with the unique authority he has in this matter, after all, what that is. This, apart from the way we most all felt as kids about compulsory leafy greens, is, in my view, why people found the broccoli burst so engaging. Contrived or not, it was felt and *meant*. I think what people are saying is: Right, tell us more.

ACHIEVEMENTS

November 6, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER B. PORTER

THROUGH: JIM PINKERTON

FROM: WILLIAM L. EAGLE
EMILY M. MEAD

SUBJECT: Summary of the President's accomplishments.

This memo is our revised synthesis of the OPD staff summaries (attached for your examination) of the President's accomplishments that you requested.

Prosperity

- The United States is now in its 84th month of economic expansion.
- Real economic growth has been 2.9 percent.
- Since the President has taken office, there have been 1.9 million new jobs created -- an average of 209,000 per month.
- Personal income has risen by over $200 billion since January -- an average of $800 per person.
- The President is forcefully promoting the opening of world markets through the Super 301 provision of the Omnibus Trade and Competitive Act of 1988.
- The Administration has vigorously maintained an international commitment to an ambitious Uruguay Round of trade negotiations and has reached an international consensus through the Steel Trade Liberalization Program.

Fiscal Responsibility

- President Bush submitted a budget which met the Gramm Rudman targets for FY90.
- As promised, the President has held the line on taxes.

- The President successfully negotiated a 27 percent increase in the minimum wage coupled with a training wage provision.

- The President is holding his ground on capital gains.

- The President has addressed the savings and loan crisis, assuring the American people that their savings will be secure and free from further reckless, corrupted mismanagement.

Environment

- The President presented the first revision of the Clean Air Act in over ten years calling for mandated reductions in destructive emissions which cause acid rain, urban ozone and toxic air pollution.

- The President's budget included $710 million for the Clean Coal Technology Program, and $315 million for the Superfund Cleanup.

- The President also banned the export of hazardous waste and implemented a medical waste tracking program to keep needles off our beaches.

- While maintaining his commitment to "no-net-loss" of wetlands, the President has also presided over a driftnet fishing agreement with several Asian nations, as well as an international ban on the trade of African elephant ivory.

- The President has postponed oil drilling lease sales off environmentally sensitive areas of the California and Florida coasts.

Crime and Drugs

- The President sent The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989 to Congress, which included additional needed funds for federal enforcement, an expansion of federal prison capacity, augmentation of prosecution personnel, and a ban on certain semi-automatic weapons.

- The President unveiled his National Drug Control policy calling for increased spending of nearly $8 billion for education, treatment, enforcement and interdiction.

- Conforming to this plan, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has taken measures to provide for drug free public housing.

Education

- In February, the President proposed his Educational Excellence Act of 1989, focusing on seven initiatives, including merit schools, improved math and science education, and alternative certification for teachers.

- As promised, the "Education President" summoned the governors to a national summit on education in which they addresed the problems of the nation's educational system. The summit conferees issued a joint statement laying the groundwork for educational reform in America based on the President's principles: the recognition of excellence; addressing need, flexibility and choice; and ensuring accountability.

Kinder, Gentler America

- Consistent with his call for "A kinder and gentler America," the President has transmitted the Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989 which provides a refundable tax credit for child care and places choice in the hands of parents to decide who best can care for their children.

- The President requested an additional $250 million for the Head Start program.

- The President has requested full funding for the McKinney Act to assist homeless families and the mentally ill.

- The President has reauthorized the Low Income Opportunity Board, coordinating federal agencies, and assisting states in better utilizing federal money to aid the low-income population.

- The Americans with Disabilities Act will provide unprecedented protection against discrimination for persons with disabilities -- perhaps the most significant expansion of civil rights laws in the past two decades.

- The President called upon Congress to reauthorize the Commission on Civil Rights.

- The President signed the Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989 to strengthen the rights of employees in reporting misdeeds and mismanagement.

- To combat infant mortality rates, the President has requested the Congress to expand Medicaid eligibility of pregnant women, as well as provide for coverage of childhood immunizations.

- The President has also asked Congress to augment tax credits relating to adoption expenses.

- Though the promotion of wider availability of experimental and therapeutic drugs such as AZT, the President has demonstrated his commitment to the eradication of the HIV virus and AIDS.

Invest in our Future

- Concerned with the economic difficulty of our inner cities, the President has submitted amendments to the JTPA as well as a proposal to promote enterprise zones.

- The President has called for the development of a National Energy Strategy to provide a plan for a secure and abundant and environmentally safe energy supply for the nation. Toward that end, the President ordered the decontrol of natural gas prices.

- The President has made a commitment to the continued exploration of space through the creation of the National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President.

- In a bold new initiative, the President has proposed the deployment of Space Station Freedom, the establishment of a permanent presence on the moon, and a manned mission to Mars.

Reform

- The President has made proposals to Congress for comprehensive reforms in campaigns and elections, and ethics

in government.

- The President issued an executive order on ethical conduct covering the employees of the executive branch.

- The Office of National Service has been energized by the President's founding of the Points of Light Initiative to identify, enlarge, and duplicate successful community service programs throughout the nation.

- The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development has implemented departmental reform programs to eliminate discretionary funding, mandate documented accountability, and increase powers of the Inspector General.

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Bush's Speech Writers: Not the Ideological Breed of Years Past

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

As the second year of Ronald Reagan's presidency began, Tony Dolan, one of his cadre of committed conservative speech writers, came up with the phrase "evil empire" to describe the Soviet Union.

He gleefully stuck it into one Reagan speech overseas, but it was scratched out. Too strident. He tried again. And again. Finally, nearly a year later, Reagan uttered the words dreamed by Dolan. The phrase became synonymous in the public mind with Reagan's Soviet policy.

As George Bush prepares to deliver his first State of the Union address tonight, there may be passionate partisans lurking in his speech-writing operation, men who are dreaming the words that capture the essence of the president and his policies. But if there are, they are hidden. And so, mostly, are their words.

White House communications director David F. Demarest, who hired and supervises the all-white, all-male staff of speech writers, said he "believes" the five Bush speech writers are Republicans, but "I'm not 100 percent sure." He is, however, certain that none of his speech writers is an ideologue, and equally certain that speeches are a less important form of communication for Bush than they were for Reagan or many other presidents.

"It is safe to say that we don't try to over-rely on speeches to carry the president's message," said Demarest, even though Bush has given more of them in his first year in office than the past two presidents averaged. He noted that Bush has used news conferences, travel, short statements and other devices more than speeches. "He's awfully good off-the-cuff," Demarest said.

"That," sniffed one administration official, "is because Bush does not give speeches. He gives remarks."

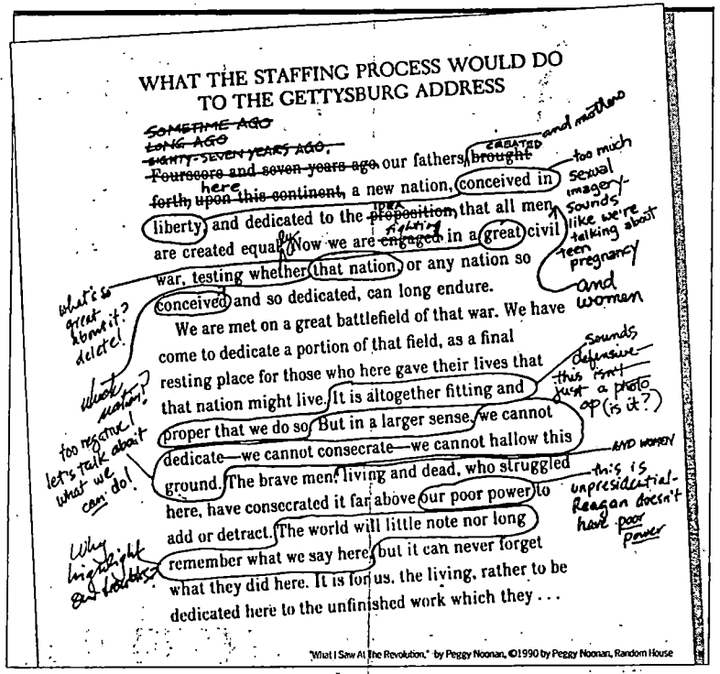
Said a Republican with close ties to Bush: "The president's speeches are mediocre at best. They have no weight. They have no sense of history. They rarely reach out to America. These are not documents that historians will look at to capture the hopes and fears and dreams of the Bush era."

Peggy Noonan, one of Reagan's conservative speech writers who also wrote Bush's acclaimed Republican National Convention speech, agrees that rhetoric is not to Bush what it was to Reagan. "We are entering, I think, an anti-rhetorical age," she writes in her new book, "What I Saw at the Revolution."

Reagan, she said, "found high rhetoric congenial. Bush does not. He is less inclined to move people through words, more inclined to change things, quietly, through deeds."

From a party that produced the likes of Patrick Buchanan, William Safire, Ray Price, Ben Elliott, Tony Dolan, Landon Parvin and Noonan—true believers who wrote the fire into the speeches of Republican presidents over the past two decades—now comes non-ideological, mostly non-political, anonymous speech writers.

The five Bush speech writers agreed en masse not to be interviewed for this article, Demarest said. They include, in alphabetical order, since they have no known ranking:



■ Mark Davis, 34. A speech writer for former Republican Party chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. Davis, his resume notes, did partisan speeches for Republican Cabinet members, members of Congress and governors in his half-dozen years in Washington.

■ Mark Lange, 27. Speech writer for Ann Dore McLaughlin and Elizabeth Hanford Dole at the Labor Department. Lange, once a senior writer for major publications of the Wharton School of Business, apparently moved into partisan speech writing through a summer internship at the Treasury Department, where he worked for Marlin Fitzwater, now the White House press secretary.

■ Daniel McGroarty, 32. A speech writer for former defense secretaries Caspar W. Weinberger and Frank C. Carlucci. Before his work at the Pentagon, McGroarty was an editorial writer for Voice of America.

■ Edward E. McNally, 33. Worked in Bush campaigns and at the Justice Department. McNally, an attorney, was an assistant in the U.S. attorney's office in New York before signing up as a full-time White House speech writer. In 1979, he joined Bush's first presidential campaign as a member of the field staff and candidate aide, did volunteer advance work and helped at the convention. Last year, he was a volunteer.

■ Curt Smith, 38. A speech writer for Richard Schweiker when he was secretary of health and human services and then for Samuel R. Pierce Jr., former secretary of housing and urban development. Smith has campaign experience—but for another Republican. He was John Connally's speech writer in the short-lived 1980 campaign.

None of the five would fit Thomas Dewey's description of the importance of presidential speech writers. He once said that the "man who writes the president's speeches runs the country." Dean Acheson, years later, complained that the White House speech-writing operation was "often where policy is made, regardless of where it is supposed to be made."

Policy-makers as speech writers have a long tradition in the White House. FDR's famous "brain trust" helped craft his speeches; Harry S. Truman had Sam Rosenman and then Clark Clifford; John F. Kennedy brought Theodore Sorenson and Richard Goodwin. Lyndon B. Johnson used Goodwin, Bill Moyers and McGeorge Bundy, and Richard M. Nixon had what is generally considered the best speech-writing staff in captivity, with Price, Buchanan, Safire, Bill Gavin and more.

Noonan, who sought a speech-writing job in Reagan's White House because she wanted to advance conservatism, describes in her book an operation consumed with the clash of ideas, the language to describe those ideas, and battles to get the words into speeches.

Under Reagan, some speech writer was always being accused of trying to "make policy," to make the president a little more conservative by slipping sharp ideology or nods of approval into his speeches without going through the ubiquitous "clearance" process.

It is a matter of faith to all presidential speech writers that nameless aides, in endless committee sessions, turn the sharp prose of speech writers into oatmeal unless heroic battles are fought to save it.

Noonan, in her book, offers up a rewritten Gettysburg Address to show what happens when review committees get their way. She describes Bush aides, before his nomination acceptance speech, trying to alter one of the few memorable phrases he has uttered: "Read my lips. No new taxes." Some aide insisted it was unpresidential to talk about body parts, Noonan writes.

One major difference between the Reagan years and the Bush White House, insiders said, is that few battles are fought by writers on ideological grounds. Also, this president puts no premium on moving or striking rhetoric.

This is not to say, officials said, that battles over speeches are not fought. One White House aide described the process like this: "The speech writers write the draft. [Budget director Richard G.] Darman rewrites it. Or [domestic policy adviser) Roger Porter rewrites it. Or [national security adviser Brent] Scowcroft has it rewitten. And a committee here or there works on it. And then the president gets it. He takes out the red meat. And then you ask why it doesn't sing."

Demarest says, with some pride, that speech writers should be anonymous and listeners should not be able to tell the work of one writer from another. He cited the five speeches Bush gave on his NATO trip last June, each written by a different writer and none of them identifiable, as the desired norm.

Asked to list successful Bush speeches, White House officials often pause. Generally, they cite the speech Bush gave in Mainz, West Germany, at the end of his NATO trip when he spoke of his vision of the Western alliance; some mention the speech he gave wrapping up his first major foreign trip, to Eastern Europe, last year. Two officials mentioned a moving tribute to Lech Walesa when the Solidarity leader was here. One mentioned his inaugural address.

White House officials insist there is no danger in Bush's pedestrian speech making, because of his political skills. But others disagree and make the argument that Terry Eastland, a former Reagan administration official, made in a recent article in the American Spectator magazine.

"Bush's communications effort," he said, "does not promise to forge the kind of bond with those beyond the Beltway that is necessary for major domestic success."

Many sides of Bush include Rolodex Man, Secret Agent

By Owen Ullmann

Like all presidents, George Bush has unique personality traits that make him endearing, comical, strange and difficult to those around him.

Here is a guide to some of the many sides George Herbert Walker Bush has revealed after one year in office:

● **The Rolodex Man.** Bush may have the world's largest network of friends and political contacts, and he stays in touch with personal notes, telephone calls, White House invitations and presidential visits. He has set international diplomacy on its head by becoming the first leader to use the telephone extensively. He is so spontaneous that foreign leaders often are shocked to learn the president of the United States is calling.

Bush also cultivates world leaders with personal touches. The best example is his courtship of French President Francois Mitterrand, who had contempt for Ronald Reagan but has become a fast friend of Bush's ever since spending a weekend at the Bush family compound in Kennebunkport, Maine.

Bush is equally charming in wooing members of Congress and the media. Once-rare visits to the White House living quarters have become so routine that everyone in town claims to have sat on the bed in the Lincoln Bedroom at least once.

● **Mr. Unpretentious.** Bush may have been born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but he acts like a native of Main Street. He has a natural down-to-earth quality that makes people feel comfortable. Bush's common touch stems from his upper-class training to be humble and not put on airs. It is a big change from the Hollywood glamour of the Reagan years. Another aspect of his down-home charm is a vicious assault on the English language. During the campaign his fractured syntax was the object of ridicule but now is viewed fondly as an idiosyncrasy.

> "George Bush does not like to sit still," said his press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater.

● **The Perpetual Motion Machine.** "George Bush does not like to sit still," his press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, said in explaining the president's fast-paced schedule. Bush begins his work day at 7 a.m., sometimes earlier if he is traveling, and he goes non-stop for 12 or more hours. If a meeting is canceled, he'll schedule another one rather than have free time on his hands.

He prefers entertaining to spending a quiet evening at home, has set a record for first-year travel by a president and would rather vacation by playing five different sports in one day than put up his feet to rest.

● **The Gladiator.** He may claim to be a "kinder and gentler" president, but Bush is a fierce competitor on the athletic field and in the political arena. "He's a different person in a campaign," said one old friend. That is why Bush seemed like a mean slasher against Michael Dukakis in 1988 and so conciliatory with Congress in 1989.

● **The Secret Agent.** Bush has a penchant for secrecy, and not just because he used to be CIA director. His aides attribute it to the elitist leader in him who believes he knows best and does not like second-guessing. Bush is still very thin-skinned about criticism, although he hides it better now, and secrecy helps hold down the criticism. Secrecy is also a sport for Bush, who enjoys keeping the press in the dark just for fun.

● **The Obstinate One.** Bush is at his least charming when aides are trying to advise him. "He is incredibly stubborn and insists on doing things his own way," said one long-time adviser who gave up trying to "handle" Bush during the 1988 campaign.

Owen Ullmann writes for the Knight-Ridder News Service.

Photo Copy Preservation

BRIEFINGS

Survey: CEO speechwriters' median salary is $75,000

Senior writers have considerable influence with top management

Almost one-third of Fortune 250 companies report having a "chief executive speechwriter" whose main responsibility is writing speeches for CEOs, according to a survey of corporate speechwriters. More than half of these speechwriters earn at least $90,000 and "hold positions of genuine power in their organizations." The median base salary for respondents is $75,000.

The 25-question survey, responded to by all but one of the Fortune 250, was conducted recently by Fairfax, Virginia-based Quarles & Associates, for Allen Miller, manager of public relations at Corning Incorporated. Its purpose was to gain insight into the speechwriting function and provide corporate practitioners with benchmarks by which they could measure themselves.

The study found that larger companies with active CEOs and those that market products or services to other businesses are most likely to have executive speechwriters. More than half (53 percent) of the top 49 firms in the Fortune 250, for example, report having such a position. Among responding business-to-business companies, 77 percent of computer firms and 53 percent of aerospace companies have executive speechwriters on staff.

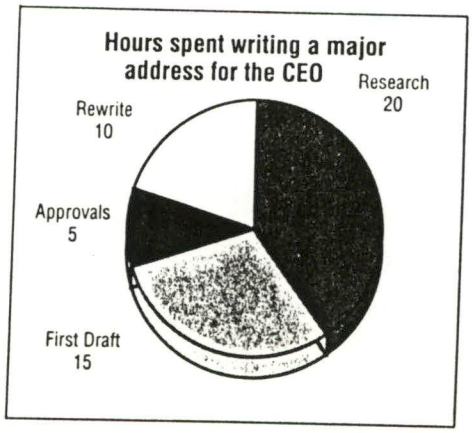
Nearly half (49 percent) of the companies that reported they don't have a CEO speechwriter said that "no specific person" writes the speeches (30 percent) or that the CEO writes his or her own speeches (19 percent). Other job descriptions of those who write CEO speeches include corporate communications (30 percent), executive communication or speechwriting (12 percent), public relations (7 percent), editorial services (2 percent) and public affairs (1 percent).

Access and influence

According to the survey, CEO speechwriters fall into two categories: senior people who report to the vice presidential level or higher, and mid-level people who report to managers or directors. "Senior speechwriters are members of senior management who have relatively easy access to the CEO and often act as advisors," the study concludes. "Many appear to have considerable influence."

Most of the responding speechwriters said they prepare an average of 30 speeches per year. Almost nine out of 10 (88 percent) said CEOs give them feedback on the text of the speech, while 59 percent reported getting feedback on the actual delivery.

The survey asked speechwriters how much time they spend on a major address. "On average," the report concluded, "chief executive speechwriters spend 20 hours on research, 15 hours writing the first draft, 10 hours rewriting, and five hours getting approvals."



The report concluded that chief executive speechwriters spend an average of 50 hours on a major address.

Lower pay for women

The study also revealed that responding women speechwriters earn lower salaries and are less likely to be senior staff members than their male counterparts. Seven out of 10 chief executive speechwriters are men, the report noted. Men hold the position in 81 percent of the top-ranked 49 companies and 75 percent of the next 50. "Women are particularly likely to hold the lower-paid staff positions in the public relations and editorial services department," the survey concluded.

Only 26 percent of participating women speechwriters earn $75,000 or more, compared to 57 percent of male speechwriters. In addition, 21 percent of male speechwriters earn more than $105,000; no women surveyed earned that much.

The study noted, however, that salaries are closely tied to years of experience. "Women are not paid as well partly because they are relative newcomers," it stated. "Forty percent of women have less than 10 years of experience, compared to 9 percent of men." □

Base salary levels, CEO speechwriters

	Yrs communications experience			
	12 or more %	15 or more %	18 or more %	20 or more %
Less than $45,000	3	4	4	5
$45,000 to $59,999	13	7	4	5
$60,000 to $74,999	23	21	21	10
$75,000 to $89,999	19	21	25	25
$90,000 to $104,999	19	21	17	20
$105,000 to $119,999	7	7	8	10
$120,000 to $134,999	10	11	13	15
$135,000 or more	7	7	8	10
(Base)	(31)	(28)	(24)	(20)

Salary levels for CEO speechwriters are closely tied to years of experience.

Graph/Chart: Quarles & Associates

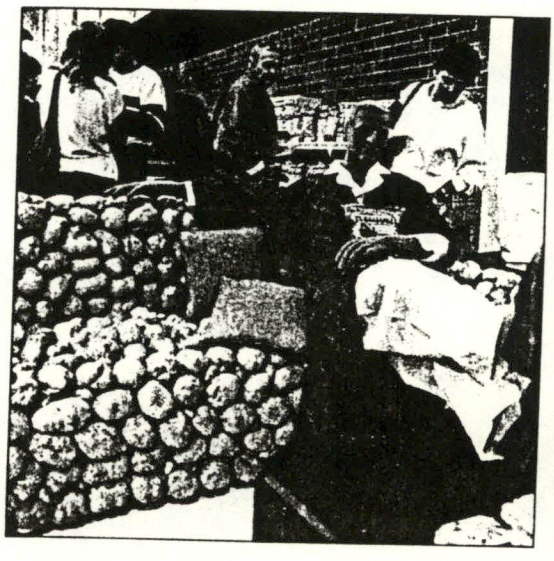


Photo: Snyder of Berlin

Couch potatoes unite

To help Snyder of Berlin launch its new kettle-cooked potato chips, Marcus Public Relations, Cleveland, cooked up an attention-getting publicity stunt viewed by 40,000 visitors who attended Pittsburgh's Fall Home Show: a seven-foot "potato couch" made of more than 500 potatoes. "We were tired of the old couch potato stereotype," says Dan Hummel, Snyder's director of marketing. "We wanted people to know that snacking is great."

Corporate speechwriting can take you to the top

By CAROL KLEIMAN
Chicago Tribune

GOOD POLITICAL SPEECHwriters always are in demand.

Peggy Noonan, a political speechwriter, gave President Bush the phrase, "a kinder, gentler nation."

And Ted Sorenson created for President John F. Kennedy, "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country."

Corporations have learned a lesson from the politicians. Public images matter, especially to chief executive officers and their companies. Chrysler's Lee Iacocca is an example of what good speechwriters can do.

If you have writing talent, you'll find that putting words in someone else's mouth can be a rewarding way to earn a living

"If corporate officers make a terrible impression, no one ever forgets it, and it is forevermore associated with the company," said a veteran corporate speechwriter. "And when they make a good impression, it has a ripple effect. People forevermore tell everyone how wonderful the company is."

Corporate speechwriters, once known as "ghostwriters" and kept hidden in corporate closets, have come a long way in official acknowledgment and recruitment by business leaders.

The growing importance of personal communication by officers, in speeches and interviews and on radio and television, has led to the demand for corporate speechwriters. They not only write the speeches but often help determine corporate attitudes toward business and community issues.

Many corporate speechwriters, who have to work with the strong ego of strong chief executive officers, have a problem: At an average salary of $80,000 for topnotch writers, speechwriters clearly don't make as much money as the honchos they write for.

Still, corporate speechwriters usually manage to hold their own because of the important function they fill: Making the executive look good.

"Speechwriting is not an entry-level position," warned Tim Koranda, a corporate speechwriter based in New York, in an address before the Public Relations Society of America.

"You first have to learn about writing and the world. Getting a shot at writing a speech usually occurs by accident . . . . If you like what you're doing, you become a speechwriter."

Though corporations have been cutting down on in-house public relations staffs, they're pumping up their corps of speechwriters.

"Corporate speechwriting is on the increase," said Larry Marshall, president of Marshall Consultants Inc., a New York-based executive search firm specializing in corporate communications.

Marshall, in business since 1967, says "right from the start, we recruited speechwriters for major corporations. The profession got a major boost in the early 1970s, during the heyday of the energy companies, which built up their speechwriting departments."

Many speechwriters are free-lancers, Marshall notes, but "corporations tend to want people with a proven track record in another company, who understand the corporate policy and infrastructure."

He describes the field as high-risk, high-reward. Salaries range from $50,000 to $130,000. We just completed a search for a major professional association in Chicago, where the starting salary was $60,000 a year, and another for a speechwriter for a major financial services corporation in Hartford, at $125,000 a year."

The search firm executive says corporate speechwriters earn their salaries: "You have to write for the ear," he said.

"A lot of big corporations are putting an effort into speechmaking. I've heard that General Motors' executives give at least 12 speeches a month," said Robert Friedman, editor of Speechwriter's Newsletter, published by Lawrence Ragan Communications Inc. in Chicago.

The subtitle of the newsletter says it all: "The weekly voice of the silent profession."

Friedman, who estimates there are fewer than 1,000 corporate speechwriters nationwide, says it's hard work.

"It takes the ability to get into someone else's head and understand what they want to say," the editor said. "I think of speechwriters as NFL running backs: It's an exciting job with about a four-year life span."

Elizabeth P. Mitchell is one of three staff speechwriters for the American Medical Association. "It's a happy, creative job and you make good money," said Mitchell, who has been at the association since 1987. "I plan to be a speechwriter for the rest of my life."

A former librarian, public relations consultant, trade press editor and independent writer, Mitchell writes some 60 speeches a year for medical association executives and trustees.

She once wanted to be a Presbyterian minister and sees some missionary work in her present assignment. "I have a lot of the preacher in me and care deeply about medical issues," Mitchell said.

Mitchell interviews each person she's writing a speech for. "You have to have access to the person who's speaking," she said.

A member of the National Association for Corporate Speaker Activities based in Dayton, Mitchell also belongs to the Chicago Speechwriters Forum. She took seminars in speechwriting at Ragan Communications.

MITCHELL DOES NOT believe she subverts her creative ability by writing speeches that other people deliver. "You make a positive contribution because you want your speakers only to say things that make them and the company look good," she said. "You want them to sound informed, interesting and natural. It's an exciting job."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2-6-90

TO: Speechwriters

FROM: CHRISS WINSTON CW
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Communications
Room 122, OEOB, Ext. 2930

The attached is for:

- ☐ Per our conversation
- ☐ Per your request
- ☐ Information
- ☐ Review & Comment
- ☐ Direct Response
- ☐ Appropriate Action
- ☐ Draft Reply
- ☐ Signature
- ☐ File
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Please Return By _____

Comments:

My 1st nomination for comment of the year. See *!
This is real competition for Pinkerton's gang.

E. LEO AND MARY ANNE MCMANNUS
12590 N. E. 16TH AVE., NO. 608
NORTH MIAMI, FLORIDA 33161
(305) 891-2918

January 24, 1990

Mr.Chriss Winston
Director, Office of Presidential Speechwriting
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Winston:

I should like to share with you some responses to my short study of President Bush's prose ("The Very Much Coordinated President Bush"), which I sent you several months ago, and to make some observations on the continuing prose style.

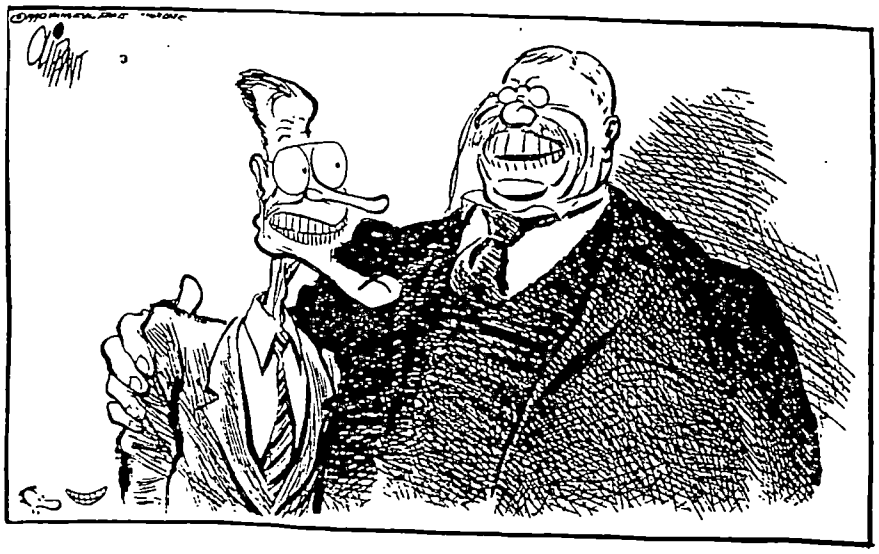
One of my former professors, who confessed that he had been twitted for his own frequent use of the initial "and,"like President Bush's, remarked that it was one method of escaping excessively long sentences. "I have not minded Bush's less formal style," he wrote, "because it strikes me as in keeping with his unassuming but simpatico personality."

On the other hand, a columnist wrote: "His press conferences reflect exactly the 'casual and unplanned' kind of person he is. The initial ands and buts suggest a continuous flow of imprecise thought...."

A somewhat arcane resemblance between President Bush's style and that of the 5th-century B.C. Greek political leader and commander-in-chief, Alcibiades, was noted by a classicist, Mr. William Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford University, who is writing a biography of the Greek leader. Fortunately, the resemblance is only stylistic, for, as he wrote me, "How unlike Alcibiades is George Bush. Alcibiades was an amalgam of J.F. Kennedy, Oliver North, Vidkun Quisling, and John Belushi."

My own observations: the President's Nov. 23 speech on relations between the East and the West revealed an excellent variation in sentence types. No longer was the loose sentence the exclusive type, but now the periodic type gave variety. The total number of coordinating conjunctions declined appreciably, and the subordinating began to appear, even if some were hybrids such as "and as," "so if," "so even if," "so when," and "so as."

Georgie bear



A YEAR into his presidency, George Bush is the most popular Republican in the White House since Teddy Roosevelt, who held the office from 1901 to 1909. Indeed, the two men have been compared. Roosevelt, succeeding the murdered McKinley, was the youngest man ever to become president; George Bush was the fourth oldest. But both came to office committed to softening the edges of capitalism and to preserving the environment; they share bursting energy, love of the outdoors and affection for the patriotic gesture. Mr Bush himself has often expressed his admiration for his muscular predecessor. Here, to celebrate Mr Bush's first anniversary in the job, is our comparison of the two men.

	Theodore Roosevelt	George Bush
Social background, education	Yankee; Harvard	Yankee; Yale
College sport of which unlikely exponent	Boxing	Soccer
Toughening western experience in	Dakota Territory	Texas
Distinguished position in United States Navy	Assistant secretary thereof	Youngest pilot therein
Slaughterable dumb animal of choice	When young, quail; later, anything	When young, quail; later, bluefish
Saint with whom feat of heroism is associated	San Juan (Hill)	San Jacinto (aircraft carrier)
Notable phrase or action in relation to Panama	"I took it"	Took it again
Unusually common method of beginning a sentence	"By Godfrey"	"And"
Typical exclamation	"Bully"; "Jim-Dandy"	"Hey"; "Gosh"
Intended amelioration of capitalism's excesses	Trust-busting	A kinder, gentler America
Basis of claim to be the environment president	Started the ... national parks	Creating a cabinet secretary for the environment
Manner of expressing sense of danger	"All men who feel any power of battle know what it is like when the wolf rises in the breast." (of Cuba)	"It was Tension City in there." (of interview by Dan Rather)
Declaration of triumph, with special reference to southern Europeans	"Look at all these Spanish dead" (at San Juan)	"We kicked a little ass tonight" (of Geraldine Ferraro)
Description of political calamity in terms of brown, sticky stuff	"The president [McKinley] has no more backbone than a chocolate eclair."	"Deep doo-doo"

the outlook is bleak; small towns lost jobs between 1984 and 1989.

This, too, is not a new conclusion. The Southern Growth Policies Board identified economic decline in small towns and rural areas as a priority in 1987. The lesson from the west is that such decline is hard to arrest even when the region as a whole has unique attractions and a strong entrepreneurial culture. There is indeed a new western economy, but resurgence is not quite the right word. The west's modern urban centres are doing better than ever. But the old west—like those Colorado mining towns from which buses run each morning, ferrying maids to the ski resorts—is stuck in a slump, with no obvious way out.

Child abuse

Suffer the children

LOS ANGELES

FOR much of the 1980s, the McMartin Pre-School in Manhattan Beach, California, was a symbol of how vulnerable children are to sexual abuse. It may now be a symbol of how vulnerable adults are to the accusation of abusing children. It certainly demonstrates how hard it is to prove either guilt or innocence in such cases.

McMartin was one of a number of nursery schools in the prosperous beach communities south of Los Angeles. According to a fervent group of parents, more than 1,000 children at the school were molested and forced to participate in Satanic rituals. That was in 1983. Last week after a record-breaking $15m, 2½-year trial, a jury threw out 52 charges (and could not agree on 13) against Mrs Peggy McMartin Buckey and Mr Raymond Buckey, the mother and son who ran McMartin. On January 19th Mrs Buckey filed a $1m civil-rights suit.

When the accusations of mass molestation were first made, they drew national attention and were followed by a surge of similiar reports. In Jordan, Minnesota, in 1984, 24 adults were accused of having orgies with children, killing some and burying them in a riverbank. Charges were ultimately dropped against 22; the others were acquitted after a trial. In Bakersfield, California, a five-year-old child's accusation against a neighbour led to charges of molestation, ritual child-sacrifices and cannibalism. Seventy-seven adults were charged; one was ultimately convicted on one count of lascivious touching.

Elsewhere people disclosed that they had been molested as children. Mr Michael Reagan, the former president's elder son, announced that he had been abused in a day-care centre. Even Spiderman, a comic-strip hero, told his own dark secret as a part of a publicity campaign to encourage chil-

February 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO JIM PINKERTON ET AL

FROM: SPEECHWRITERS CW MEG MK MD DMcK CS

SUBJECT: "THE NEW PARADIGM"
REMARKS TO THE WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY

Although you have already delivered your remarks, we nonetheless appreciate the opportunity to review and comment upon them. The theme is unimpeachable -- your delivery, undoubtedly impeccable. However, at the risk of cacoethes carpendi, we do have a few specific concerns with the address:

3,2,1 - "Forgive me for laboring the cliche of the failure of socialism ..."

Apology accepted. Though the journey from cliche to archetype (and back again) is often bewilderingly short, we believe the word you are searching for is "belaboring." Your omission of the suffix, while pursuing the paradigmatic, seems merely enigmatic.

4,2,4 - "I'm here as a representative of the Bush White House and as a Republican to tell you that we have just as much desire to end homelessness, improve education, lift up the underclass and realize the goals of most liberals."

As Porgy & Bess sang, "It Ain't Necessarily So." We take exception to the idea that we have been hired to realize the goals of most liberals. Perhaps you mean that while we may agree with some of those goals (though certainly not with others, such as the legalization of drugs), our tactics for their realization differ from theirs -- a difference which is, we believe, the major theme of the speech. Furthermore, we're deeply troubled by the insinuation that President Bush harbours within his administration, or is himself, a Closet Liberal.

4,2,11 - "I am also here to tell you that if we want to improve the lives of people, then we are going to have to go about solving them in a different way."

We note the curious construction of this sentence, prompting us to ask, What is the Solution to Life? The Problem of Death? This reduction of life to the status of a problem to be solved is, as you know, perpetuated by the liberal policy agenda of tax-and-spend, speciously symptomatic solutions -- as if existence could be perfected by housing projects. Taken with the above-mentioned sentence, we feel you are teetering on the edge of a dangerous protrope.

6,1 - A well-written paragraph, filled with many bold allusions (although we question the prudence of unattributed, false gerundizations). You aptly touch on the solipsism of existence among an ignorant army of liberal policymakers. Life's a Beach.

8,2,12 - "Then the opposition was called the Inquisition. Today it's called ..." [on to next paragraph]

The writer has obviously neglected this opportunity for some much-needed humor in the speech, and has left the audience dangling in mid-air to charge once again into Kuhn's theories. We suggest finishing the sentence cleverly.

12,1,4 - "The policymaker who tinkers with the economy in the wrong way, who pushes the wrong button ..."

This vague premonition of disaster -- alluding to nuclear disaster, as it were -- makes us nervous.

15,2,4 - "... whether those bureaucracies be a Stalinist government in Eastern Europe, a stodgy corporation on Park Avenue, or a sclerotic city hall in Anytown, U.S.A."

Although we applaud the "s" alliteration among the adjectives of this sentence, we question the use of the medical term "sclerotic" -- a word at once overly clinical and needlessly offensive to the elderly community. As the President would say, "Who researched this?"

16,1,3 - With the mention of Hernando de Soto, we find ourselves treading an overworn path of (a total of 15) references to and quotes by white males, many of them Dead White European Males. We suggest either gender-neutral unattributed quotes, or greater sensitivity when choosing quotes / meeting quotas in the future.

19,1,7 - "One of the leaders in this effort, has been Governor Clinton of Arkansas, who has emerged, especially since Governor Kean's retirement as the most imaginative and energetic force for educational reform in the country."

It goes without saying that only nonrestrictive appositives are set off by commas. We're sure this was simply a grammatical oversight on your part -- despite the fact that you are highlighting the achievements of a leading Democratic critic of the administration.

21,2 - The entire paragraph is a brilliant example of epanaphora, which is of course the rhetorical device of repeating a phrase at the beginning of a series of diverse clauses. Well done.

We're sorry if our comments are a bit excessive. But as Horace once said of Homer, "Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus" -- even the greatest in the field make a few mistakes.

THE NEW PARADIGM

remarks by

James P. Pinkerton
Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning

to the
World Future Society

Thursday, February 8, 1990

Thank you Lindsey. // Good morning.

I'm here today to talk about George Bush, the first President to govern in the spirit of the New Paradigm, a concept I'll return to in a moment. But before I talk about the New Paradigm, we need to dispose of the superficial Beltway theories about the Bush Presidency. Some say that the President's success comes from atmospherics, such as his personality, or Mrs. Bush, or the puppies. I say that's wrong. The voters may be charmed, but they look to the bottom line: peace and prosperity; what works for them. President Bush is popular because his policies are working. And the reason things are going well for the Administration and the country is that George Bush is truly in tune with the global

(more)

Zeitgeist of freedom, decentralization, and a new look at ways to solve old problems.

In the face of the conventional wisdom, the President has kept his campaign promises: a Kinder, Gentler Nation, and No New Taxes. Add the unprecedented prospect of reduced troop levels in Europe and decreased military spending around the world and you have a President and a country perfectly positioned to benefit from the dawning of the New Paradigm around the world; the new forces that define how the world works, cracked the Berlin Wall, dismantled the Soviet Empire, and brought a new peaceful integration of the world economy, with the prospect of a better life for everyone.

These forces go by different names. The President himself has spoken of the New Breeze of peace and freedom that is sweeping the globe. The New Breeze is a metaphor for the learning process that has led virtually all of us to conclude, as the President has said, "We know what works. Freedom works."

Just as we now know what works, we have all come to know what doesn't work. After decades of collectivization and concentration camps, we have learned the truth about an ideology whose central premise is a war against human nature, including the human desire for voluntary exchange. Socialism doesn't work. It has obviously failed in Eastern Europe, but it has also failed when it goes by some other name. State socialism doesn't work in South Africa, where it goes by the name of apartheid, and it hasn't worked in the Third World.

Forgive me for laboring the cliche of the failure of socialism, but it's important to establish the context of the international failure of collectivism before I bring my argument home, to make the point that the same dream of centralized socialized bureaucracies has failed here at home in its lesser manifestations. Here at home, as in the Third World, the biggest losers under the old system have been poor people. The Great Society, to pick one obvious example, has been a continuing, if well-intentioned

failure because it too was based on the false assumption that experts, wise bureaucrats in league with university professors and politicians, could somehow administer prosperity and equality from an office building somewhere.

Having said all that, am I about to launch into a critique of all social programs, and argue that we should do nothing to solve the problems that need solving? No. I'm here as a representative of the Bush White House and as a Republican to tell you that we have just as much desire to end homelessness, improve education, lift up the underclass and realize the goals of most liberals. However, as someone with some modest responsibility for governing, and with the benefit of what we have learned about what works and what doesn't work, I am also here to tell you that if we want to improve the lives of people, then we are going to have to go about solving them in a different way. In a phrase, we are going to have to be guided by the lessons of the New Paradigm.

In addition to this general awareness that freedom works and socialism doesn't, out of the 80s come two areas of emerging national consensus.

First, the public by and large agrees on the goals they want this country to achieve; whether Democrat or Republican, black or white, male or female, virtually everyone wants an educated young generation, a roof over every head, and a clean environment. It's a cliche that Ronald Reagan, the most conservative President in our lifetime, nevertheless ratified the welfare state, uniting both parties in a common commitment to the safety net. So now the argument shifts away from goals -- which we all agree upon -- to means. That is, how do we do what we all agree needs to be done?

Second, there are limits to the size of government. Like it or not, "read my lips" is national policy and will be, as long as people think that government, especially the federal government, is incompetent.

(more)

Some think that these two consensuses that define the 90s are in conflict, that we are condemned to wander around on a darkling plain, existentially stumbling over the rubble of demolished policy, poking around for new solutions to old problems. The New Paradigm is an attempt to light a candle of hope and optimism amid the cynicism, fatalism, and opportunism that have come to characterize Washington. I believe that people of good will can seize this opportunity to significantly restructure the way government operates, to move away from monopolistic bureaucracies, and thus meet change in a way that contributes to decency and competitiveness in the 1990s.

These two new consensuses, and the worldwide realization both that freedom works and socialism doesn't, spells the death of the Old Paradigm of centralized bureaucracy, where wise government officials preside over distribution and production, fine-tuning aggregate demand, etc.

The use of the phrase New Paradigm is one I have adapted from Thomas S. Kuhn's classic work The Structure of Scientific Revolutions as a way of getting a handle on the nature of the social transformation that is taking place around us. Indulge me a moment to review Kuhn's argument.

Kuhn argues that most scientists are problem solvers, proceeding in their activity on the basis of certain models or sets of assumptions about how the universe works. Kuhn calls those assumptions "paradigms." A great scientist will develop a paradigm to describe, for example, the nature of the solar system.

In the third century A.D., the astronomer Ptolemy outlined the theory, or paradigm, that the sun revolved around the earth. This "geocentric" paradigm was accepted by the ancient scientific community because it "worked," in the sense that ordinary scientists were able to use Ptolemy's paradigm to make at least some correct calculations about the location of the planets and so on.

(more)

Thus, until the 16th century, scientists labored under this paradigm, doing their best to solve scientific problems. Even though the Ptolemaic paradigm was clearly flawed, it was the best model they had. It did work, at least somewhat, to solve the problem of predicting the location of the planets.

More than a thousand years after Ptolemy, Copernicus and Galileo revolutionized astronomy by propounding a completely different paradigm: that the earth revolves around the sun. Suddenly it became possible for ordinary scientists to advance the science of astronomy, because the assumptions they were now working on were so much closer to the truth. This heliocentric paradigm guides astronomy to this day. We all remember from school that the New Paradigm was not received with open arms by the Old Paradigm powers that were. Then the opposition was called the Inquisition. Today it's called....

Kuhn put his finger on a truth about the scientific process that applies to societies as well as scientists. Societies, too, form themselves on the basis of paradigms. These paradigms may be good or evil; they may or may not "work."

If a paradigm does "work" it will continue to survive. But it still faces the challenge of adapting to challenges over time. Paradigms give way when people see a new, a different, a better approach. This process can happen by revolution, or by evolution.

Thus, feudalism was a social paradigm, which "worked" in the same limited sense that the Ptolemaic astronomical paradigm "worked" during roughly the same period. For all their obvious shortcomings, the two paradigms were all that these cultures had to make sense of the world. Of course, both paradigms were swept aside when other ideas -- new and more useful paradigms -- emerged. From our contemporary vantage point, we believe that these paradigmatic shifts were changes for the better.

(more)

Kuhn's lesson is that people will not abandon a familiar paradigm, no matter how defective it is, until they can grasp a new paradigm that will replace the old. This is the essence of the psychological and political truism that "you can't beat something with nothing." This is the transition period we are going through -- people around the world are coming to see that the Old Paradigm is failing. Leaders and thinkers have a duty to help learn and share the emerging lessons of the New Paradigm.

I believe that centralized bureaucratic government is a manifestation of the Old Paradigm. Max Weber said in the last century that the alternative to bureaucracy was despotism, but he was describing a different world, where the main obstacle to progress was the dead hand of the aristocracy. For its time, bureaucracy may well have been the best available way to organize the transition from a farm to an industrial economy. Today, in the era of the Third Wave, Weber would agree that we have nothing to fear

from residual aristocrats like Prince Charles and Fergie, and that today, Central Europeans and others see that the main obstacle to progress is reactionary statism.

The great English Prime Minister Disraeli said that a successful politician must know two things: he must know himself -- forgive the nineteenth century sexism -- and he must know his times.

The most important knowledge comes from confronting past mistakes: we must come to see our own institutional rigidities, in a way analogous to the way the Eastern Europeans have come to see theirs. The Eastern Europeans are worried about getting through the winter -- we have to worry about the Japanese. But in both cases, thoughtful people see the need for change. The President's willingness to at least begin that process of reform is a key reason for his popularity.

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The New Paradigm has five main features:

o First, governments are now subject to market forces in a way they haven't been before. The policy-maker who tinkers with the economy in the wrong way, who pushes the wrong button, will see the flow of capital and investment re-route itself instantaneously across nations and continents and oceans.

This aspect of the New Paradigm is a function of feedback and the increasing sensitivity of the economy and political system to feedback. Where the system is increasingly self-monitoring and self-correcting there is less room for the social and economic experiments that were the hallmarks of the 60s and 70s. As someone said, if you don't deal with reality, other people will! The President's dogged determination to see a cut in the tax rate on capital gains, for example, seems very compelling in view of the low capital gains taxes imposed by America's greatest economic competitors (most have no capital gains tax at all).

o Second, the New Paradigm is characterized by increasing individual choice. The President's education program offers a concrete example. Instead of pouring money into an existing structure -- an education structure that already represents the world's highest expenditure per capita, yet the results of that spending have been disappointing, to put it mildly -- the President offers a reform that promises to change that structure by letting parents choose the public school their children will attend.

Parental choice in education is a means of letting the people with a stake in the process, the parents, not bureaucrats, decide what constitutes a successful school. Outputs, not inputs. And the New Paradigm method of choice in education is sweeping the country, among state governments run by Democrats and Republicans alike. I might add that the trailblazer in the fight for choice in the public schools has been a liberal Democrat, Governor Rudy Perpich of Minnesota.

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o Third, the New Paradigm is characterized by public policies which seek to empower people so that they are able to make choices for themselves. Take the Bush Administration's approach to child care: The President has offered a Child Care Tax Credit for low-income working parents that enables -- empowers -- those parents to care for their children in the way that best suits them: at home, or with a relative, or a neighbor, or at a church- or synagogue-based child care program, or at a day care center.

By contrast, the old paradigm method is to focus on one method of child care, usually day care centers, to fund or regulate that one alternative to the exclusion of other alternatives, have the money trickled down from Washington, and thereby constrict the range of choice. Again, the quantitative approach is to say, in effect, how much spending can we "input" into one method in the hope that that method is correct.

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The New Paradigm approach, on the other hand, says: how can we let those with a stake in a certain process, be it the process of caring for kids, or education or health care, whatever -- how can we empower those with a stake in the process so that they and not bureaucrats can determine the outcome of that process. In a world where more and more people know better than to believe that wise bureaucrats can benevolently enact child care from Moscow or Washington, choice is increasingly the answer.

o Fourth, the New Paradigm is characterized by decentralization: the dispersal of the centers of authority and the break-up of bureaucracy -- whether those bureaucracies be a Stalinist government in Eastern Europe, a stodgy corporation on Park Avenue, or a sclerotic city hall in Anytown, U.S.A.

Decentralization means pushing decision-making downward and outward, to the lowest feasible level. No place, no culture is immune from the benefits of perestroika. The cultural anthropologists who said

that one culture is backward as compared to another have missed the central insight of the great Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto: that people everywhere by and large want the same things. The President himself made this point in speaking of de Soto. Quote:

> By walking the streets of Lima, not analyzing official statistics, [de Soto] found that the poor of Latin America -- who have never read Jefferson or Adam Smith -- ran their affairs democratically, outside the formal economy, organizing their private, parallel economy in a free and unregulated manner. ... People everywhere want the same things. And when left alone by government, people everywhere organize their lives in remarkably similar ways.

End of quote. Those of you familiar with the great Nobel economist Friedrich Hayek will be reminded of the "spontaneous order" of the market that he described.

But what about here? What about decentralization here at home? Here too, centralized bureaucracies have proven themselves unable to translate our wealth and compassion into opportunity and a better life for every American. Public and private bureaucracies have not been able to adjust to the change of this decade, not to mention the coming decade. Therefore, a new generation which still believes in social justice and the promise of the American Dream must look for new ideas and new approaches to achieve the old goals.

Now that the people have learned that government doesn't know best, they will refuse to turn over decision-making power when they can decide better for themselves. Popular opinion now converges around the notion that instead of doing many things badly, the government should try to do a few things well. The public debate focuses on qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, changes in government, to a restructuring that finally begins to put the government in tune with the society that has changed so much in the past decades.

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As Bob Samuelson recently put it, the American people are not so much stingy as they are skeptical. This skepticism -- this immunization against being fooled by the authorities that the Information Age allows is a healthy thing. The guiding principle is accountability and feedback. Rather than a rigid dedication to centralized government, the New Paradigm emphasizes results. Achieving those results will usually require the above-mentioned market orientation, choice, empowerment, and decentralization.

o Fifth, the New Paradigm implies an emphasis on what works: Once we agree on the goals of a decent life for every American, then the debate shifts to actually achieving those goals, as opposed to talking about them and spending money. As far as public policy is concerned, that means changing the way we measure the success of those policies. Again, its the difference between measuring input and measuring output.

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Look at the President's education policy. The President, in an agreement with the governors at the Education Summit in Charlottesville last September, set out some national education goals based not on how much money we are going to pour into education, but just how well the students who come out of that education system perform -- outputs, not inputs. One of the leaders in this effort, has been Governor Clinton of Arkansas, who has emerged, especially since Governor Kean's retirement as the most imaginative and energetic force for educational reform in the country.

Overnight, the debate on education in this country has changed. It is now a question of the quality of education, and less a question of the quantity of dollars that may or may not contribute to quality. Note that I am not saying that quantity is irrelevant, only that we have lost sight of why we focused on quantity and inputs in the first place. These factors may help determine the outcome, but they are not the same thing as the outcome.

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I would refer all of you to David Osborne, whose Laboratories of Democracy is a wonderful overview of the individual states' respective efforts to actually make life better for their people. I don't agree with everything David says, but that's not the point. The New Paradigm does not rely on the wisdom of one individual, it relies on diversity and innovation spread out across the states like 50, or 1,000, points of light.

As I said, this President holds office at a time when there is an emerging national consensus: Everyone wants an educated young generation, a roof over every head, and a clean environment in which to live. And yet, everyone wants limits on the size of government -- limits especially on the size of their taxes.

Are these two areas of consensus in conflict? Well, if you believe, for example, that the problems of America's schools can be solved by spending more money on them -- if you believe that the best solution

for the high cost of raising kids is to concentrate on subsidizing bureaucratized, monopolized day care -- if you believe that the answer to housing our poor is only to build more public housing projects -- then you must believe that, yes, our national aspirations are in conflict.

On the other hand, if you believe that we ought to judge our schools by how well they perform, not by how much money we spend on them -- if you believe that those schools will improve if parents have a greater say in choosing the schools their children will attend -- if you believe that the best child care is the one that responsible parents decide is best for themselves -- if you believe in giving the poor a stake in their own futures, say through tenant management and ownership of public housing -- if you believe, for that matter, that we should measure the success of our welfare programs by how many needy people pull themselves <u>out</u> of poverty -- then, perhaps, you too see the outlines of the New Paradigm as it emerges from the dawn.

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A world where the focus of public policy is on what works, where we judge the success of those policies qualitatively not quantitatively -- emphasizing outputs over inputs, where we expand individual choice, empower the poor, and create decentralized, flexible and adaptable institutions and organizations, there is a world where there is no insurmountable conflict between our national aspirations of caring for our neighbors and enlarging the sphere of our freedoms by limiting our government.

But note: none of this is just my opinion of what should happen in the future. All of this is happening. Thanks to the Information Age, thanks to the worldwide span of the media, thanks to the global village, we are learning faster about what works and what doesn't work. That, incidentally, is why I have been so impressed with the World Future Society. You are looking forward, scanning the horizons of what works. I like to think that the President shares that farsightedness. He is a man whose biography, after all, is entitled Looking Forward.

But notwithstanding that similarity with the country's leading politician, this Society has of course not tied itself to the political, but to the practical. If, as I believe, we are witnessing the emergence of a New Paradigm, a new era marked by an emphasis on what works, then all the more worthwhile are the contributions of a practical, non-ideological organization like this Society -- not least because the old cliches have suddenly taken on a new profundity: the future <u>is</u> today, as it never was before. So, as a fellow admirer of what works, let me say that I am particularly grateful to be asked here today. Thank you very much.

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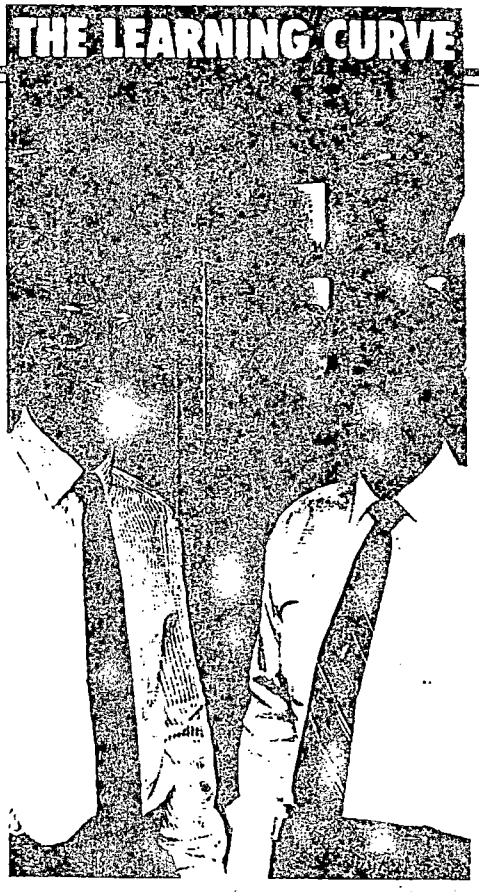
An inside view of speechwriting for America's CEO

By Peter Robinson, MBA '90



Peter Robinson, a second-year MBA student, spent more than six years before coming to the Business School as a speechwriter for then President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush. He reports "the rewards were immense."

"Mr. Vice President," the press secretary said, "this is the fellow I'm recommending as your new speechwriter." George Bush looked down at my feet, then, slowly, raised his gaze to my face. He grinned and shook my hand. "Looks about the right height," he said to the press secretary. "Let's hope it works out."

That was George Bush: joking, gregarious — and shrewd. In effect he was saying to his press secretary, "I've left the interviewing to you. You'd better have done a good job." And to me, "I'll be friendly and easy to work with. But I expect you to perform."

Beginning that day in 1982, I spent 18 months on Vice President Bush's staff: 6 months as his only speechwriter and 12 months as one of two. I joined the Vice President on trips to Western Europe, Africa, Scandinavia, and the Caribbean. Here at home, I traveled with Vice President Bush to more than 40 states, criss-crossing the country.

Working with the Vice President could prove excruciating. He never felt comfortable with a text — any text. He wanted to wing his speeches. But he knew he needed carefully presented positions, backed by figures and anecdotes. It became routine for me to feel the nose of Air Force Two dip as the plane began its final descent to an airport — and then find myself summoned to the front cabin for another round of speech changes.

But joys outweighed the pains. George Bush was open. I saw him every day, and I could get on the phone to him whenever necessary. He was kind, energetic, and funny. He often told good jokes of the President's and bad jokes of his own. During the 1982 recession, he campaigned with spirit, undeterred by the pounding the administration and he personally were taking in the press. He showed guts.

In late 1983, there was an opening on the President's staff. Vice President Bush, who had earlier warned me (wise man) not to go to law school, now urged me to accept the new appointment. "When you get a chance to work for a President of the United States, you take it. After all, I did."

I joined the President's staff the day the Rangers went into Grenada and remained, as a special assistant and speechwriter, until August 1988, when I left for Stanford. Each year the number of speeches and sets of remarks I wrote averaged something over 100.

The rewards of working for Ronald Reagan proved immense. He went over his texts word by word, sending back to our office his edits, which were expert. His range was enormous. He could handle humor and solemnity; he could shift tones from high-presidential to low and folksy. Jokes in the Vice President's speeches had to be straightforward, with a single laugh-line. President Reagan loved long jokes, jokes that permitted him to get a laugh, then go for a second laugh, then go back again for a third laugh and crowning applause.

But membership on the President's staff proved rewarding above all because it afforded the opportunity to shape policy. No, that puts it too thinly. Working for President Reagan afforded the opportunity to shape history.

One example: In March 1987 I visited Berlin to research an address the President would deliver after the Venice economic summit. I concluded that the Wall could be made to represent a test of *glasnost*. Berliners themselves suggested to me that if Gorbachev were sincere, he should prove it by easing passage between the East and West sectors of the city.

Back in Washington, I included this passage in my draft: "General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization, come here. Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall."

When I went to the Oval Office to discuss this address, I explained to the President that, depending on weather conditions, his voice might be picked up as far east as Warsaw, perhaps Moscow. "Then we have to talk about the Wall," he said. "That Wall has to come down." He approved my draft. Within weeks of the address, intelligence sources reported that the Soviets had begun to consider ways to bring down sections of the Wall.

Why then did I leave Washington for business school? Recruiters always ask me that.

In Washington, those I found myself admiring least came to town young and stayed. They went from the Hill to lobbying firms, to the White House, to public relations outfits — the revolving door. While those I most admired had come to Washington after a full life in the private sector. George Bush knew the Texas oil country. Ronald Reagan knew showbiz. He knew how to negotiate contracts for the Screen Actors Guild with the likes of Sam Goldwyn and Louis Mayer. There is nothing diluted about Bush's and Reagan's experiences, nothing of the at-one-remove quality of the mere functionary.

So the way I look at it, being here at the Business School gives us all the chance to follow Ronald Reagan's Rule of Political Discourse: If you want to have something to say when you get to Washington, spend a big part of your life outside it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 31, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN LUNCHEON WITH REPORTERS

The East Room

12:45 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, let me just say, welcome to Washington. And I've been traveling some, but I like this much better -- you all coming here. And we're delighted that you are here.

We've got a broad cross section of both print and broadcast journalists here, and what I really want to do is to take your questions. I'm delighted that you heard from our drug czar, Bill Bennett, this morning, and Roger Porter, as well. And I'll be glad to follow on to any subjects that you have taken up with them. Our Chief of Staff John Sununu came over here with me -- hey, you don't get off that easy, Joe. You haven't heard my speech. (Laughter.)

No, I'm not going to spend a lot of time, but I do want to indicate that certain important things have taken place at the outset. We went up with a good budget agreement -- we hope we'll get an agreement -- a good budget proposal. We've thrown an idea, a plan out there for the savings and loans, and I think that is an important thing to have happen. We've introduced a child care initiative in keeping with the philosophical approach that I talked about in the campaign -- parental choice. We've done that one.

We've made a vigorous start in the narcotics area, and I want to congratulate Bill Bennett, who really -- antinarcotics area -- hit the ground running. And he has to formulate under the law a specific plan. But we're not going to wait for that to move forward in various ways.

Next week, we'll be sending up new legislation on ethics and education. The ethics guidelines will enable us to sustain an honesty and integrity in public service. I've been talking some about my belief in public service -- those not that are in and out on the political basis, but those who serve in a career basis. And I -- though we have no legislation on that, I want to keep saying how important I think that is.

We've made -- we recognize that the major problem facing us is the budget deficit. And Dick Darman is doing a very good job -- nobody declared our budget dead on arrival, which pleased me very, very much. Nobody has annointed it, either, in every possible way. (Laughter.) But nevertheless, we are making progress.

We're -- on the national security-foreign affairs side, we're going to have a vigorous week next week with President Mubarak here, Prime Minister Shamir here. And then we're going to have several of the Central Americans up here very soon. You've seen our new approach, you might say, on Nicaragua, where we are working with the Congress, we're together with Congress.

One of my regrets is that we were sending two signals. We'd have one signal out of the Executive Branch and then another signal coming out of Capitol Hill. And I think that now we've laid that to rest and we're going to do what we can to move forward -- help move forward the democracy that I believe the people of

Nicaragua want and the democracy that they've been denied.

So we've got a big agenda there with forthcoming meetings on Europe, on the NATO summit coming up at the end of May, and then, of course, we'll have a big meeting in Paris in July.

So we're going to -- the agenda is full. We're moving forward on our national security reviews. I remain optimistic about working with the Soviets, but I've said and I'll repeat to you all, I'm not going to precipitously move just to be -- just to have some meeting going on out there. There's a lot happening and when I come forward with a proposal, I want it to be sound; I want it to have the full support of the NATO Alliance; and I want it to have a credibility, and instant credibility that shows our commitment, not only to enhancing the peace, but to preserving the Alliance and keeping it strong.

So there's a lot happening out there. I'm just delighted all of you are here. And now, let's just go to the questions.

Q Mr. President, I was wondering whether you, in the light of the Alaska oil spill, whether you think the federal government should take measures in perhaps two areas -- one, to tighten up the requirements -- the restrictions on alcohol and drug abuse by the people who are in charge of these ships; and perhaps more importantly, to ensure that there is a quicker response on the cleanup efforts?

THE PRESIDENT: I would certainly support constitutional steps in the former area. I feel that substance abuse is wrong. I want to see a drug-free workplace, and I would certainly think we could expand that to reasonable requirements in terms of people who are fulfilling important functions like taking crude oil through straits.

I will say it's awful hard to guard against abuse of this nature when you're making laws. And I think one of the things I learned from our meeting with our EPA Administrator, and the head of the Coast Guard, and our able Secretary of Transportation, was that this strait was pretty wide and that it -- I don't think there is any way you could plan, as you're making the pipeline, against this kind of abuse.

But in terms of testing, I do favor that. You noticed I used the word "constitutional."

What was the second part, Joe?

Q Regarding the cleanup, sir. There's been criticism in Alaska that, for a number of reasons, that the cleanup didn't begin --

THE PRESIDENT: I think there were some reasons that it didn't go fast enough, and yes, I think we will have to do everything we can to see that the federal government, working with the states and private industry, has as rapid response time as possible. And I will say I feel very concerned about the environmental damage up there. When you look at those pristine shores and then see the threat to the fisheries and certainly the loss of life that's taken place so far -- birds and animals -- you have to be concerned about the environmental damage. And we have a very able Administrator of EPA, a man with unquestioned credentials in environment. And I expect that he and his people will learn from this, and then maybe we can -- maybe there are things we can do to guarantee quicker cleanup.

Q Mr. President, Iraq is reported as seriously engaged in a program to build nuclear warheads and missiles. Does the prospect of this tiny, sometimes warlike, nation being able to wage nuclear war -- does it give you great concern for the future?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one, I don't want to give credibility to the reports. Two, I strongly stand against the

proliferation of nuclear weapons. We must strengthen IAEA safeguards to be sure that there is as much inspection as possible. But I don't want to give credence to the fact that Iraq is in the process of building nuclear weapons. I cannot confirm that. And so I don't want to go beyond that, Gabe. But I'm -- anytime you see representations that there will be nuclear proliferation it has got to concern us. And we will be making those representations, if we feel it's about to take place, to any country.

Q Is it a matter that you feel that the Soviet Union and the United States should take action on in connection with small countries developing -- other countries developing those weapons?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think we do agree with the Soviet Union, who has also made its statements against proliferation. And you look around the world and there's some very worrisome areas. You know our position on Pakistan. Pakistan's very concerned about Indian proliferation. And so you can just keep going and find areas that we have to be alert to the dangers and then try to find ways to see that nuclear proliferation does not happen.

But I don't want to -- I just don't want to be pushed into giving credence to the reports.

Q Mr. President, if I might follow up on the Alaskan situation for just a moment.

THE PRESIDENT: Please.

Q Might this cause you to review and possibly change your support for oil exploration and-or drilling in the northeastern part of Alaska, near that wildlife refuge up there? Might you now review the policies on this because of this oil spill?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q No? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: You asked me if I would review the policies about ANWR, about somebody bringing oil out of a strait 10 miles wide who was allegedly intoxicated. And the answer to your question is no.

Q The reason I ask is because environmentalists now are very concerned, as they were after the Santa Barbara spill of 1969, which I think you remember --

THE PRESIDENT: I do.

Q -- about transporting this oil from Alaska down the coastline.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have to transport oil. We are becoming increasingly dependent on foreign oil. And that is not acceptable to any president who is responsible for the national security of this country. So what we will do is not go backwards; what we will do is redouble every effort to provide the proper safeguards. And I think most people are reasonable enough and fair enough to look back at the record over the years in terms of the pipeline and found that there had been very little damage, if any. Certainly there's been no lasting environmental damage.

Now you have a ship that runs on a reef at 12 knots and driven by somebody or in command by a person who allegedly had been under the influence. And I'm not sure you can ever design a policy anywhere to guard against that. The logical suggestion would be, well, should we shut down the Gulf of Mexico? Should we shut down the oil fields off of Louisiana because of this? And the answer would be no. That would be irresponsible.

So what you do is do the best you can, express the genuine concern that you feel on the environment -- and I do feel a

concern -- but not take irresponsible action to guard against an incident of this nature.

Q Mr. President, I'll ask you a question I asked Mr. Bennett earlier today. We've seen a number of antidrug programs --

THE PRESIDENT: You didn't like his answer? (Laughter.)

Q -- in the last couple of decades, and my question is, are you confident that the federal government, working with local governments and -- I'm here in Washington at WMAL -- that you will be able to come up with something this time that will actually have an impact on the nation's drug problem?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so. I would never suggest that the federal government will design a program and implement it that will be imposed on every locality. We can't do that. I believe the federal government has a certain role and I believe that the control and power rests with the states and the localities.

But we have a responsibility, and there's no better person to fulfill that responsibility than Bill Bennett in making suggestions in terms of training programs, or educational programs, or enforcement programs, or programs that relate to prison space, programs that relate to utilization of the military assets -- and we are using them in the interdiction field -- than Bill Bennett.

Q Mr. President, what is the administration's plan to obtain the freedom of the American hostages in Lebanon?

THE PRESIDENT: The plan to do it?

Q Well, what is the plan? What is the administration's plan --

THE PRESIDENT: The administration's plan is to do its level best to try through intelligence to find who is holding these hostages and where they are, and then to do what we can to release them. The plan is not to knuckle under to demands that will put American citizens at risk all around the world. That's the plan.

Q Mr. President, I gather you had a meeting this morning with Senator Armstrong of Colorado about the Two Forks dam. Are you willing to ask the EPA to change its decision on that dam at all? What do you have to say to the people who feel they haven't been given a fair shake by the EPA?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have a feeling that -- you ask what I plan to do -- I heard from Bill Armstrong a very strong presentation representing the need to go forward with the dam. And what I have asked is that our Administrator Bill Reilly be there for that presentation. He was, and he will be back in touch with me. It is a matter that is decided by the EPA Administrator, and I was very anxious that Bill Armstrong have him in attendance so that he hear this side of it. And I have confidence that Bill Armstrong, a very fair individual -- and we'll just see what is recommended.

But it was a good meeting and I was given a lot more detail on it than I had had before. But there's -- no final decision has been taken on that matter.

Q Mr. President, during the campaign, the general and primary, you were asked several times to protect the textile industry from foreign imports. Invariably, your response was that you would enforce existing laws. Since you've come into office, can you point to a single specific instance in which you have taken some action to --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, I can't.

Q The question is on U.S. dependency on foreign oil. Would --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me go back. Existing laws, to my knowledge, are being enforced. I can't think of any new existing law that's in force that wasn't before.

Q Okay. On the question of U.S. dependency on foreign oil, can we reach a point where your administration would take steps such as an oil import fee or other stances that would help the domestic oil industry?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the domestic oil industry is doing a little better now, the price of crude oil having risen to some $20 or $18 -- I don't know what West Texas crude is today -- $18.50, something of that nature. The industry is doing a little better. The rig count is still very low. I repeat; there is no security for the United States in further dependency on foreign oil. I have made proposals that would stimulate domestic production and I'd like to see the Congress move on those proposals.

And so I -- but I am not -- have not changed my view on the oil import tax.

Q Mr. President, what do you envision for the role of education, especially in the fight against drug abuse? Do you see a blending together of the two?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is absolutely essential. We are not going to win the fight against narcotics on the interdiction front alone. And I think Bill Bennett agrees with me that the demand side is the place where we've got to do better, and that means education.

Q Mr. President, we've been hearing about the new Whip in the House and all we hear is, he's a pretty tough guy. Are you going to meet the Congressman and are you going to talk to him? I mean, talk to him about the style that he's known for with respect to what you have at stake in legislation over there?

THE PRESIDENT: I am absolutely convinced, having known Newt Gingrich, that we are going to work together very, very well. I don't think he needs any lectures from me. But he's -- I think that every congressman that I've talked to since then feels that he'll be what he said he'd be -- a team player. He's not going to suddenly become a shrinking violet, but we don't want that. He's going to be a good leader. And I'm going to work with him and I'm going to work with him productively. He's got his style and I got mine.

Q Mr. President, a few days ago, a small company out of Houston called Space Services launched a private rocket. What are your plans to incorporate private enterprise in space? How is that going to work with NASA?

THE PRESIDENT: It's going to work that we're going to encourage it. I've had a feeling -- and I can't document this -- that there has been some reluctance in some quarters of the government against privatization, against the commercial aspects of this. David Hanna, who was the founder, certainly one of the key honchos in that company, has risked a lot of capital. He's gone out and done what he believed in. He had one dramatic failure -- and a lot of people were giving him grief over that -- and he stayed with it. And he's had a successful launch -- he and Deke Slayton and others -- and I applaud them.

My role will be to tell the bureaucracy -- NASA, that we want to encourage the privatization. NASA has a role that's a government role and it'll continue to be a government role. But when you have enterprise like this, I think it is nothing but good for the United States. And we need alternate ways to put things into space, and this is good.

Q Can I just follow that up, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Are you saying then, that at some time private enterprise will take over NASA's role of the R&D?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q Do you see that coming?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no I don't. But I see NASA making room for a significant private role in terms of putting things into space. And I don't sense, at the highest levels of NASA, a total resistance to this. But I've had a feeling that some involved in the process, not just in NASA, but along the way, have not been pushing the concept of privatization -- not being as cooperative as we might. So I see NASA's role continuing in R&D. And I see it continuing in its shuttle business, space station business -- that I hope to see come to fruition. But I just think that we need to support and applaud those who, in the private sector, have big dreams like David Hanna has had.

Q Mr. President, you have come under criticism in some conservative circles due to your policy toward the Nicaraguan Contras. The fact that apparently you have no plans to request military aid for the Contras, is that a tacit admission on your part that the Reagan administration policy -- which you had a part in for eight years -- of asking for military aid for the Contras was a failure in forcing our the Sandinista government or making it make reforms in Nicaragua?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think the Reagan policy brought the Sandinistas to the table. And I think, had there been no pressure, the Sandinistas would have gone about their merry revolutionary ways, without keeping their commitment to the Organization of American States -- a commitment for free press, for freedom of worship -- democratization, if you will. So, I think now we are -- the problem we had is you go to recommend aid and you have a different foreign policy set on Capitol Hill. Now we're saying -- and my own view is, there was no way, not a snowball's chance in hell of getting a dime for lethal aid -- military aid, from Congress. And I think anybody that's familiar with Congress would acknowledge that.

So what we've done is get together with the Congress -- with strong conservative support, I might say. I'm not suggesting your question is wrong, because I hear some voices out there hitting us. But it's not bad. The policy has been well-received. And we're speaking with one voice and we are going to push for democratization. And by getting humanitarian aid that goes through this election, I am hopeful that the Nicaraguans will go forward and do that which they give rhetorical support for, but that which they've failed to implement and that means democracy -- free certifiable elections.

And you hear some criticism of Salvador and what's taken place down there recently. You don't hear it from me because I want to give Christiani a chance. Those elections were certifiably free. Democrats and Republicans on our commission going down there and saying that. So we will treat the Salvadoran winner on his word -- that he wants to continue the democracy that we salute Duarte for moving forward; that he stands against the extremes. And I think he's got some big problems with these Marxist-backed guerrillas coming at him. But we're going to support that, just as we're going to support the Central American presidents as they now, hopefully, push Ortega to do that -- what Ortega should have done long before now.

Q Secretary Yeutter and Ambassador Hills, Mr. President, go to Geneva next week for very important trade negotiations that I've been told will determine the shape of the U.S. foreign policy in the next decade and how the world reads it. What are your expectations from that meeting? Are you optimistic?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's hard to say. So far, I've

been pleased with what came out of Canada, for example. I had a talk with both Clayton Yeutter and Carla Hills two days ago. I would say that Carla expressed a certain optimism about moving forward with the agenda, and that would include agriculture. But I'd just say, I'm reserved on it. I'm reserved on how that's going to come out. But I think it is very, very important, if you believe as I do in free trade. I also think we need to get the emphasis on fair trade. And so I'm hopeful that they can make more progress. But I think they think there will be progress, if I had to give you the judgment of both the Secretary of Agriculture and the USTR.

Q Did you give them any advice that you could share with us?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I just said I hope they're right. And they're both professionals. They know my view on opening up agricultural markets; they know my view in fair trade, they know my abhorrence to more protectionist measures. But they also know that I support selective shots. I supported the wheat flour shot that was fired several years ago. And where the United States is being unfairly treated, I think we have every right to fire a selective shot. But I don't want to see us unleash the hoards of protectionist legislation. It gets back to the textile question -- I'm not supporting legislation. Fortunately, that industry is doing fairly well right now.

Q Can you be more specific about your intentions in dealing here in Washington with drugs and drug-related crime?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'd leave that -- I'd have to defer to Bill Bennett in more specificity. But it's going to be across the aboard as we -- where we can help -- education, law enforcement, prison -- maybe expansion of prisons and prosecutors and judges -- if we can help on that area. I'd say those are some broad fields, but I really would have to, on a five-point program, defer to our -- to Bill Bennett on that.

Q The Department of Defense has expressed concern over tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons and such.

THE PRESIDENT: What was that?

Q The tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

Q Do you plan to have the Savannah River Plant be started this year and what is --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm waiting to hear from Secretary Watkins on that, but I do share the concern about it. I am one who believes that it is important that we not, in this era where some are proclaiming no need, almost to keep our guard up, that we not succumb to that and that we recognize we have got to have a tritium production capability. But I can't give you a time frame yet or anything of that nature.

Q Mr. Bush, thank you for calling on me. I have a reasonable question to ask you. Governor Thompson is in Moscow to establish a trade bureau with the Soviets there. I'd like to know if he went with your blessing, and do you encourage similar initiatives on the parts of other states? And why didn't the Republican Party support Ed Vrdolyak in the Chicago mayoral race?

THE PRESIDENT: Very good questions --omewhat unrelated, but let me try to help. (Laughter.) I have absolutely nothing but admiration for those governors that try to expand trade between their states, thus the country, and other countries. We have certain laws governing them and Jim Thompson is very familiar with them. I must confess that I personally did not bless this mission because I wasn't familiar with it. He's done other such missions that he's done on his own, as a Governor of a state should do. So that would handle

the Thompson one. The other one was on Ed Vrdolyak?

Q Fast Eddie.

THE PRESIDENT: Fast Eddie?

Q -- support of the Republican National Party as Rich Daley with be a Democrats. So we were wondering why didn't the Committee support him --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know, we'd have to refer that to Lee Atwater. If you want to know whether I'd support the Republican nominee, I do -- Ed Vrdolyak amongst the nominees. And he supported me, and I don't forget those things. But whether -- if the question is, how much in the way of assets or stuff, I really would have to refer you to the National Committee.

Q Mr. President, I've just come from Philadelphia, where the Mayor last night unveiled the most austere budget they've seen in decades and he's planning on eliminating city services that have been long-protected. And the feeling is that much of the problem is the elimination of revenue-sharing and other forms of federal aid, that cities are being abandoned by Washington. What hope can you offer the Mayor of Philadelphia and the citizens there that Washington will begin to help them with some of the social problems they're trying to deal with?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, I'd tell there isn't any revenue to share, and say it respectfully, but make sure he understands that. And the best hope that we can do for Mayor Goode or for anybody else, is to get our federal deficit down, because that's going to have a major impact on interest rates in this country. So we've got to get in agreement. And I would ask people who are pressed for funds -- and certainly a major of a major urban area would fit that description -- not just Philadelphia, a lot of cities -- but the best thing -- you say what can we do? What we can do is get the federal budget deficit solved and get this -- get the deficit going downward in accordance with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings.

And that is the best thing to do because if we do that we keep the economic growth going -- the longest in a long, long time in American history. That means job creation -- the new job creation reached I think it was 20 million jobs in the last announcement that I have seen. Interest rates have been creeping up, and this worries me. We've got to always be on guard against inflation. But I don't want to see an interest crunch slow down this economy. And that means then that we are going to have to do the best we can on the spending side. And we are going to have $80 billion more revenue to the federal government this year than last -- under existing law, no change in law -- $80 billion more coming in.

Now some programs have claim on that, many in the entitlements area, I will concede that. But we've got to take that money and use some of it to meet our obligations to get this deficit under control. And that is the best thing -- that is the priority thing that the federal government can do for any city. And there are other -- there are a lot of programs that are still amply funded or well-funded and we're going to try to continue as many of those as possible.

Q Mr. President, you promised a kinder, gentler nation, yet your budget calls for a $5 billion cut to Medicare beyond the current law. How can that help but not adversely affect beneficiaries?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what we want to do is take it out of the side on terms of efficiency, of service -- delivering services, and that's what the proposals that we have sent up to the Congress and that Dick Darman is discussing with the various committees -- that's the emphasis that our recommendations take. And I hope that it will be -- I hope they'll be implemented. There will probably be some give-and-take on that recommendation, I think.

Q Won't there be adverse affects, though, to beneficiaries with such a deep cut?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I'm saying, it needn't be. It depends what's worked out with the Congress. Our proposal did not -- our proposal took it out mainly on the side of services. So we're not talking about drastic cuts of monies to families.

Last one. Once, twice. Then I'll go peacefully.

Q Your resident scholar, Dr. Porter, gave us a brief history lesson this morning on the presidency. And he recalled a conversation he had with you about the great presidents of the past and why we don't have great leaders today -- talking about Jefferson and Monroe and Madison. Who are your two favorite great presidents?

THE PRESIDENT: First, I'd make a point that everybody looks better over time. (Laughter.)

Q But who are your two?

THE PRESIDENT: Herbert Hoover looks better today than he did 40 years ago, doesn't he?

Q No.

THE PRESIDENT: People remember -- (laughter) -- not to you, but to a lot of people, they do. They remember the compassionate side of the man. You couldn't even talk about that 30 or 40 years ago.

Q Is he your model?

THE PRESIDENT: No he's not. (Laughter.) But I want to just -- I was trying to make the point that -- I was trying to make the point that time is generous to people. I remember the hue and cry around Harry Truman from guys like me, and Republicans. Now, we're all kind of moderated and think the good things and leave out some of the contentious matters.

So history is basically kind to American presidents. A model, I think -- I was talking to some people the other day about it -- would be Teddy Roosevelt. He comes out of the same elitist background that I do. (Laughter.) And he had the same commitment to the environment I did, although the rules on hunting have changed dramatically since he used to shoot with no limits out there in South Dakota, or North Dakota.

But he was a man of some action. He was a person that understood government, didn't mind getting his hands dirty in government. I remember part of his life being on the Police Board in New York City. Ask Abe Pressman about that. That's -- probably combat pay was required in those days. So he was an activist. I have great respect for Eisenhower. I'm not trying to compare myself to any of these people, but in Eisenhower's case, he was a hero. He was a man that, I'm old enough to remember, was our hero. He led the Allied Forces and helped free the world from imperialism and Nazism. And he brought to the presidency a certain stability. Others may have had more flare, but he -- and he presided, I will concede to you -- and I take it you're a student of history -- in fairly tranquil times.

But he did it -- he was a fair-minded person, strong leader, and had the respect of people. And I think he was given credit for being a compassionate individual. So those are two who I would throw out there, and you can't live in this house and do as I do -- have my office upstairs, next door to the Lincoln Bedroom in which resides one of the signed, handwritten copies of the freedom doctrine that will live forever -- Emancipation Proclamation -- right there in our house. So I think all of us -- I think almost all Americans put Lincoln on that list some place.

Q Any Democrats in your pantheon, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there could well be. Sure.

Q One?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I respect certain things about Harry Truman. He liked to go for walks. (Laughter.) But he was tough -- said what he thought and had respect from people. Won them over, did it his way, and I respect him being a fighter. They had him written off in '48. I bet 10 bucks against him. And on Tom Dewey. And I lost. So did a lot of other people who thought that the polls were going to be correct. So I respect a guy that fights back, and Truman did that.

So there's -- and you can walk down -- I had a lot of differences with Lyndon Johnson. But there are certain things about him that were good. And he was certainly a very gracious freshman Congressman in those days to Barbara and me. So we had a little insight that came from a personal knowledge of the man. And he got all caught up in Vietnam, but people forget that, for his legislative agenda, he got through what President Kennedy couldn't get through. We ought to give a little credit for somebody that can do that. He controlled both Houses of the legislature, which is slightly different than the 41st President is facing.

But it's interesting, because when you live in the house here, you think about a question that you just asked. And again, I'm no student of history. You can't live here without becoming more of a student of history, but you learn the redeeming features. You begin to pick up the redeeming features of those that maybe you hadn't had down as a hero, or hadn't even thought much about in the history of this country.

So I don't think that -- I would argue with your premise -- I could just go on forever here -- (laughter) -- but I would argue with what I thought was the premise that great leaders were all back there somewhere. I'm not sure of that.

Let me just end on one that -- I learned a lot from Ronald Reagan. And one thing I was telling these guys at lunch here -- one thing I learned from him is, I never once in eight years, no matter how difficult the problem, heard him appeal to me or to others around him for understanding about the toughest, loneliest job in the world -- how can anybody be asked to bear the burden single-handedly. Never.

And when Reagan left office, you never heard the presidency is too big for one man -- never heard it.

Back in 1980, people like Lloyd Cutler, for whom I have great respect, were saying, look, this is so complex today that maybe we need a parliamentary system. He wasn't proposing it, he was saying it ought to be looked at. Reagan came in, stood on certain principles, stayed with them, and never asked for sympathy or never asked for understanding of the great overwhelming burden of the presidency, and left with 61 percent of the people saying, hey, wait a minute -- he did a good job. Good lesson right here in modern history.

Last one.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. In the state of Kansas, about a third of the wheat crop has already been destroyed by drought and there were indications that the rest may be in jeopardy. Given the current budget problems, what's realistic for those farmers to expect in the way of disaster aid?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't give you any numbers on it. Current law addresses itself to disaster aid, and we can fulfill our obligations there. But I really am not up to speed enough to tell

you exactly what I can propose on that, or what will be proposed in terms of disaster aid.

Q Are you aware Senator Dole and Senator Kassebaum are trying to get some --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they're talking to our Secretary of Agriculture right now in terms of trying to come up -- but I just can't tell you what the administration is going to come up with on it.

Q Are you going to sign the fairness doctrine -- passed by Congress -- expect to veto?

THE PRESIDENT: I never talk about what I'm going to sign until I know exactly what's in it -- read the fine print. Or better still, given the size of some of this stuff that comes around, have somebody else read the fine print, that you have confidence in.

Thank you all. Listen, I've got to run. Thank you all very, very much. Hope you've enjoyed your stay.

END 1:24 P.M. EST

NBC COMMENTARY

NBC's John Chancellor comments on President Bush's style. Last week the President had The Boston Globe in for an interview which included the following exchange:

(Reporter: "Do you believe the Israelis were wrong to abduct Sheik Obeid?"

President Bush: "No, I can't say it's wrong and I can't say it's right."

Reporter: "Well, how do you assess it? People have taken stands on both sides of the issue."

President: "That's me."

Not in a million years would Ronald Reagan have given an answer like that. Reagan would have ducked the question. Mr. Bush just smiled and said what he meant. A Bush style has emerged which is very much his own and totally unlike [that of] his predecessors. Reagan was fuzzy on details; Bush knows his brief. Reagan polished his prose; Bush is informal. Reagan used 3x5 cards when he talked to members of Congress; Bush acts like a member. Press conferences were an ordeal for Reagan, Bush has them all the time. In fact, you have to go back to John F. Kennedy to find a President who's as skilled at press conferences as George Bush. Yes, but, you may say, it's been an easy six months since he took office. But it hasn't: China, a nasty hostage crisis, a split in NATO, the S&L mess, the assault rifle controversy; it hasn't been an easy six months, it has just seemed easy. And the credit for that has to go to the new President and his style of easy-going low-key competence. For that, he gets, and deserves, in my view, high marks. (NBC-12)

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Koppel reports that one year ago tomorrow George Bush named his running mate and most of the country had a two-word response: Dan who? One year later, Dan Quayle is still something of a question mark. An ABC News-Washington Post poll shows that 52% of those surveyed still don't think he's ready to be President; 43% think he's doing a good job; and 76% say that he's done nothing to change their opinion of him since he took office.

ABC's Ann Compton reports that when George Bush picked him out of the crowd one year ago, Dan Quayle had no idea how punishing the next few weeks would be. Questions about Quayle's National Guard service, academic record and about his qualifications to assume the presidency surrounded him. Since then, he has tried to recover quietly.

(Vice President Quayle: "Well, the high visibility took place during the campaign. Since the campaign, the office of Vice President is not a high profile office.")

Vice President Quayle has not been invisible and he has been in what he considers training. He has been at the President's side for everything from daily intelligence briefings to defense strategy sessions to Congressional ceremonies. Quayle's actual responsibilities are limited and narrowly focused, chairing one council on the space program and another to promote economic competitiveness. Quayle also travels for the President.

Kilpatrick: The civil rights bill is supposed to overturn six decisions of the Supreme Court, and I go with them on two. I think two of those decisions probably should be overturned. The other four are going to drive us into quotas, into racism, into the worst kind of situation you can imagine.

Rowan: Now this is where we'll find out what kind President George Bush is. Lyndon Johnson had the guts to go to Howard University in '65 and say in the commencement address, "You cannot put a ball and chain on somebody's leg for 200 years, break his leg, and then suddenly say, oh come on up here. We're going to take the ball and chain off and put you at the starting line and you're free to run the race with all these other people who have been free for 200 years." Johnson said we must have affirmative action. Now they're asking Bush to go with the white males who stacked the deck for all these years, got all these privileges, and don't want to give any of them up. And we'll see where Bush stands.

On whether the Administration can help Shimon Peres form a government in Israel:

Talbott: I have the somewhat mischievous thought that the Bush Administration has already helped him by forcing the crisis that brought down this phoney coalition that was ruling Israel before....

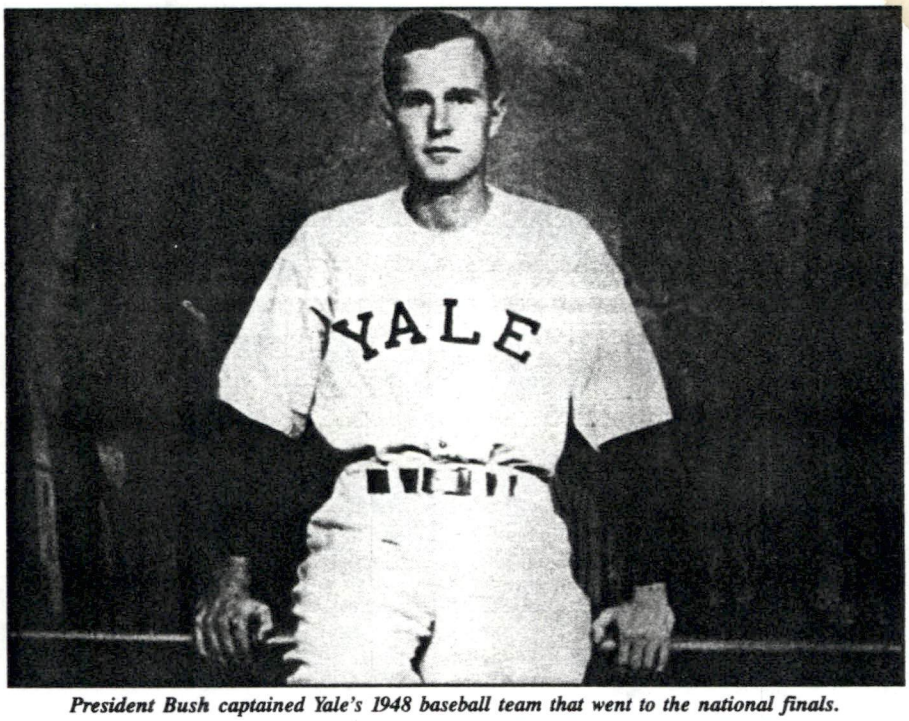
-end of News Summary-

Letter from the Publisher

We've had several collegiate football players become president (Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, Reagan). We've had an amateur boxer (Theodore Roosevelt). We've had any number of golfers who had decent handicaps (or, in Ford's case, one who threatened to handicap the spectators).

Last year, a baseball player finally made it to the White House.

He was more distinguished as the Navy's youngest bomber pilot in World War II, but in case you hadn't heard, George Bush was also a college baseball player. And not a bad one, either. He played first base on Yale's 1947 team, which reached the finals of the first College World Series. The next year, as team captain, he helped lead the Elis back to the championship game.



President Bush captained Yale's 1948 baseball team that went to the national finals.

For some reason, people seem a bit surprised to find out that the president wasn't bush league (no pun meant) on the diamond. Maybe that's because they just can't picture the scion of an Ivy League family hitting fungoes and shagging flies. Maybe they can't imagine him with a classic baseball nickname; something just doesn't sound right about George Herbert Walker "Spikes" Bush, for example. Maybe they can't see the guy who talks about a kinder, gentler America taking out a shortstop to break up a double play.

Southern California, the Goliath of the collegiate baseball world in the 1940s, must have had similar thoughts before the Trojans met the Ivy Leaguers in the finals of the 1948 College World Series. "We all kind of laughed about playing Yale for the national title," recalls Rod Dedeaux, USC's legendary coach. "But they turned out to be a fiery bunch, and that skinny first baseman was their team leader.

"He was a fierce competitor, no question about it. He was a splendid fielding first baseman and a good hitter who made contact."

As it turned out, Bush's Yalies played surprisingly tough against USC, which won the series two games to one. Things might have even gone the other way if Yale's Jerry Breen hadn't hit into a bases-loaded triple play in the bottom of the ninth inning in Game 1, with his team trailing 3–1. Bush was waiting on deck.

For the series, Bush batted only .167 (2-for-12). But he scored Yale's only run in the opening game, and he drove in two runs in the Elis' 8–3 win in Game 2. He also handled 32 chances at first without an error.

"I'd put him on my all-time, all-opponent team, which means he was pretty good," says Dedeaux, who coached the Trojans for 45 years.

Bush, to be sure, was never going to be compared to Bill Terry or Don Mattingly. In 1947, his first season for Yale, he batted .239; in 1948 he improved to .264. He hit one home run each year.

"Overall, I'd describe myself as a good fielder and a fair hitter," the president says. "I think if I had batted lefty (he threw left-handed), I would have done much better."

Actually, Bush wasn't the first baseball player to become president. That distinction belongs to William Howard Taft, who, at over 300 pounds, also qualifies as the original Refrigerator. It's easy to imagine that his reputation as a power hitter was well-deserved.

Bush ranks as one of the best athletes among our presidents. And I, for one, think there's something reassuring about having a baseball player in charge of things. A baseball player understands the value of patient diplomacy, of working the count until you get the right pitch to hit. He also knows the importance of having a big stick in the lineup. He knows that sometimes you have to be lucky; or as Yogi Berra once said, "Good pitching beats good hitting and vice versa." Politically, Bush knows that sometimes you have to throw a message pitch high and inside.

Most of all, it can be argued that baseball is the greatest unifying force in American social life. Regardless of political differences, we can relate to someone who loves baseball.

So if I ever get invited to the White House, we'll have something besides football to talk about.

Jerry McCoin

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March 3, 1990

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HEADLINE: Bush, Lacking a Sense of History, Can't Worry About His Place in It

BYLINE: BY BURT SOLOMON

BODY:

Washington, a pushover for prophets from foreign lands, swiftly took Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel to its bosom. President Bush invited the self-effacing playwright, who'd gone from prison to the President's palace in just two months last fall, back to the Oval Office for an unusual second day of conversation. At a Feb. 21 joint session of Congress, Members anointed the slightly built messiah with shouts of "bravo."

Havel confided to Congress that he had come to America to learn about democracy but also to teach, using his country's totalitarian legacy of "horrors that fortunately you have not known" of a sort to create a "special capacity to look from time to time somewhat further than someone who has not undergone this bitter experience." Havel invoked Presidents Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, and spoke comfortably of events a millennium ago (when Czechs and Slovaks conceived "their humanistic traditions") and a century hence, showing an effortless sense of history far more common to Europeans and Asians than -- whether by culture or lack of necessity -- to Americans.

But serendipitously, many recent U.S. Presidents have had a feel for history. Harry S Truman was an omnivorous reader of history and thought in historical terms, according to Princeton University political scientist Fred I. Greenstein, while Dwight D. Eisenhower's "very broad view" of events perhaps emerged from his interest in military history. (He liked to red Clausewitz, who's also a favorite of Republican National Committee chairman Lee Atwater.) John F. Kennedy, who'd won a Pulitzer prize for a work of history, happened to be reading The Guns of August -- Barbara W. Tuchman's study of the start of World War I -- during the Cuban missile crisis and told aides it sensitized him to the risk of accidents at geopolitically critical moments. Lyndon B. Johnson absorbed his history in cliches (idealizing the New Deal and an America that had never lost a war). Richard M. Nixon was obsessed with his place in history and read widely to learn how power had been wielded in earlier ages. Jimmy Carter had at least as much sense of history (and tragedy) as any self-aware southerner must.

Ronald Reagan's sense of history, however, seemed to arise from Hollywood, such as from the small-town America of simpler times romanticized in King's row, his affecting 1941 melodrama. In conversation in the White House, Reagan reportedly once confused Grover Cleveland, the two-time President, with Grover Cleveland Alexander, the legendary baseball pitcher he played in a movie.

Nor does Bush seem infused with a sense of history. This seems a matter of temperament rather than of brainpower or education. Bush's education at

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Phillips Andover Academy and Yale University (where he qualified for Phi Beta Kappa at a time when competition was stiff) certainly matched Kennedy's at Choate School and Harvard College in aristocratic quality. Bush preferred practical academic pursuits, majoring in economics.

To this day, he doesn't read much history and "certainly doesn't talk about it," a friend said. He identifies with Theodore Roosevelt -- a similarly well-born, energetic Republican President -- and has read up on him and on Abraham Lincoln. He'll also indulge in history he needs for his job -- before a foreign trip, say. But otherwise, his friend said, Bush -- like "most Americans of his generation" -- seems a "perfect product" of what Time co-founder Henry R. Luce dubbed the American Century, with its mind-set that whatever happened before World War I was too long ago to matter.

There's scant evidence of a sense of history at work in Bush's foreign policy making. This perhaps has helped. A President propelled by historical or ideological imperatives might only have messed matters up. Possibly it's because Bush doesn't think in grand historical terms that Washington's modest role in what he has augustly termed "the Revolution of '89" hasn't frustrated him. As it's happened, his gentlemanly demeanor and skill at acquaintanceship proved just right for a period when geopolitical was in turmoil but the public spotlight bothered to take "only an occasional glance at the Potomac," as Washington Post political reporter David S. Broder wrote on Feb. 18.

Bush's Administration, though, continues to be faulted for not having historical end points in mind -- for having failed to conjure a security structure for a new Europe or a fresh rationale for U.S. defense spending. Critics worry that Bush may know just enough about Chinese history and politics to have thrown in with the wrong lot in Beijing -- with the hardliners who might ultimately lose (as they have elsewhere recently) to underdog democrats.

Nor is a sweep of history evident in Bush's domestic policy making. He has repeatedly invoked the coming turn-of-millennium for its rhetorical value, and he showed an admirable thoroughness last year in rethinking a comprehensive range of domestic policy. He took many small steps on many fronts that seemed to auger -- especially with the Cold War dying and a "peace dividend" looming -- more to come.

But Bush's State of the Union message a month ago, with its paucity of new notions, suggested instead that what we've seen so far may be pretty much all we'll get. His fiscal 1991 budget has proposals (on Head Start, housing and job training, for instance) that are intelligently crafted, but they are too small to bring "major change," Urban Institute economist Isabel V. Sawhill said. "There's not much that's new and exciting," she added, because "the whole process is very much driven by budget numbers." This may only intensify, now that prospects for a peace dividend seem to have vanished and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., has touched off a debate over using social security surpluses for workaday federal expenses. Bush has remained insistent on hewing to his pledge of no new taxes -- politically crucial to his support among conservatives -- despite evidence that the United States taxes itself lightly compared with its allies (the lowest, along with Japan, among the 24 nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1986).

Quite consciously, Bush and his advisers have sought to bypass these self-imposed constraints by pushing hardest for domestic programs that

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Washington needn't pay for. The White House has negotiated vigorously with congressional leaders to bring forth a clean-air law -- for which the private sector would foot the bill -- and pressed to improve education and combat drugs, undertakings mainly for state and local governments. Bush, agreeing with education-minded governors on a set of education goals on Feb. 26, suggested they be posted in every classroom, leaving it to Gov. Roy Romer, D-Colo., to worry aloud (to ABC News) that achieving them is "going to cost a good bit." It's not clear where states and local governments will get the money.

Bush has striven to change the tone of governance, which also comes free. Civil rights leaders, environmentalists, consumer activists and advocates for the poor acknowledge (privately, at least) that Bush's heart seems to be in the right place. But they continue to question his willingness to pay the necessary price -- whether in dollars or political capital -- to achieve substantive domestic goals. He has pursued none of them flat-out. His Justice Department's recent change of heart on last year's Supreme Court constrictions of the scope of civil rights laws seemed emblematic: It announced support for legislation addressing the two "easiest" matters to fix, a House Democratic aide said, among the five that the Court created.

Problems requiring big bucks have encountered skimpier ratios. Administration officials say that homelessness has crept onto Bush's policy screen, put there by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp. But this self-styled kinder, gentler President continues to sleep nightly, without apparent discomfort, across the street from the homeless in Lafayette Park. Nor is it evident that the larger social problems for which homelessness is the tip of the iceberg (such as poverty and the lack of housing and mental health care) have captured Bush's attention yet.

It's not impossible they will. The Cabinet's Domestic Policy Council solicited ideas last year from experts at think tanks and universities for coping with poverty and the underclass. When the council's proposal proved meek -- centering on federal waivers to encourage states to experiment -- budget director Richard G. Darman and Kemp insisted on trying again. Accordingly, the council solicited and (by Feb. 16) gathered a second round of roughly a dozen papers that were to be bolder and less mired in budget realities. But with dollars scarce for the foreseeable future, Administration officials consider it iffy that much will come of this. Deemed more likely is an Administration push on health care, where conceptual solutions (for containing costs and making insurance more available) seem further developed. But even that, officials acknowledge, entails spending at least $ 5 billion-$ 10 billion more a year, requiring a budget fix.

It may take a crisis before the nation's prickliest problems (such as its inner-city sufferings or its declining competitiveness in world markets) will be attended to. In American political history, change historically has come in waves, Harvard historian William E. Gienapp noted. Politicians, ordinarily timid about political risks inherent in dramatic solutions, have tended to neglect problems until they couldn't. In this regard, the late 20th century reminds Gienapp of the late 19th, when President after President ignored the troubles generated by industrialization until a depression erupted in 1893, permitting the out-of-power party to consolidate its hold and ushering in Theodore Roosevelt's activist trustbusting. Thus ended a string of weak, ineffectual Presidents from the 1860s through 1890s whom Gienapp likens to those who have served a century later.

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(c) 1990 National Journal Inc., National Journal, March 3, 1990

GRAPHIC: Picture, no caption

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In the Capital

R. W. Apple Jr.

Bush, in search of a role model, may have found one in the Oyster Bay Roosevelt.

WASHINGTON, March 28 — When Presidents look for people to compare themselves to, for role models or historical soul mates, they usually choose Presidents of another era.

Ronald Reagan liked to talk about Franklin D. Roosevelt, his boyhood hero. So did Lyndon B. Johnson. John F. Kennedy often spoke with admiration of Thomas Jefferson, almost with awe. George Bush has been in the White House for only a couple of months, but he already seems to have settled upon Theodore Roosevelt, his fellow Republican from Oyster Bay, L. I., as an example of the kind of President he would like to be.

Not only has Mr. Bush installed a portrait of T. R. in the Cabinet Room. His bedtime reading in recent days has consisted of a political novel, "Jack Gance," by Ward Just, and a political biography, "The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt," by Edmund Morris.

"I'm an Oyster Bay kind of guy," the President told a visitor just last week, and it is true that he, like Theodore Roosevelt, is the head of a large and exuberant clan whose home base is an enclave of wealth on the Eastern Seaboard — in Mr. Bush's case, Kennebunkport, Me. "Maybe I'll turn out to be a Teddy Roosevelt."

> 'Maybe I'll turn out to be a Teddy Roosevelt.'

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There are other parallels as well. Both men served with distinction in foreign wars, although Mr. Bush is neither as jingoistic nor as much of a showoff as Roosevelt was. Both went west in search of fame and fortune, Roosevelt to the Dakota Territory to become a rancher and Mr. Bush to Texas to enter the oil business. Both had legislative experience, and both served in appointive posts.

Like Roosevelt, Mr. Bush exhibits an ardor for outdoor sports, and has said he intends to make a name for himself as an environmentalist. Roosevelt certainly did that, with the help of his Progressive ally, the great conservationist Gifford Pinchot, and Mr. Bush clearly hopes that he has found a counterpart in William K. Reilly, head of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Like Roosevelt, Mr. Bush has an aptitude for foreign policy. As his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, says, "He's relaxed about it; he enjoys dealing with it, chewing over problems, looking for answers."

And like Roosevelt, who shifted ideologies from patrician conservatism to populist radicalism with changes in the prevailing winds of opinion, Mr. Bush has shown a certain suppleness in responding to public mood. A critic of Mr. Reagan in 1980, Mr. Bush served him as Vice President with unstinting loyalty; an opponent of gun control and a supporter of military aid to the rebels in Nicaragua, Mr. Bush has modified both those positions in the short time he has been in the White House.

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But there is little of Roosevelt's combativeness in Mr. Bush, and not much of his flamboyance either; quite the contrary. Mr. Bush has shown, especially in the conduct of foreign policy, a determination to move with great deliberation.

Nor does it appear from the record of his long public career that Mr. Bush has much of the domestic reformer in him. More often than not he has stood for the status quo, and it is hard to see from this perspective which Grails might inspire him to crusades like those of Teddy Roosevelt against police corruption and against the monopolists. Mr. Bush has shown no inclination, for example, to attack today's "malefactors of great wealth," contenting himself so far with an admonition to the nation in his Inaugural Address to take care not to confuse mere riches with lasting worth.

Roosevelt the polymath could speak with gusto and confidence and explosive humor on a dozen subjects. Looking back, Rudyard Kipling, no unlettered bumpkin himself, recalled listening to T. R. hold forth at the Cosmos Club: "I curled up in the seat opposite, and listened and wondered, until the universe seemed to be going round and Theodore was the spinner." Mr. Bush is altogether a more prosaic creature, whose syntax is full of snags and whose thoughts often outrace his tongue.

Theodore Roosevelt the imperial President came along at a time ripe for governmental activism in a half-dozen areas, ranging from corporate regulation to public health to Latin America. Problems remain in all those areas, but Mr. Bush has taken office in a time of restricted governmental resources and minimal public enthusiasm for adventures abroad. At whom, one might ask, will George Bush wave his big stick?

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Proprietary to the United Press International 1989

December 13, 1989, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Lifestyle

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BODY:

bc-dinner

(wap) (ATTN: Feature editors) (Includes optional trim)

Bush Attends Centennial Dinner for Catholic University (Washn)By Phil McCombs (c) 1989, The Washington Post

WASHINGTON -- The powers and potentates of this earthly city and six American princes of the Catholic Church gathered at a lavish centennial dinner for Catholic University Tuesday night and heard the president of the United States declare that freedom demands ''the right to life'' and the dismantling of ''barriers between nations,'' as in Eastern Europe.

Outside in the falling snow 30 protesters carried signs saying, among other things, ''Keep your rosaries off my ovaries'' and ''Homophobia is a sin.'' They chanted ''Condoms save lives!'' and ''Cardinal O'Connor preaches hate!''

''Some serenade,'' mused a black-tied guest, pausing to watch before turning to enter the vast decorous cavern of the Pension Building, where dinner places were set for 1,500 businessmen, politicians, priests and others. A string group played ''Fascination,'' then ''Silent Night.'' Both seemed appropriate.

Cardinal John O'Connor of New York, the immediate object of the demonstration outside, stood in a receiving line with Cardinal James Hickey of Washington, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago, Cardinal Bernard Law of Boston, Cardinal Edmund Szoka of Detroit and Cardinal John Krol, formerly of Philadelphia, splendid in their crimson robes and crimson caps and with heavy gold crosses around their necks.

Last Sunday 111 AIDS and abortion rights activists were arrested for disrupting Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York as O'Connor called on the congregation to overwhelm their chants with prayer. Condoms were thrown onto Fifth Avenue, apparently because in November O'Connor had said ''truth is not in condoms. ... Good morality is good medicine.''

Tuesday night the controversial priest received many words of sympathy and encouragement. ''They're giving you a little heat, but keep up the good work,'' said one man.

''Don't give up!'' added Jim Pagano, a Washington businessman.

''I won't,'' said the cardinal. A moment later he confided, ''They're saying nice things, and I can use it. That wasn't the most pleasant experience I've ever had.''

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When President Bush and his wife Barbara arrived midway through the evening, they received a standing ovation and Bush was allowed to give his speech immediately.

The president talked about faith, and freedom (including ''the right of every parent to send their children to the care center of their choice and that includes church-sponsored centers'' -- much applause for this), and how when he met Mikhail Gorbachev off the coast of Malta last week he was thinking to himself ''how God does move in mysterious ways'' -- how amazing it was that Gorbachev had met with Pope John Paul II and declared that ''the moral values that religion embodied for centuries can help in the work of renewal of our country.''

Bush said the United States ''will do everything we can'' to bring justice to the murderers of the six Jesuit priests in El Salvador, and will not rest until ''liberty's victory is won'' in Nicaragua. He said he relayed a message of concern from Costa Rican President Oscar Arias to Gorbachev about Cuba exporting revolution.

He then announced the Bush Doctrine: ''We want this to be the first hemisphere made up entirely of free, democratic countries.''

(Optional add end)

Dinner chairman Smith Bagley announced that $1.4 million had been raised at the $1,000-a-plate dinner for Catholic University, and he alluded in brief remarks to the ''unprecedented opportunity to create peace in the world'' that has arrived with this Christmas season.

Also at the dinner were Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md.; Abdullah Omar Nasseef, president of the World Muslim League; Catholic University President the Rev. William J. Byron; Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan; U.S. Circuit Judge James L. Buckley and his wife, Ann; Rep. Lindy Boggs, D-La.; and Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore.

Helen Marino Connolly, a nurse who is president and executive director of Good Samaritan Hospice in Brighton, Mass., received the first Cardinals' Encouragement Award for exemplary work in the tradition of Christian service. According to Cardinal Law, the hospice accepts patients who have no family or friends- ''those who are especially alone and isolated,'' including the elderly and cancer and AIDS victims.

Cardinal Law spoke of ''the dignity of human persons,'' of ''all the sojourners who make their way through the somewhat treacherous hills and ravines of what we call contemporary life,'' and he said:

''In the face of all this, we, members of God's church, are called to imitate that love of God which we celebrate in the mystery of Christmas. We are called to go out, to reach out to those who have lost their way or are in need. We bring the sustenance of God's Word and the strength of our own willing hands and efforts to do all that we can to be of help to our brothers and sisters. ...

''Our goal is to win the human heart.''

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Proprietary to the United Press International, December 13, 1989

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4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Time

November 6, 1989, U.S. Edition

SECTION: WORLD; Cover Story; Pg. 40

LENGTH: 2113 words

HEADLINE: Yes, He's For Real;
By loosening the Soviet grip on Eastern Europe, Gorbachev proves once and for all that he seeks a different world. How should the West respond?

BYLINE: BY WALTER ISAACSON;
Reported by Christopher Ogden/Washington and Strobe Talbott/Moscow, with other bureaus

BODY:

For the Russians, tempered by centuries of land invasions, national security has long been defined as the control of territory and the subjugation of neighbors. Moscow's desire for a protective buffer, combined with a thousand-year legacy of expansionism and a 20th century overlay of missionary Marxism, was what prompted Stalin to leave his army in Eastern Europe after World War II and impose puppet regimes in the nations he had liberated.

This Soviet quest for security necessarily meant insecurity for others. It also, as it turned out, meant the same for the Soviets. "One irony of history is that the security zone in Eastern Europe that Stalin created turned out to be one of the greatest imaginable sources of insecurity," says Princeton Professor Stephen Cohen, co-author of Voices of Glasnost. It precipitated the cold war, provoked an armed competition with the West and saddled the Soviets with a string of costly and cranky vassals.

Thus it was understandable, perhaps even inevitable, that Soviet control over Eastern Europe would erode and its territorial approach to security be exposed as obsolete in a world of nuclear missiles. Yet even years from now, when the breathtaking events of 1989 are assessed, hindsight is unlikely to dilute the amazement of the moment. For suddenly, amid a barrage of headlines that a year ago would have seemed unimaginable, the architecture of Europe is being redrawn and the structure of international relations transformed by Mikhail Gorbachev's redefinition of Soviet security.

"These changes we're seeing in Eastern Europe are absolutely extraordinary," George Bush told the New York Times last week. In fact, 1989 will be remembered not as the year that Eastern Europe changed but as the year that Eastern Europe as we have known it for four decades ended. The concept was always an artificial one: a handful of diverse nations suddenly iron-curtained off from their neighbors and force-fed an unwanted ideology. Soviet dominion over the region may someday be regarded as a parenthetical pause (1945-89) that left economic scars but had little permanent impact on the culture and history of Central Europe.

Last week saw yet another series of events that reflected the upheavals of this watershed year:
-- In Budapest acting President Matyas Szuros stood on a balcony overlooking a

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rally in Parliament Square and said that the 1956 uprising, which the Soviets suppressed with tanks and the hangman's rope, was actually a "national independence movement." He declared the People's Republic of Hungary, so named in 1949, dead. Now it is the Republic of Hungary, an independent state with plans to hold multiparty elections. When speakers mentioned the U.S., the crowd cheered; for the Soviet Union, there were jeers. But along with shouts of "Russians, go home!," there were chants for the man who made the scene possible: "Gorby! Gorby! Gorby!"

-- Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze marked the anniversary of the Hungarian uprising by telling Moscow's new parliament that the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan had "blatantly violated" the law. By doing so, he implied that events like the 1956 Hungarian crackdown and the 1968 Czechoslovakian invasion would not recur. In addition, with a candor rare even in the West, Shevardnadze said of the controversial Krasnoyarsk radar station in Siberia: "Let's admit that this monstrosity the size of the Egyptian pyramid has been sitting there in direct violation of the ABM treaty." (His fealty to the treaty was in part motivated by a desire to drive a stake through America's SDI missile-defense program.)

-- In San Francisco Secretary of State James Baker delivered the Administration's strongest endorsement to date of Gorbachev's efforts. "Any uncertainty about the fate of reform in the Soviet Union," said Baker, "is all the more reason, not less, for us to seize the present opportunity." President Bush likewise abandoned a timid U.S. attitude when he granted Hungary most-favored-nation trading status and declared, "We are privileged to participate in a very special moment in human history. We are witnessing an unprecedented transformation of Communist nations into pluralistic democracies with market economies."

-- In a trip laden with symbolism, Gorbachev visited neighboring Finland, a dexterous nation that has maintained friendly relations with Moscow while retaining political and economic independence. "Finlandization" used to be derided as a form of latter-day appeasement that might infect Western Europe; now it is considered a model for the relationship that Poland or Hungary could achieve.

When Gorbachev first spoke of "new thinking" in foreign policy, many in the West -- especially in the U.S. -- doubted his sincerity. The real test was whether Gorbachev would end the policy at the heart of the cold war: the subjugation of Eastern Europe. At the end of last year, in a speech at the United Nations, Gorbachev declared that he would. "Freedom of choice is a universal principle," he said. Yet the doubts lingered. They always seemed to come down to the question: Is Gorbachev for real?

There can be only one answer now: yes, emphatically yes. Earlier this year, after Poland's Communists lost the most open elections since World War II but tried nevertheless to thwart Solidarity's effort to form a government, Gorbachev spoke by phone to the Communist Party leader, who subsequently backed down. Gorbachev has also provided public approval to the Hungarian reformers. In summing up a Warsaw Pact meeting in Bucharest last July, he pronounced: "Each people determines the future of its own country and chooses its own form of society. There must be no interference from outside, no matter what the pretext." What it all adds up to is that both in rhetoric and in reality, Gorbachev has done what Western leaders have been demanding for 21 years: repealed the "Brezhnev Doctrine," under which the Soviets claimed the right to provide "military aid to a fraternal country" (translation: invade it) whenever there was "a threat to the common interests of the camp of socialism"

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(translation: a threat to Soviet dominance).

Gorbachev is clearly motivated by his nation's desperate internal situation. Per estroika, which aims to radically restructure the Soviet economy, has so far succeeded only in disrupting the clanky old centralized-state system that at least belched forth a few second-rate consumer goods for the store shelves. Now those shelves are barer than they have been for 20 years, there are rumors of looming food riots this winter, and Gorbachev is not the hero at home that he is abroad. It is no wonder, then, that the Soviets, as former U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze says, "have turned inward, looking at what the military establishment has cost the people, the society, the economy."

For the first six months of the Bush Administration, agnosticism about Gorbachev was an article of faith. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater went so far as to call him "a drugstore cowboy." Moreover, it was virtually taboo to use any form of the verb "to help" in the same sentence with Gorbachev. Senate Democratic leader George Mitchell accused the Bush Administration of "status quo thinking" and exhibiting an "almost passive stance." Bush's attitude began to change when he visited Poland and Hungary in July. His hosts impressed on him that their survival, not to mention their success, depended on Gorbachev's. Bush commented afterward that he had understood the connection intellectually but now he understood it "in his gut."

Bush's conversion has not ended the deep schism within his Administration. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft remains cautious about Gorbachev's ultimate aims, and his deputy Robert Gates is acidly skeptical about the Soviet leader's ability to prevail. In an unusual move, Baker last week forbade Gates to deliver a speech that was too pessimistic about Gorbachev's economic program. Vice President Dan Quayle directly challenged Baker in a Los Angeles speech by stressing "the darker side of Soviet foreign policy" and saying that instead of helping, the U.S. ought to "let them reform themselves."

Raising this skepticism is probably, to use Bush's favorite word, prudent. After all, what if Gorbachev is indeed merely pursuing by more subtle means the old Soviet goals of getting the U.S. to withdraw from Europe, dissolving NATO and neutralizing Germany? Even so, as Baker points out, it would still make sense for the U.S. to "lock in" gains by helping Soviet bloc nations become more independent and by securing agreements that make mutually beneficial arms reductions. In addition, the changes in Eastern Europe have progressed so far that a sudden reversal becomes less likely every day. In the worst-case scenario, a hard-liner -- even Gorbachev -- could crack down in Moscow tomorrow. But could he reverse the course of events in Hungary and Poland? Could he ensure the loyalty of troops in Eastern Europe?

Gorbachev and Shevardnadze said once again last week that NATO and the Warsaw Pact should eventually be dismantled. NATO Secretary-General Manfred Worner dismissed the suggestion as "a long-standing aim" of Soviet policy. Still, if there is no cold war to fight, it will be impossible at some point to avoid reconsidering the roles of the two military alliances. One of Worner's predecessors, Britain's Lord Ismay, said the goal of NATO was "to keep the Russians out, the Americans in and the Germans down." As the Soviet threat recedes, NATO could serve to keep the West Germans, if not down, at least tethered to the West. The organization's purpose would become more political: preventing the Continent from reverting to the spasmodic shifts in national alliances that sparked centuries of wars. The twelve-nation European Community

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is likewise poised to play a leading role in belaying the nations that are breaking loose from the Soviet orbit.

The success of perestroika will depend on the Soviets, but Washington can help Gorbachev by reaching agreements to cut conventional arms and strategic nuclear arsenals. In addition, Shevardnadze in his speech last week spoke of Moscow's desire to join such Western economic institutions as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Like Hungary, the Soviet Union could benefit from most-favored-nation trade status.

Yet given the sweeping transformations under way, these measures seem limp. Such a step-by-step approach would be, at best, yet another example of the -- dare one say timid? -- incrementalism on arms control and trade that has marked Soviet-American relations for four decades. As Bush himself says, the opportunity is historic. The idea that the Warsaw Pact would launch a land invasion of Western Europe, which is what most of NATO expenditures are designed to prevent, has become nearly inconceivable. "It may be time to abandon incrementalism for a leapfrog approach, to see if we can really make a basic change in our relationship," says former Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

Instead, Bush could challenge Gorbachev with courage and imagination. He could ask the Soviets to join the West in making enormous, fundamental cuts in defense spending. This would not be naive pacifism but hardheaded self-interest. It could be a boon to the deficit-choked American economy as well as to peres troika. Rather than negotiating trims in a few weapons programs, Bush could propose demobilizing significant portions of each side's military, testing whether Gorbachev would go along with dismantling whole divisions and reconfiguring forces so as to create a less dangerous world.

Dean Acheson compared the task of his fellow statesmen at the end of World War II to the one described in the first chapter of the Bible. "That was to create a world out of chaos; ours, to create half a world, a free half, out of the same material." The genesis that is now at hand may be just as formidable, because it involves transcending not chaos but a rigid order.

The postwar era was launched with a speech by Harry Truman outlining a presidential vision of containment. Similarly, Bush could launch a postcontainment era by propounding a bold swords-into-plowshares scheme for a fundamental change in East-West relations. Such a clarion call for a radical new Bush Doctrine could command the bipartisan support that accompanied the Truman doctrine. It could also, at the very least, regain for the U.S. the initiative on the world stage. And, who knows? Gorbachev might go along. More surprising things have happened this year.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, THE BIG BREAK Moscow lets Eastern Europe go its own way descColor cover: Girl in crowd waving Hungarian flag., Photograph by Filip Horvat/Saba; Picture 2, NO CAPTION descColor: Man sitting on statue waving flag - contents page., FILIP HORVAT -- SABA; Picture 3, HUNGARY The crowds yelled "Russians go home!" but also chanted "Gorby! Gorby! Gorby!" as an old uprising and a new name were celebrated descColor: Mikhail Gorbachev holding child, others., CHESNOT -- SIPA; Picture 4, See above. descColor: Demonstrators with Hungarian flags., CHRISTIAN VIOUJARD -- GAMMA LIAISON; Picture 5, EAST GERMANY A massive exodus and growing protests hastened the exit of an aging hard-liner

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and forced a few flickers of new flexibility descColor: Demonstrators in East Germany., CHIP HIRES -- GAMMA LIAISON; Picture 6, OL' BUSHY BROWS "When forces hostile to socialism seek to reverse the development of any socialist country whatsoever . . . this [becomes] the concern of all socialist countries" -- Leonid Brezhnev, Warsaw, Nov. 13, 1968 descColor: Leonid Brezhnev., DELIP MEHTA -- CONTACT(c) Picture 7, VS. OL' BLUE EYES "The Brezhnev doctrine is dead . . . You know the Frank Sinatra song My Way? Hungary and Poland are doing it their way. We now have the Sinatra doctrine" -- Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, Helsinki, Oct. 25, 1989 descColor: Frank Sinatra., HEMSEY -- GAMMA LIAISON(c) Picture 8, POLAND Now that Lech Walesa has guided him into office, Tadeusz Mazowiecki needs to find a cure for the country's shattered economy descColor: Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Lech Walesa, others., CHESNOT -- SIPA

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The Washington Times

October 31, 1989, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 876 words

HEADLINE: East bloc moves lead White House to stop encouraging division

BYLINE: Paul Bedard; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Reflecting its approval of the Kremlin's political and economic reforms, the Bush administration has dropped past White House attempts to divide the Soviet bloc and is encouraging East European regimes to follow Moscow's lead.

White House officials said yesterday that President Bush has scrapped previous policies of rewarding East bloc nations for stepping away from the Soviet Union. They said the policy change is due in large part to Kremlin reforms.

The new policy, seen in the administration's economic support of Hungary and Poland, now focuses on encouraging reforms in individual East bloc nations with no demands that ties to the Soviet Union be cut - although that may be the result - the officials said.

Explaining the emerging Bush doctrine, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said, "Our policy has been to encourage differentiation in Eastern Europe, not . . . on the basis of their distance from the Soviet Union . . . but on the basis of their interest in political pluralism and in opening up their economic systems."

One official said "it would be silly" for the Bush administration to reward an Eastern European nation for walking away from the Soviet Union when the Kremlin is implementing policies Washington considers desirable - namely, greater economic and political freedom.

The official said the White House wants East bloc nations to follow Moscow's changes - not avoid them. "The Soviets are reform-minded. . . . Things have changed, circumstances have changed," the official said, noting the historic democratic reforms taking place in Poland, Hungary and East Germany.

Asked the administration's reaction to the changes sponsored by the Soviet Union, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said, "I can certainly understand why the Soviets are changing their tune on this with the Warsaw Pact countries all singing, 'Please release me, let me go.' "

The latest example: Bulgaria, which the State Department yesterday said is on the brink of announcing major reforms.

"We welcome indications that the Bulgarian government will move faster on needed reforms. Bulgaria still lags behind the leaders of reform in Eastern Europe," said State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler.

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(c) 1989 The Washington Times, October 31, 1989

"What I'd like to suggest is that we may be at one of those historic periods of transition when we're really moving from one age to another," Mr. Scowcroft told a convention of American Stock Exchange international investors at the Mayflower Hotel.

"Our enemies, those who have the alternative vision of the world, are now more and more openly abandoning it and moving to adopt the things from our world. In that sense, we have won," he said.

"In almost every sense you look at it, American foreign policy since the war has been a tremendous success. We are now talking from our agenda - our agenda - political pluralism, market economics," Mr. Scowcroft said.

Mr. Scowcroft's views are shared by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, who has heaped praise on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and his reform programs. They have steered the administration away from the view held by administration conservatives, notably Vice President Dan Quayle and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, that the Soviets should not be trusted.

Mr. Scowcroft said the U.S. policy of containing the growth of communism has succeeded, encouraging demands for major changes.

"Whether we talked about detente in the '70s, peaceful coexistence and so on, it was all different ways of managing this struggle, this mortal struggle between two different systems," he said.

Scow.

But today, he said, "We can look beyond it, beyond a Soviet Union determined one way or another to overthrow the world as it is, into a Soviet Union prepared - not necessarily to be friendly - but prepared to take its place as a member of the international community, not as a mortal threat to the international community."

In a direct compliment to Mr. Gorbachev and his reforms, Mr. Scowcroft said, "We have a long way to go, and there are signs - there are both good signs and bad signs. But if you look back over, even in the last five years since Gorbachev came into office, some of the things that we're now hearing and seeing now would have been absolutely unimaginable just five years ago."

White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, meanwhile, said changes taking place in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and "even in China, although it was aborted a little bit," represent a "victory for Western values."

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Joining the Baker-Scowcroft camp, Mr. Sununu gave the American Stock Exchange gathering a cheery description of American-style changes taking place in the communist world.

Change pushed "from the bottom up in many cases" by reformers in communist countries "has created a sense of inevitability in many cases for the kind of political change that has been the hope and dream of free countries around the world to see extended to those countries that have lived in less free environments," Mr. Sununu said.

Mr. Scowcroft had a word of warning, however. While there is "a lot of promise here [there is] still a lot of danger," he said. "A lot of things can happen both in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe."

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September 29, 1989, Friday, City Edition

SECTION: OP-ED; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 693 words

HEADLINE: Bush's sidestep;
THOMAS OLIPHANT

BYLINE: By Thomas Oliphan, Globe StafFT

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: GEORGE BUSH; ADMINISTRATION; STATISTIC; WEAPON

BODY:

It was a politically smart, but far from wise, President Bush who chose to focus on chemical weapons at the United Nations this week.

Once again, he was a long stride behind most of the rest of the world, but in carefully calibrated lock-step with the US opinion polls so central to his governing method and political success.

Chemical weapons, as Bush knows well, are an important issue on the periphery of the great subjects of our time. That is why he focused on them, skillfully sliding past the economic and political tumult sweeping much of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and the status of efforts to reduce nuclear weapons and conventional mega-forces.

This penchant Bush has of seeking the shaded security of peripheral issues and bromides is often misinterpreted as the absence of any foreign policy worthy of the term. That view is false. Bush's foreign policy is not fit for detailed discussion by the president because of its resemblance to the limpid, wimpy caricature his predecessor created of Jimmy Carter.

This was apparent in the latest exposition on the Bush Doctrine - Dare to Duck - a little-noticed speech here this month by Lawrence Eagleberger, the deputy secretary of state and ex-Henry Kissinger hand.

What notice Eagleberger's oration did receive has focused on its remarkable confession of fatigue: "If it is true that we have emerged victorious from the Cold War, then we, like the Soviets behind us, have crossed the finish line very much out of breath."

Not only that, he adds, but both superpowers must face "a frankly diminished capacity to influence events and promote our respective interests" - in the form of fiscal constraints and more assertively powerful allies in the West; and of economic and empire collapse in the East. Almost wistfully, Eagleberger looks back to another day and observes: "For all its risks and uncertainties, the Cold War was characterized by a remarkably stable and predictable set of relationships among the great powers."

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There's more. The emerging world of multiple power centers, environmental despoilation, crunching debt and poverty in the developing world, enormous tension in the communist sphere, and global protectionism is seen as no less dangerous than the one dominated by East-West tensions. The problem, Eagleberger says, is that we can't wave missiles at these challenges.

"Our ability to meet the challenges in East-West and North-South relations will depend substantially on how well the major Western industrial nations manage the transition to a new set of relationships and a new distribution of responsibilities among ourselves . . . or whether we will slip back toward the dark days of autarchy, unilateralism and protectionism which proved so damaging to the West in the 1920s and 1930s."

This is the source of what is typically called Bush's "caution" in foreign policy. Unlike most of the rest of the West, Bush is not ready to embrace change in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, much less move boldly to help make the change a success.

"Out task, after all, is to devise policies which will serve our interest, whether Mr. Gorbachev succeeds or fails," Eagleberger says. "And our common goal ought to be the maintenance of the security consensus which has served the West so well over the past 40 years, until the process of democratic reform in the East has truly become irreversible."

While Bush waits, there are two dangers: first, that his ho-hum attitude will help produce either the replacement of Gorbachev by a reactionary or the failure of the Polish and Hungarian experiments, or both; and second, that the rest of the West plus Japan will see opportunity in the American vacuum and move on their own with Moscow toward a European order less friendly to the United States.

The polls, however, tell the president the dangers are minor. The latest CBS-New York Times numbers show his foreign policy approved by 60-23 percent, and more aid to independent Eastern European countries opposed by 51-40 percent. The numbers tell Bush he can move forward at his own pace. It is smart politics, but short-sighted and weak foreign policy.

GRAPHIC: CARTOON, Robert Neubecker illustration (c) Inx

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FALL / Summer

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August 7, 1989

SECTION: Vol. 201; No. 6; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 1543 words

HEADLINE: Affable abroad; White House Watch - Bush in Eastern Europe

BYLINE: Barnes, Fred

BODY:

At his first substantive meeting in Hungary on July 12, President Bush confronted two very uptight Communist reformers: Party Chairman Rezso Nyers and General Secretary Karoly Grosz. They sat across from him in a room overlooking the Danube. Bush started with small talk about how pleasantly cool the weather was. Secretary of State James Baker whispered in his ear, and Bush "Baker says it's never hot when you come from Texas." Then Bush got serious. "We're with you," he said. "What you're doing is exciting. It's what we've always wanted. We're not going to complicate things for you ¢by arousing the Soviets!. We know that the better we get along with the Soviets, the better it is for you." This seemed to wash their anxiety away. "You could see the sense of relief on their faces," a Bush aide said.

That's the Bush approach-cheerful, undemanding, empathetic, accomm odating, unfailingly friendly.

Bush doesn't like meetings that make him, or anyone else, tense and uncomfortable. So he didn't have any on his ten-day trip to Poland, Hungary, France, and the Netherlands. Everyone he met, Communists and democrats alike, liked him, or at least Bush aides thought everyone did. One reason is that Bush didn't apply pressure. He didn't lean on anyone. He prefers to make other leaders happy.

The Bush style is great for selling Bush. My guess is he'll soar now in popularity polls in Europe, maybe even topping Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. It's also fine for a time when the economies of the big industrial democracies are strong and the Soviet empire is fragmenting. But if things go sour in the world, look out. And if Bush needs to convey a controversial policy, as President Reagan sometimes did successfully, being nice to everyone won't be sufficient. Reagan imposed a tough anti-terrorism stand on the allies in 1986. Earlier he made them swallow the Strategic Defense Initiative. At the economic summit in Paris, Bush's next stop after Hungary, his boldest move was to get attention paid to Eastern Europe. He succeeded, but the achievement was a small one.

The nearest thing to an awkward moment on Bush's trip occurred at his first stop in Warsaw. On July 10, at the end of a luncheon that brought together Communist officials and their Solidarity foes, Bush gave an impromptu toast. Then Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski rose to propose one. Solidarity members, many of whom were jailed when Jaruzelski declared martial law in 1981, squirmed. Should they rise at the end of the toast? American officials noticed their discomfort and grew fretful as Jaruzelski talked. The Americans feared the luncheon would break

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up in anger and embarrassment. Jaruzelski averted danger. He proposed a toast "to the good health of Barbara Bush and all the ladies present with us here today." Everyone had to rise and applaud this.

To the surprise and delight of Bush's entourage, the president rarely had to tell other leaders what they didn't want to hear. Jaruzelski made things easy for him by spelling out all of Poland's troubles. He said the Communist system isn't working, economically or otherwise. He cited Poland's agricultural backwardness-all small farms on which it's impossible to achieve economies of scale. Bush spared Jaruzelski trouble by not repeating his assertion, made in an interview before he left Washington, that Gorbachev should pull all Soviet troops out of Poland. That would be provocative, counterproductive even, an aide explained. "Our objective isn't to talk about the Soviets leaving Eastern Europe," the aide said. "Our objective is to get the Soviets to leave."

In Budapest, Bush was amazed at what he heard from Nyers, the first among equals in the four-man presidium that runs Hungary. "We have to get rid of the dead hand of statism," Nyers said. After 40 years of communism, the way people think in Hungary must be changed, he went on. All Bush could do was nod. Then Nyers said, "The great test for our party is whether we're willing to put our case before the people in an election." Bush couldn't argue with this either. Nyers said Hungary is in the position the United States was in 1776. Bush liked the ana logy.

Bush arrived with a head of steam at the Paris summit of the United States, France, Britain, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Canada. At the openin session he was the first leader called on ,by French President Francois Mitterrand, the host. This was the most informal meeting at the summit, the one at which the seven leaders talked about whatever was on their mind. Bush talked about Eastern Europe. He said the West has a "historic opportunity" to change the face of Europe by sweeping away the Iron Curtain. But the allies have to stick together and get actively engaged in helping Poland and Hungary as those countries cast off communism. He said the summit countries should meet later to figure out how to provide joint aid.

This was problematic. In preliminary discussions, Bush's representative had pushed the idea and gotten nowhere. The Germans and the French were opposed. So a follow-up meeting on Poland and Hungary was not called for in the draft communique^. The next day Bush jumped at the chance to get it in. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposed a follow-up meeting on giving food to Poland. "It shouldn't just be Poland," Bush said. "It should include Hungary. And it shouldn't just include food. It should have a broader range of aid." This was the b oldest Bush got at the summit.

To his surprise, Mitterrand endorsed his plan, saving it from reject ion.

Mitterrand's intervention was a measure of his friendship with Bush, according to the president's aides. He and Bush got along famously when Mitterrand visited Kennebunkport and Boston in May. Bush wanted to take Mitterrand on a boat ride, but he backed off politely when Mitterrand balked. (Mitterrand hates boats.) A few days later an authoritative-sounding piece in Le Monde reported how impressed Mitterrand had been by Bush. At the NATO summit in June, Mitterrand rebuffed his own bureaucracy and sided with Bush at one point. And in Paris, Mitterrand also rushed to Bush's side when Italian Foreign Minister Guilio Andreotti tried to soften the communiquie's mention of "the Soviet

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threat." Andreotti said the word "potential" should be added. "There's no potential threat," said Bush. "There's an enormous standing army." Mitterrand offered the word "objective." Bush readily agreed, and "objective threat" is what got in the communique. "I wish we'd thought of that," said an American official.

Bush has also drawn close to Thatcher. He loves to watch her take apart questions from reporters. She invited him for breakfast whenever he passed through England as vice president. In June, Bush stopped off after the NATO summit for his first presidential visit. After a session at No. 10 Downing Street, he and Thatcher met the press. For days British papers had been writing about the end of the "special relationship" between the United States and Britain. The first question was on this subject, and Thatcher delivered a dazzling rebuttal. All Bush could say was that he liked what she'd said. In Paris he met with her privately for more than an hour at the American ambassador's residence. Afterward, he broke his own rule about no questions at photo opportunities. He said it was "a modified photo op in honor of our distinguished guest, who will be glad to take questions." I suspect his real motive was to watch he r batter a pool of reporters.

Mitterrand and Thatcher are hardly alone among world leaders who are esteemed by Bush. He even admires dead Communists. In an interview with Hungarian journalists in Washington, he praised Janos Kadar, who was installed as leader of Hungary by the Soviets in 1956. Kadar died in We might get all kinds of argument in our political right or our political left about Mr. Kadar, but I look at him as a man who served his country," Bush said. Actually, right and left agree Kadar was the "butcher of Budapest." In Poland and Hungary, Bush liked the Communist leaders better than their political opponents. The opposition parties in Hungary, said a Bush aide, are relics of the 1940s.

The Communist "are thinking like politicians now."

What the Europeans find all the more endearing about Bush is that he's not a lone ranger like Reagan. There's no Bush doctrine. John Sununu, the White House chief of staff, used that phrase to describe Bush's policy of aiding Communist countries to the extent they adopt democracy and capitalism. But national security adviser Brent Scowcroft instantly repudiated it. "Bush's approach is we've got to all be together," said an official traveling with Bush. "So it's no good to have a unilateral doctrine."

Holland was perfect as Bush's final stop. His visit was strategically unimportant, but historic-no president had been there before. He was among friends. "Friendly relations between our two countries have endured uninterruptedly for over 200 years," said Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek. Nothing but kind words were expected of Bush, which is what he likes to deliver.

TYPE: Column

SUBJECT: Presidents, foreign relations; Statesmen, evaluation; United States, relations with Europe, Eastern; Europe, Eastern, relations with the United States

NAME: Bush, George, foreign relations

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GEOGRAPHIC: United States; Europe, Eastern

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Time

July 17, 1989, U.S. Edition

SECTION: WORLD; Pg. 68

LENGTH: 599 words

HEADLINE: America Abroad;
Beyond the Reagan Doctrine

BYLINE: Strobe Talbott

BODY:

After years of carnage, all is relatively quiet on three fronts in the cold war. The Afghan city of Jalalabad is still holding out against a rebel siege. Most Nicaraguan insurgents are sulking in their tents in Honduras. The various factions in Cambodia are spending at least as much time these days maneuvering against one another at international conferences as fighting in the jungle.

The mujahedin, the contras and the Cambodian guerrillas are all foot soldiers of an American policy whose architect has left office -- the Reagan Doctrine. To punish Leonid Brezhnev for fomenting trouble in the Third World back in the 1970s, Ronald Reagan launched a global counteroffensive in the 1980s. By helping to arm virtually any group aiming to topple one of the Kremlin's clients, Reagan gave new force to the old U.S. strategy of "containing" Soviet expansionism.

Then along came Mikhail Gorbachev, who has his own reasons for scaling back the U.S.S.R.'s foreign entanglements: they are expensive, diverting resources that might otherwise go to domestic reform; and they provoke worldwide antagonism at a time when Moscow is looking for capitalist goods and credits. So Gorbachev has withdrawn Soviet troops from Afghanistan, encouraged the Vietnamese to end their occupation of Cambodia and warned Fidel Castro that the Kremlin will not indefinitely underwrite the export of revolution in Latin America.

George Bush has acknowledged this turnaround in Soviet policy by proclaiming it an opportunity for the U.S. to move "beyond containment." Already there has been a shift in U.S. policy toward diplomatic compromise in all three of the principal regional conflicts. In Nicaragua the Reagan Administration wanted to overthrow the Sandinistas; the contras were a means to that all-or-nothing end. The Bush Administration, by contrast, is seeking a political settlement that would entail some sort of power sharing between the Sandinistas and their opponents. During consultations on Cambodia in Brunei last week, Secretary of State James Baker made it clear that the U.S. is more willing than it was a year ago to accept the current Vietnamese-backed leaders in Phnom Penh as part of a future coalition -- and more committed than before to preventing any return by the genocidal Khmer Rouge.

As for Afghanistan, American hopes for a quick, easy mujahedin victory have faded. A protracted civil war might favor the more fanatical, anti-Western elements among the rebels. The U.S. has just said good riddance to one ayatullah in Iran, and the last thing Washington wants is a Khomeini-like figure in Afghanistan. There are also 3.5 million well-armed Afghan refugees who are an

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increasing worry to Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. On a visit to Washington last month, she persuaded Bush to endorse publicly a "political solution," implying an internationally brokered deal that might allow some Afghan Communists to remain as part of a new government. Baker has privately told his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, that the U.S. "has no interest in seeing a leadership in Kabul that is hostile to the U.S.S.R." Such assurances, Baker hopes, may lead Moscow to persuade its clients to accept a deal.

If these trends continue, it could mean truce, then peace on these far-flung battlefields. Wars, including cold ones, don't end until people stop dying in them. By folding up the Reagan Doctrine, the U.S. can provide some cover for Moscow's retreat, perhaps helping end the expansionist phase in Soviet history. Such a strategy might even come to be called the Bush Doctrine.

GRAPHIC: Picture, NO CAPTION descColor illustration., ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY RICO LINS DIANA WALKER, DENNIS BRACK -- BLACK STAR

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July 18, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: SECTION I; European News; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 874 words

HEADLINE: Bush Puts His Own Stamp On The US Leadership Of The West

BYLINE: Peter Riddell

HIGHLIGHT:
Peter Riddell sums up the President's achievements on his 10-day European tour and finds he has much to celebrate

BODY:

President George Bush's boyish elation as he ends today his wearying 10 day tour to Europe - his second within six weeks - is understandable. He has further built up his standing as leader of the West, but it is leadership of a different kind than before: less dominant, more first among partners.

This reflects both Mr Bush's personality and the shift in Washington's position relative to its allies. Despite worries in Europe in the spring about the time his foreign policy reviews were taking, Mr Bush has now won the respect of his summit partners. He is not only affable to all, but also assiduous in keeping up contacts with other leaders.

Mr Bush has developed good relations with Mr Francois Mitterrand, cemented when the French President visited the Bush family home in Maine, and with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, even though British-US relations are somewhat more distant and less intimate than when President Ronald Reagan was in office.

Moreover, Mr James Baker, the US Secretary of State, has developed a close working relationship with Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West Germany's Foreign Minister, initially in sorting out the Nato summit compromise on arms control, and recently on Eastern Europe.

President Bush and his advisers recognise that the US has to consult more, not only because its allies have strong views of their own, but more specifically because they have the money and the US does not have much available. This is what Mr Baker euphemistically describes as "creative responsibility-sharing."

Most significantly, there has been the shift in the US attitude towards taking a positive view of European integration and the role of the European Commission.

First signalled in Mr Bush's Boston University speech two months ago, it was put into effect over the weekend when, with full US support, the Commission was given the task of co-ordinating international help for Poland and Hungary.

The US accepts that it alone cannot support central Europe; there is to be no second US-dominated Marshall Plan.

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Mr Bush has still shown leadership over Eastern Europe, albeit reinforcing existing initiatives and contacts by West Germany, France and Britain. Other countries may have been irritated by his initial appearance last week of having "discovered" Poland and Hungary. But his visits there helped put the issue at the centre of the Paris summit agenda.

The enormity of what is happening impressed everyone on the trip. As Mr Baker pointed out, Paris was the first of the 15 annual summits which had not had to deal primarily with the threat of Communism, but rather with the consequences of its failure.

The Bush policy is not one of unrestrained support for non-Communists; in many cases it is the reverse. The aim is to support those favouring reform whether inside or outside the existing regime; moving forward within a stable framework is a priority.

In a revealing interview on Sunday, General Brent Scowcroft, the National Security Adviser, reflected the enthusiasm of the Bush team for General Wojciech Jaruzelski in Poland - "a very different kind of person from 1981 (when Solidarity was banned)" and "a man showing great sincerity in trying to deal with his country's problems."

Similarly in Hungary, the US believes the chances of successful reform will probably rest primarily with the Communist regime rather than the fragmented and inexperienced opposition groups (a contrast with the Polish position).

Gen Scowcroft has conceded that the Communists might win the promised free elections in Hungary because "there's a great deal of innovative thinking going on within the various parts of the Communist party ... a Communist party system within which there are blocs within the party could eventually be indistinguishable from a multi-party system."

Such thinking would have been inconceivable a year ago.

West European countries, as much as the US, created the policy of conditional generosity - step-by-step support for these economic and political reforms.

But Mr Bush played a key role in pressing for the concerted approach.

The US side may have made a mistake in focusing on the limited amount of direct help for private enterprise and the environment rather than the potentially far more important fresh impetus for dealing with Poland's debts.

Debt rescheduling by the Paris Club of creditor nations is to be made more flexible than usual, and in a largely unnoticed commitment secured by the US, Poland stands to benefit substantially from the Brady debt reduction plan.

However, while rescheduling may be agreed before long, US officials are less optimistic about an agreement on an economic recovery programme between a Polish Government - over which Solidarity has at least a veto power - and the International Monetary Fund. This could take at least the rest of this year.

President Bush's wiser advisers, such as Gen Scowcroft, are loath to describe his approach to Eastern Europe as representing a Bush doctrine. This is too grandiose for the President's style.

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What has been seen both at the Nato summit and in the past 10 days is a cautious, collegiate style of policy-making and leadership - which has been more successful than past dramatic gestures.

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July 16, 1989, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1436 words

HEADLINE: Making Europe whole
Weaning communist nations to the West depends on Mother Russia

BYLINE: By Timothy J. McNulty; Timothy J. McNulty reports on the White House for The Tribune

DATELINE: PARIS

BODY:

President Bush showed the wiliness of the " Bush Doctrine" last week as he went on his first Cold War offensive, drinking cold vodka and delivering warm toasts to his communist hosts.

Those Eastern European nations that allow political variety and private markets and decentralize their economies will be rewarded, he declared.

And those that don't can stew in their own economic failure.

Bush was concerned not to antagonize communist hard-liners in the Soviet Union. He didn't overpromise the people in Poland and Hungary, the two East bloc states he visited early in the week.

But his message was understood and appreciated by many who heard it.

"When someone is starving you just don't give them fish, but give them a fishing pole," said George Konkogy-Thege, a graduate of Karl Marx University in Budapest, Hungary, who gave a variation of a familiar saying as he stood in the steamy, jostling crowd at the university to hear Bush.

Several weeks ago, in a speech to the Polish-American enclave in the Detroit suburb of Hamtramck, Bush declared that his goal was the reintegration of the communist world into the community of nations.

White House Chief of Staff John Sununu says "the birth of the Bush Doctrine" was at the President's inauguration in January, when Bush, after speaking of conciliation with Congress, also said he was extending his hand to other nations.

Considering the declaration of martial law in Poland in 1981, and the stark black-and-white film of Soviet tanks rolling into Prague in 1968 and Budapest in 1956, the desire to make Europe whole again is an ambitious, perhaps naive goal that depends totally on the Soviet Union.

"We're walking a very fine line," a senior administration official said late last week. "We're trying to wean countries out of the communist bloc, something that hasn't happened since 1945, and it depends largely on Soviet tolerance."

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So far, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev seems willing to tolerate that, though in France 10 days ago, he issued a mild warning that nations under Soviet influence may reform but must still remain socialist. "The overcoming of socialism," he said, could lead to "confrontation, if not something worse."

Still, the Soviet leader, whose own problems include a stricken economy, ethnic turbulence in the Soviet Union and restive client-states in Eastern Europe, also talks of a "common European home."

A spirit of competition with Gorbachev seemed to be prompting Bush, but each day he spent in Eastern Europe this week he repeated, in one fashion or another, that he did not come to irritate or threaten.

That was because the ghost of China hovered over every stop.

"We know every reform is easily reversible," a White House adviser said. "We don't want to get them nervous."

The political sophistication of average Polish citizens was also evident as they related their situation to pro-democracy student protests in Beijing.

"Their tragedy is our tragedy. We are afraid of it," said Jan Jablonski, a 51-year-old worker who listened to Bush's speech under the stark memorial outside the gate of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, a reminder of the antigovernment demonstrators killed there in 1970.

Partly in response to that, Bush advised the Poles, who gave him an affectionate welcome, that both "courage and restraint" is needed.

If the speeches fell short of inspiring, the President's advisers claimed it was intentional, that no speech be too strident, either.

European news media reaction was favorable, and Sununu, conscious of the political reaction in the U.S., claimed that other leaders had complimented Bush for his "feel for Europe."

Indeed, it was Bush's second successful trip to Europe in less than two months. In the first, he deflected a confrontation with West Germany at the NATO summit in Brussels.

That disagreement ended in a compromise to put off negotiations with the Soviets on battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe until some initial progress was made in talks on limiting conventional forces.

The administration also linked talks on conventional arms with economic promises last week when Secretary of State James A. Baker III announced a new NATO proposal to reduce combat aircraft and helicopters in Europe.

Bush's ad hoc policy of offering incentives to lure communist nations staggering under heavy military budgets and poorly functioning economies prompted some debate about the amounts of money he was offering.

If reforms continue in Poland, where shoppers have to stand in line for salt and sugar, the nation of 37 million is to get a $100 million investment fund for its private markets. Hungary is slated for a similar $25 million infusion.

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"There is a problem that if we get a lot of money at the wrong time, the communist system gets strength. Then they become more arrogant and it stops the process of reform," suggested Stanislaw Obertaniec, a newly elected Solidarity member in the Senate from the industrial region of Salesia in western Poland.

"I'm divided," he said. "First I think Poland needs a plan like the Marshall Plan. But as an opposition member I ought to be careful to whom you give the money, to see first if they're sincere."

He added that many brigades of Soviet troops are stationed in his province, a steelmaking center, and then he pointedly made a comparison, saying the only U.S. presence there is in the form of a $1 million grant for a local clinic to diagnose breast cancer.

Bush, after a much photographed but somewhat stilted lunch at the home of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, told reporters, "I rejoiced in his hospitality."

The President appeared to take away the same feeling from Poland and from Hungary, though the advancement of his doctrine of friendly persuasion shouldn't be overstated.

Hungary, for instance, is much further along toward a market-oriented economy than Poland. On the other hand, its nine opposition parties have not coalesced into a strong or coherent alternative to the communist government, as Solidarity has in Poland.

And Solidarity has another tricky problem. It doesn't want to be enticed too quickly into the Polish power structure for fear of leaving itself open to criticism for the inevitable future disruptions of inflation and unemployment.

The Bush plan does not and cannot solve any of those problems alone, and the administration showed a foreign policy sophistication of its own when the President kept insisting he wanted to help each nation to help itself.

The extension of the Bush doctrine elsewhere in Eastern Europe also may take some time.

There is a large geographic difference, to cite one complication. Hungary, for instance, shares no border with the West, but Poland is the traditional buffer between Russia and Germany. Any change in Poland - especially Bush's call for the Soviets to withdraw their troops there - is likely to be viewed with more suspicion than a withdrawal request from the government in Budapest.

Next in line to feel the lure of the Bush doctrine might be, in descending order, Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria.

Yugoslavia, which is not part of the Warsaw Pact, has gone its own mixed economic way and Albania, once tied to Maoist China, is a closed society that one administration official said is "off the map."

Without tying his name to the doctrine, Bush had raised the issue of helping Poland and Hungary in Paris at the annual economic summit of the world's seven richest nations last week. But the difference in political and economic agendas quickly became evident when France insisted on introducing questions about a future North-South summit between the world's richest and poorest states. The

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U.S. was trying to avoid that.

Beneath all of this, for all the warmth with which crowds greeted Bush, lies the broader specter of a weakened U.S. role in Europe.

Europeans are not holding their breath for U.S. leadership on Eastern Europe. West Germany has been restructuring its loans to Poland for several years.

And while Bush campaigned last year as an environmentalist, the European environmentalists known as "Greens" have been campaigning for years and doubled in strength in last month's European Parliament election.

As the continent prepares for 1992, when the nations of Western Europe are to remove most of their trade and employment barriers, they will become even more reliant on one another and less on the United States.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: President Bush lunches Tuesday with Lech Walesa and his wife, Danuta, at the Solidarity leader's home in Warsaw. After the somewhat stilted meeting, Bush declared: "I rejoiced in his hospitality."

TERMS: UNITED STATES; OFFICIAL; TRIP; POLAND; HUNGARY; AID; INTERVIEW

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July 14, 1989, Friday

SECTION: SECTION I; European News; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 508 words

HEADLINE: Bush Auditions For A European Role;
US President Treads A Fine Line Between Myth And Substance

BYLINE: Peter Riddell, US Editor, Paris

BODY:

President George Bush and his advisers have been trying this week to build up his image as the new liberator of Eastern Europe - the statesman who is helping to break down the Iron Curtain.

There has, of course, been considerable substance to the trip as well as myth creation. Mr Bush has clearly been excited by what he has seen and heard.

He has also had both new thinking and specific measures to assist "home-grown moves" towards political pluralism and the free market, in the hope of healing the post-war division of Europe and welcoming some countries back into the Western fold.

Yet this has been accompanied by careful nurturing of his image. Mr John Sununu, the White House Chief of Staff, has even talked about a " Bush doctrine. "

Indeed, the more that Mr Bush and his aides have protested that he is not out to rival the successful visits to Western Europe by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, the more it has seemed that this is precisely their aim.

Mr James Baker, the Secretary of State, claimed: "we're really not in the business of competition, of counting the crowds," yet immediately added: "I, for one, thought the crowds were pretty terrific, as a matter of fact, in Poland, and particularly in Gdansk."

Mr Marlin Fitzwater, the White House Press Secretary, even reckoned that the crowd in Gdansk was close to a quarter of a million - three times most estimates.

This attempt to talk-up the enthusiasm for Mr Bush on his visit contrasts both with his desire not to over-promise or interfere, and to make assistance conditional on local progress. Indeed, some advisers have been worried about creating the impression that the US had suddenly "discovered" Eastern Europe.

Mr Bush is not a naturally charismatic leader. This week he was overshadowed in Gdansk by Mr Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, whose political passion shone through.

Similarly, in Hungary, Mr Imre Poszgay, the leader of the reform group in the Communist party, talked like a Westrn politician in accepting the need for

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change and about the implications of promised free elections, even praising some of the opposition groups.

Both these reform leaders accept that the chances for successful change lie in their own countries. The effective demise of the Brezhnev doctrine of Soviet hegemony does not mean the triumph of an alternative Bush doctrine.

There are dangers for the US in believing, in Mr Bush's words, that Poland and Hungary are about to embrace the American way.

As Mr Bush, the cautious political realist, rather than the myth creator, recognises, the West's immediate role is to offer support for internally generated changes, but not to impose.

The US has this week been giving clear signals of its preference for stability, including a continued role of reform-minded members of the current regimes.

Yet US officials cannot disguise their excitement about the pace of reform and the possibility of other countries following Poland and Hungary. There is a fine line here between enthusiasm and interference.

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PRESIDENT COMES AWAY FROM EASTERN EUROPE WITH ' BUSH DOCTRINE' TAKING FORM

BYLINE: By DOYLE McMANUS, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: BUDAPEST, Hungary

BODY:

For those with any memory of the bad old days in Eastern Europe, President Bush's journey through Poland and Hungary this week was nothing short of astonishing -- from the Warsaw lunch at which Communists and once-jailed opposition leaders joined in toasting the United States, to the Hungarian military band that saluted Bush with a spirited rendition of "The Stars and Stripes Forever."

"(The) change is absolutely amazing," Bush marveled aboard Air Force One as he left Eastern Europe on Thursday.

"What we've been witnessing in the last three days," added Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, "is a really historic set of developments in the postwar world." The surge of reform in Poland and Hungary, Scowcroft said, has brought about "a fundamental change in the whole international structure."

In return, Bush outlined a striking new U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe, an approach that some enthusiastic aides are already calling "the Bush Doctrine."

Its central idea, as Bush said in a speech at Karl Marx University here, is to offer "the partnership of the United States" in the effort to dismantle Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

The concrete financial-aid component in Bush's proposals was modest: $125 million to promote private enterprise in the two countries; smaller amounts of cultural and environmental assistance, plus a promise to seek help from the other Western nations in relieving their economies' crushing burden of foreign debt.

But the underlying changes in U.S. policy have been extraordinary, and many Poles and Hungarians recognized it.

"The new attention from the West is important to us," said Gyorgy Kadar, a Hungarian democratic activist. "It helps guarantee that the process of reforms will continue."

Ever since the Iron Curtain descended over Eastern Europe after the end of World War II, the United States has treated the Soviet satellites as just that

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-- satellites. U.S. relations with Poland and Hungary reflected the state of relations with the Soviet Union. Even when the United States declared a policy of "differentiation" in the 1970s, it was largely an exercise of giving small rewards to those satellites, such as Romania, that made life most difficult for their masters in Moscow.

Now, however, Bush has raised the U.S. commitment to Hungary and Poland considerably, declaring himself a full partner in their efforts to reform. The accent is on treating Poland and Hungary as if they were independent, in part to see how far their autonomy can be extended. And so far, Bush noted, "there doesn't seem to be a bottom line."

As a result, the U.S. goal appears to be nothing short of a "rollback" of communism in Eastern Europe. But unlike the belligerent policy that bore that name in the 1950s, this rollback would be peaceful, infiltrating Communist territory not with spies or troops but with Western-oriented economic reforms.

The theory, Bush aides say, is that more and more Communist rulers will follow the lead of Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in deciding that economic reforms require political reforms as well -- and that political reforms will inevitably draw once-Western countries such as Poland and Hungary back into what Bush calls "a Europe whole and free."

"A market-oriented economy and a vigorous private sector can provide the foundation for a more democratic political system," one senior Administration official said. Or, as Lenin might have put it, the idea is to help the Communists of Eastern Europe improve their economies -- so they can produce the rope to hang themselves.

Ironically, in another departure from the policies of the past 40 years, the Bush approach is not aimed at ending Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe -- at least, not openly. Instead, Bush took pains all week to say that he was not campaigning to detach Poland and Hungary from the Soviet Bloc or stir up trouble for Moscow. " . . . We're not there . . . to poke a stick in the eye of Mr. Gorbachev," he said Thursday. "Just the opposite -- to encourage the very kind of reforms that he is championing, and more reforms."

So intent was Bush at getting this message across that several Polish and Hungarian officials said they were startled at how often he volunteered it. And some members of the two countries' democratic opposition movements were a little dismayed at the President's insistence on patient and gradual change.

More than one member of Poland's Solidarity movement grumbled about Bush's praise for Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Communist leader who outlawed their union and jailed many of their leaders after declaring martial law in 1981. Bush called him "a man of serious purpose trying very hard to move his country forward," and added, "He's come a long way since 1981."

And in Hungary, opposition leaders had said they had hoped to win Bush's endorsement of their call for a total withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Instead, they found the President assuring them that the issue was being dealt with in East-West negotiations on conventional forces.

Some U.S. officials have even argued that Poland and Hungary can -- and should -- attempt to democratize without leaving the Soviet Bloc.

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"Our involvement in Eastern Europe has no political-military dimension," one senior White House aide asserted.

But opposition activists in both Poland and Hungary made it clear that they would like to lead their countries out of the Warsaw Pact, if they thought they could do it without provoking Soviet intervention.

As in the rest of the Administration's campaign for a new system of U.S.-Soviet relations, dubbed "beyond containment," officials remain deliberately imprecise over what political and military structures should replace the familiar ones of the Cold War. "We're feeling our way step by step," a State Department official said. But he acknowledged that the Administration has deliberately avoided calling for an end to the Warsaw Pact, for example, because that would endanger the incremental progress that has already been made.

Americans, Poles and Hungarians all agree on two factors that are needed to make the policy work. One is the forbearance of Gorbachev.

"The support of President Bush is important to us," said Kadar, the Hungarian activist. "I hope you will not be offended if I say the success of Mr. Gorbachev is very much more important."

The other is whether the new U.S. commitment to two Communist countries in economic distress can be sustained in an era of tight federal budgets. The first test will come this weekend, at the Paris economic summit, where Bush expects to win agreement from the world's other wealthy democracies for more liberal terms on debt relief for Poland and a general commitment to increased investment and aid.

But officials acknowledge that the job will take a considerable amount of money and a long time -- especially to revive the moribund Polish economy.

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LENGTH: 3333 words

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WHITE HOUSE PRESS BRIEFING FOLLOWING
THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH HUNGARIAN LEADERS
BRIEFER: CHIEF OF STAFF JOHN SUNUNU
DUNA HOTEL FILING CENTER

KEYWORD: SUNUNU/BUDAPEST-07/12/89

BODY:
MARLIN FITZWATER: We have a briefing about to begin. It will be for sound and camera. The briefing is by the Chief of Staff to the President of the United States, Governor John Sununu. Governor Sununu will have a brief opening statement, and then take your questions.
Q Speech text?
GOV. SUNUNU: A speech text will be available -- an advance text wil be available after the briefing here, including a fact sheet. I would like to begin by stressing for the President how pleased he is and how comfortable he has felt with the warm response he has received from the people of the countries he has visited, Poland and Hungary. In particular, he was well moved by those folks that waited in the rain last night for him to say a few words to them, and he felt that that certainly represented an affection for the United States that is very important to him.
The meetings this morning with the various leaders of the government and the party here in Hungary went very well. The discussions generally focused on the efforts that are being made here in Hungary to deal with the details involved in the reforms on both the political side and the economic side. They are -- were very meticulous in their discussion of the concerns they have to make sure that the constitutional reforms, the legal reforms and the institutional reforms that they are making that impact both of these areas are done in a reflection of what they perceive is the will of the people of Hungary. They are very much focused on reforms that deal with issues of pluralism, the issues associated with privatization and the issues associated with getting their nation to a market-based economy.
The emphasis that they had on those details was underscored by their compliments to the President for the approach that he has taken in terms of helping Hungary to help itself, and they were very positive in their comments about the President's -- (40-second break in audio) -- the discussions not only talked about the details of what they are trying to accomlish here, but they did urge the President to please convey at the summit the presentations they have made here. The President assured them that one of the reasons he was here to hear what they had to say and to get a better first-hand feeling for what was going on within Hungary was to be able to convey more directly the approach that they have taken.
I'll start taking questions, and -- Helen?
Q Did the President tell them what he is going to give them today, and were they pleased, and what is he going to -- ?

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GOV. SUNUNU: The discussions were in broad terms. The President left the detailed presentation to his speech this afternoon. And you will get an advance text, and rather than my go over -- I'll go over some of the details, and then you can get the specifics out of the fact sheet.

The President will be talking this afternoon about support for Hungary's considerable efforts in dealing with its economic problems. He will assure them that he will urge for concerted Western action at the summit by the G-7 countries, recognizing that one of the goals of Hungary is to attract not only institutional support, but support for the private sector here.

In that respect, the President will propose a Hungarian- American enterprise fund with the first grant of $25 million to that fund to help the Hungarians expand their private sector, which is already one of the most extensive in East-Central Europe. He will announce his intention to grant Hungary Most Favored Nation status and will announce that he is going to do it without the requirement of annual waivers, as soon as they pass their new emigration law. One of the reasons for having to wait for them to pass their law is that that law is required in order to meet the conditions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

The President will announce funding for a regional environmental center in Budapest. This is the center that he hopes will provide the focus for East-West cooperation in dealing with the environmental matters that are of concern across Europe.

And the President has announced the establishment of a Peace Corps program in Hungary, centered on assisting Hungarian efforts to develop and expand English language teaching. In regard to that particular proposal, it is the first -- it will be the first Peace Corps effort in Eastern Europe and the first Peace Corps effort in any communist country, and reflects a need expressed by the Hungarians for assistance in dealing with English as a second language. Now that they have reduced the requirement for compulsory teaching of Russian as a language, they are finding that with the option available, the pressure on skilled teachers in other languages was such that they wanted and are very pleased with this particular assistance.

Mary?

Q Governor, what did you mean when you said that Poland was far ahead of Hungary in economic and political reform?

GOV. SUNUNU: In particular, that was in reference to the fact that Poland had their elections, that they had moved to open elections and had allowed for a democratically selected component of their government. In Hungary they are putting together the structure that will allow them to move to those elections. They indicated today that they felt that the earliest those elections could take place is at the very end of this year or into the spring. The important thing is that they are moving in that direction. The President applauded their desire to get to elections as quickly as possible.

Q Governor, when the President is meeting with the opposition members this afternoon, will be announcing any US support, financial or otherwise, to help opposition parties as they try to institute democracy?

GOV. SUNUNU: No, the President is trying -- has a policy of making sure that we do not in any way at all interfere with the internal structure or internal affairs of any of the nations he is visiting. The Hungarians are being meticulous about their own approach at supporting a multi-party structure. They have talked about those issues, they are sensitive to how they want to do it, and there is no way at all that the President in any way will even suggest doing anything externally that would interfere with that internal detail.

Q Assuming you --

GOV. SUNUNU: Let me take her.

Q Go ahead.

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Q Mr. Sununu, is the $25 million grant synonymous with the $100 million that he's giving for private enterprise in Poland, and if so, why only --
GOV. SUNUNU: Well, the population of Poland is about 37 million, I believe the population of Hungary is about 10 million, and there was a rough scaling of 4-to-1. It's not an absolute formula, it ought not to be taken as a precedent for future formulas, but that was an approximate way of --
Q So it's the same program.
GOV. SUNUNU: It's the same kind of a program.
Q Assuming you participated in meetings, did the Soviet Union come up in any context, and how about specifically Soviet troops? Was there any reference to that issue?
GOV. SUNUNU: There were two contexts that are very important to stress. Number one, the President emphasized again, as he has at every opportunity, that he does not feel that what is being done here in any way at all should be seen as an effort to compete with Mr. Gorbachev either in style or in substance of what is taking place; but more importantly, he tried to stress that he applauds the efforts being taken by the Soviet Union. He wanted to communicate to and through the leaders of Hungary that he wishes Mr. Gorbachev all the success with perestroika; that he is supportive, not only of what is taking place in movement toward reform in Poland and Hungary, but also supports the very significant and important efforts taken within the Soviet Union.
He tried to emphasize there that in saying that of course he would be pleased to see -- when he had answered that he would have been pleased to see Soviet troops withdrawn from Poland, that it was in exactly the same context that he would be thrilled to see an opportunity occur where US troops that are stationed throughout the world would also be able to be withdrawn, that he recognizes that he and Mr. Gorbachev have taken a parallel tack to try and stabilize the world in terms of peace and equilibrium in the world, and taken a tack of trying to reduce troop levels in various areas, and it was consistent with that that he was making his comments.
Q But I take it the discussion is general. There is no reference to '56, there's no reference of retaliation, there's no reference you might be antagonizing, going too far, none of that?
GOV. SUNUNU: No. Again, the President tried to focus on the fact that he is trying to be a part of an effort to stabilize, that he has tried to take a tack and an approach that is stabilizing, in effect, not destabilizing, that he has no intention to create problems, but to be of assistance. And --
Q Governor, was the President suggesting that he would like to bring American troops home from Europe?
GOV. SUNUNU: Well, the President made clear that in proposing the CFE package at -- at NATO, it included the reduction of US troops as well as a reduction of Soviet troops.
Q But your comment just a moment ago, it sounded as if you were interested in withdrawing American troops --
GOV. SUNUNU: The context was in the context of the CFE proposal.
Q And nothing beyond that?
GOV. SUNUNU: No more than an expression of the fact that everyone has a goal towards stabilizing and equilibrium in relationships around the world as a whole, but nothing specific.
Q When you say "on a parallel track with Mr. Gorbachev" --
GOV. SUNUNU: Don't -- don't --
Q -- Gorbachev is talking about -- (inaudible) --
GOV. SUNUNU: The proposal was in the context of CFE, and if I suggested to you in any way at all that it went beyond that, then I communicated something beyond what was actually said.

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Q Governor, the $25 million program, can that be direct -- (inaudible) -- direct American aid?
GOV. SUNUNU: Yes, this is a US grant to an enterprise, a Hungarian-American -- (three second audio break) -- that will provide support with a focus towards the private sector, assistance to entrepreneurs, either to start businesses or to acquire equity positions, for example, in state-owned businessesropean and the Japanese governments in support of Hungarian economic reform and participation in this particular enterprise fund.
Q Governor Sununu, the other day you likened the Poles to kids in a candy store who couldn't say no. Does that apply to the Hungarians, too?
GOV. SUNUNU: Let me return to the context in which that remark was used. The point was that in the 1970s, loans were provided, and even in the discussions we had with the members of the Polish government and the opposition, they acknowledged that the utilization of those funds did not always focus on the most critical needs that Poland had. That was the point I was trying to make; the metaphor may have been bad, and I apologize for the metaphor. The point I was trying to make is that merely repeating what was done in the '70s is not, either from the Polish perspective or the American perspective, the appropriate thing to do. I apologize for the metaphor, but I think the point was correct.
Q There is no, as far as I hear so far, there's no parallel reference to austerity here, though. There's no calls for sacrifice -- very, very slight reference. What's behind this? Is there some notion that the Hungarians are more disposed to making the kind of cuts in inflation, et cetera, that you'd like to see in both places? Why is the emphasis so different?
GOV. SUNUNU: On the economic side, the Hungarians have brought their economy to a much different condition than the Polish economy. There has been an effort to encourage entrepreneurial participation here. They have had a little bit more success in developing a better balanced relationship between demand and supply for consumer goods among others. They are very much sensitive to where they are relative to some of the other Eastern European countries.
In the discussion, it was pointed out by their leaders that they consider four nations very much in the forefront of reform, particularly economic reform and political -- as well as political reform -- themselves, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. And I think they are quite justifiably proud of how far they have come even before they -- before they move on from where they are.
Q To what extent has the President prepared the way in advance consultation with the G-7 nations for the kind of concerted action he has now promised both Poland and Hungary?
GOV. SUNUNU: In the sense of having communicated the kind of direction we would like to take, there has been communication on that. In the sense that there is no pre-packaged deal that we will be walking into to affirm, there is going to be additional discussion there, so...
Q (Off mike.)
GOV. SUNUNU: I'm sorry?
Q What sort of reaction has he had to the --
GOV. SUNUNU: I think there is an understanding by the G-7 countries that they have responsibilities in a number of areas, and this is certainly one of the ones that is relatively high on their priority list.
Q Governor, does it require legislation to give Hungary the Most Favored Nation status -- (inaudible) -- ?
GOV. SUNUNU: I don't think -- I think we -- we have the authority to do so. The only act -- legislative act -- is actually on the part of the Hungarians, who have to pass their emigration law in order to satisfy the requirements that already exist under our Jackson-Vanik amendment.
Q So the President -- (inaudible) --

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GOV. SUNUNU: That's right. That's right.
Q You're not going for -- (inaudible) -- you don't need legislation?
GOV. SUNUNU: That's right. But I said, the only thing that is required is legislation on the Hungarian part so that they meet the requirements of Jackson-Vanik.
Q What is it they need to --
GOV. SUNUNU: They have an emigration -- there is an emigration -- a free emigration requirement under the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and in order for them to satisfy that, they have to pass a new emigration law that allows emigration from Hungary.
Q What's their timetable for this?
GOV. SUNUNU: They did not give a specific timetable, and I can't comment on that. I don't have the answer.
Q (Off mike.)
GOV. SUNUNU: It is my understanding that they are moving in that direction. They do not have a timetable.
Q Did they raise --
GOV. SUNUNU: Let me get somebody who has not asked a question, and then --
Q -- concerns about their less-than-friendly Romanian neighbors, and the refugee problem?
GOV. SUNUNU: It was done in the context where it was just an expression of concern for human rights across the board. The United States joins in the concern for human rights in all the countries of the world and understands the problems associated when there are human rights violations of citizens that are of one country within another.
Q What efforts was Bush trying to -- (inaudible) -- did the President send any kind of message to the authorities in Prague?
GOV. SUNUNU: Not to my knowledge, but I was not in the President's compartment when we flew over Czechoslovakia.
Q Could you talk a little more about these enterprise funds --
GOV. SUNUNU: I'm sorry?
Q Could you talk a little bit more about the enterprise funds and how they'll work? How, for example, would you describe who should receive a direct grant and how will you avoid the kind of corruption which has plagued some of the government-to-government --
GOV. SUNUNU: It is proposed that the enterprise fund be managed by a board of directors of Hungarian -- prominent Hungarian and American citizens with experience both in business and in government and that they will, in essence, write the rules for the operation of the fund.
Q Governor, are we witnessing -- are we witnessing now the birth of the Bush doctrine that says in -- to the Communist countries, "If you have reforms -- political reforms, you get aid, if not you will get nothing"?
GOV. SUNUNU: I that context, the birth of the Bush doctrine really occurred in his inaugural address in which he made it clear that we support efforts towards freedom, efforts towards political and economic reform, and that actions that are taken in that direction will receive a reciprocal response from the United States. And that was part of a very important message he tried to communicate in his inaugural address on January 20th.
Q Governor, how would you characterize the Eastern Bloc trip so far? Has it gone about as --
GOV. SUNUNU: I'm sorry, I can't hear you.
Q How would you characterize the Eastern Bloc trip so far? Has it gone about as good as you all expected?

GOV. SUNUNU: As I tried to communicate in my opening statement, the President

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is thrilled with the way it has gone. It has not only accomplished what he wanted to accomplish in terms of an expression of concern and keen interest on the part of the United States with what is happening in Poland and Hungary, but in terms of seeing firsthand and hearing firsthand the debate that is taking place within the fine structures, if you will, of government and other institutions in these countries has been a tremendous dividend that he is thrilled to have been able to receive.

Sitting across the table from the officials in Poland, the Prime Minister of Poland made a superb presentation of the concerns and struggles and what is involved in the decisions they have to make. Today, this morning, the presentation by Mr. Nyers and the presentations by Mr. Nemeth, and the Speaker of the Parliament made it clear. The kinds of concerns and the debate they have and the emphasis they have to give that is unique to the problems here in Hungary and how they have to handle what are unique situations here gives him a much better feeling that will allow him, he feels, to assess as the transition goes on the progress that is being made and how they've been able to overcome each of these challenges.

Q Governor, over the weekend --

GOV. SUNUNU: Last one.

Q -- there was a news story about increased political repression in China. As many as 10,000 political prisoners may have been taken captive there. Can you give any information from the US --

GOV. SUNUNU: Yeah, the only information I can give at this point is there was an effort to try and determine whether or not the news stories were valid. No confirmation has yet been received. And until that has really been mersity. We are prepared, I believe, now to give out the advance text and the fact sheets. So we'll have those be handed out just momentarily.

One reminder that Secretary Baker did brief Hungarian officials this morning on the contents of the President's economic package, which is summarized in his speech, and Secretary Baker will be here this afternoon for a briefing on that and other matters, probably around 4:30 or 5:00.

So with that, thank you very much.

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