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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: EDWARD McNALLY

SUBJECT: DRAFT TWO FOR THE ALFALFA CLUB DINNER

I. SUMMARY

Attached is a two-page draft incorporating the jokes you selected for the Alfalfa Club Dinner.

II. DISCUSSION

Also attached are two pages of "extra" jokes -- ones that you approved by "checking," but which were cut from the proposed draft in order to hold the length to two pages.

Should you decide to cut any of the jokes in the main draft here, you may want to indicate which, if any, of these "extra" jokes should be substituted back in.

McNally/Simon/Sillers
Gamble/Skrovan/Booms
January 24, 1990
Draft Two (B:ALFALFA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: 1990 ALFALFA CLUB DINNER
WASHINGTON HILTON BALLROOM
SAT., JAN. 27, 1990, 11:00 P.M.

This night has lasted so long I was about to place a call
To ask the Papal Nuncio to spring me. \\\

Of course, the Alfalfa Party's never won one election.
After candidate Rosty's performance tonight, **we never will!** \\\

As the Environment President, I plan to sick the E.P.A. on Rosty
For destroying a perfectly good tree
Just to make the paper for that speech. \\\

But as the Environment President
I've got to commend Al Simpson for **recycling old jokes.** \\\

Al is one of several junior senators up here.
You know the difference between
A senior senator and a junior senator? \\
At Christmas, **a junior senator only receives**
A calendar from Charles Keating. \\\

Hope to play some golf with Rosty this summer.
My game could stand improvement.
Last year I spent more time in sand than Hosni Mubarak. \\\

Dave Boren has succeeded Al,
And he'll make the perfect Alfalfa President,
Based on his past credentials. \\
He was our advance meteorologist for Malta. \\\

Even the Russian interpreter became ill. \\
It was the first time I saw a Red turn green. \\\

President Gorbachev raised his glass of champagne and said:
"za-DOR-a-va TUSH-NEET," which, translated, meant,
"Pass the barf bag". \\\

Things got a bit hectic after Malta.
One night at dinner I said to Barbara:
"Let's send out for some Chinese." \\
Next thing I know, Brent Scowcroft's back in Beijing. \\\

My wife is feeling much better.
Barbara and I have a lot in common.
Reporters hound us both about the "vision thing." \\\

Barbara's completed the last of her radiation treatments.
But now when I tell her she "lights up my life,"
I really mean it. \\\
And she's not kidding when she says I'm "a sight for sore eyes."

We better wrap this up.
I'm due in the office early to catch up on some paper work.
I'm going to shred Pat Moynihan's Social Security card. \\\

If Alfalfa were ever smart enough to nominate
Colin Powell for President -- I'd be a little worried. \\
Colin may be the first guy to actually win the Presidency
By being photographed driving around in a tank. \\\

But let me finish with a serious note, and the evening's final toast: I'm grateful to Colin and the Joint Chiefs for the outstanding job they did in restoring democracy to Panama. \\\\

Thank you. Goodnight. And as Dan Rather'll say Wednesday after the State of the Union: It's good to have the last word.

# # #

[[SUBSTITUTE JOKES -- APPROVED BY YOU -- BUT CUT FOR LENGTH]]

I've got some good news and some bad news. \\
The good news is, I have before me
Some of the best Manuel Noriega jokes you've ever heard. \\
The bad news is
Dick Thornburg won't let me read you any of them. \\\

As for Alfalfa's new President, well, Dave [[BOREN]]
Take it from a man who's known Jim Baker a long time. \\
He will make a loyal Vice President.
Although I wonder why Jim has
A pin-up of Deborah Norville hanging in his locker. \\\

Lee Atwater is writing a book about the two-man ticket
That bested the Democratics in the debates
And went on to capture the White House. \\
Lee calls his book "Roger and Me". \\\

Why the Alfalfa Club continues to meet every year
will be the subject next week of **TV's "Unsolved Mysteries".**\\\

I didn't write this speech.
But what were you expecting?
Vaclav Havel? \\\
I admit I'm no writer.
But then again, my Polish friend, Dan Rostenkowski
Is no electrician. \\\

We're looking into allegations
That high-ranking government officials
Are capitalizing on their positions out in the private sector.
One State Department employee just bought
A local McDonald's franchise. \\
I can't reveal the man's name. \\
But this week's special of the day is the Big Eagleburger. \\\

Dan Rostenkowski thinks he's got a chance
to be President of the United States.
That'll happen the day Lee Iacocca drives a Honda Accord... \\
The day Pat Buchanan and Michael Kinsley
show up together at a slumber party... \\
The day the Ceausescus appear on
"Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous". \\\

I finally put to rest the rumor
That Dan Quayle would be replaced on the '92 ticket. \\
Now he's been out of the country for all of 48 hours
And Alfalfa goes and nominates Jim Baker as V.P.! \\\

Sheevan

When it comes to humor, it pays to be original. At least that's Eddie Murphy told me!

Skrogan

I didn't write this speech. But what were you expecting? Vaclav Havel? I admit, I'm no writer. But then again, my Polish friend, Dan Rostenkowski is no electrician!

I'm proud of our troops. In a little over a week, Noriega went from Maximum Leader to Maximum Security. And I wish the press would make up its mind. In one day, my image changed from Barney Fife to Hulk Hogan.

I understand that 12,000 people played Noriega's prison I.D. number in the Florida lottery. Didn't they realize his number was already up?

Women can be very effective in combat. Just ask the Beverly Hills police.

Women can be very effective in combat just ask Michael Douglas. That's why I'm appointing Kathleen Turner as new commander of the Green Berets.

I don't mind catching a small fish once in a while. Then I don't have to wrap it in the whole newspaper. Just Doonesbury.

I'm sorry Jesse Helms couldn't be here tonight. But he's at a private screening of the movie "Glory".

Fast N.Y. Local

_____ is one of several junior senators up here. You know the difference between a senior senator and a junior senator? At Christmas, a **junior senator** only receives a calendar from Charles Keating.

I've got some good news and some bad news. The good news is, I have before me some of the best Manuel Noriega jokes you've ever heard. The bad news is **Dick Thornburg won't let me read you any of them.**

Sorry I'm late. Had to take a phone call. General Scowcroft was between planes.

I'm proud of our troops. In a little over a week, Noriega went from Maximum Leader to Maximum Security. And I wish the press would make up its mind... I've gone from Barney Fife to Hulk Hogan.

Sorry I'm late. We were upstairs watching the new FBI show. "Totally Hidden Video".

One reporter asked about our safety going to the place where the cocaine lords rule and gunshots rock the city. Marlin said: "You mean the country of Colombia -- or the District of Columbia?"

We're looking into allegations
that high ranking govt officials
are capitalizing on their positions out in
the private sector.

One State Dept ~~official~~ employee just bought
a local McDonalds franchise.
I can't reveal the man name but
this weeks special is the Big Eagle burger.

ALFALFA CLUB

RAY SILLER
JANUARY 27, 1990

This night has lasted so long I was about to place a call to the Papal Nuncio to spring me.

We've better one an election. After Candidate Rosty's putdown tonite we never will so

Why the Alfalfa Club continues to meet every year will be the subject next week of TV's "Unsolved Mysteries".

I anticipated taking a few hits from you guys tonight . . . so I wore red underwear.

As the environment President, I want to commend you all for conserving water by drinking your booze straight.

sign EPA on Rostenkowski

As the environment President, I plan to fine (a previous speaker) for destroying a perfectly good tree just to make typing paper for that speech.

As the environment President, I want to commend Al Simpson for recycling old jokes.

As the environment President, I may have to cite the previous speakers for polluting the air.

(REFERRING TO WINDY OR LONG SPEAKER, PROBABLY ROSTENKOWSKI)
I want to thank _____ _____ for his brief remarks . . . Domino's delivers pizza in less time.

It was fascinating to watch the new members line up for their inductions. I think I spotted three of them last week on TV's "America's Most Wanted".

Al (Simpson), don't feel bad about retiring. Remember, the AARP is looking for a few good men.

You'll have to excuse Dan (Rostenkowski). It's not his fault. It was his environment. Dan was raised in dysfunctional Congress.

Dan was always full of mischief. Even as a little kid. he'd give an apple to the teacher . . . after lacing it with extra alar.

David (Boren), take it from a man who's known Jim Baker a long time. He will make a loyal Vice President. Although I wonder why Jim has the pin-up of Deborah Norville hanging in his locker.

Dave Boren will make the perfect Alfalfa President, based on his past credentials. He was our advance meteorologist in Malta.

Al and Dave are both senior senators (?) from their respective states. You know the difference between a senior senator and a junior senator? At Christmas, a junior senator only receives a calendar from Charles Keating.

Al (or Dave), you have a message to please phone Charles Keating . . . He want to know where he should sent the 900 thousand toasters.

This past year, members of the Senate voted themselves a raise, which they deserve. You can't expect them to live on the salary they receive from Charles Keating.

I hadn't seen Al and Dave since the Senate Christmas party . . . when Charles Keating dressed up as Santa . . . and all the senators climbed up on his lap and told him what they wanted.

Those five senators must be worried. Today one of them phone the Cuban Embassy and inquired about an asylum group rate.

Have you seen the TV commercial for that motel chain where Tip O'Niel crawls out of a suitcase? There's a new one where the entire Senate pops out of Charles Keating's wallet.

Dan Rostenkowski thinks he's got a chance to be President of the United States. That'll happen the day Lee Iacocca drives a Honda Accord . . . the day Pat Buchanan and Michael Linsley show up together at a slumber party . . . the day the Ceausescus appear on "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous".

You remember the Ceausescus? The Ozzie and Harriet of Romania.

I was in the office today catching up on some paper work. I shredded Pat Moynihan's Social Security card.

Normally on the weekend Barbara and I would be down at Camp David watching a movie. Someone asked me if I've seen "Sex, Lies, and Videotape". I said, "Sure, I watch C-Span's coverage of the House all the time."

My wife is feeling much better. Barbara and I have a lot in common. Reporters hound both of us about the vision thing.

I had a pretty quiet day. A Mitsubishi official dropped by the White House . . . with his real estate agent . . . I think I cut a pretty good deal for the place . . . Barbara and I will still be able to live there . . . but beginning next month the Executive Mess will be a sushi bar.

Mitsubishi's new slogan is, "Own a piece of the Rockefeller".

We've just concluded negotiations with East Germany. They're gonna ship the Wall to Washington, and we're gonna rebuild it around _____ _____'s mouth.

We're looking into allegations that high-ranking government officials are capitalizing on their positions out in the private sector. One State Department employee just purchased a local McDonald's franchise. I can't reveal the man's name . . . but this week's special of the day is the Big Eagleburger.

There's been a big flap about my sending Brent Scowcroft to China. I guess Brent didn't hear me that night. I sent him out to a Chinese restaurant . . . It had been ages since Bar and I had had mu shu pork.

Dick Cheney has a plan to cut _____ billion dollars out of the defense budget without compromising our security. We're gonna dismantle all our nuclear weapons. Then, next time a hostile nation threatens the United States, we'll fax them a photo of George Foreman . . . Can you see Foreman squatting on Lybia?

We feel the summit in Malta was a success in spite of the weather. The water was a little choppy. How often do you see fish get seasick?

The Russian interpreter became ill. It was the first time I saw a Red turn green.

Mr. Gorbachev and I toasted each other with champagne . . . which we used to wash down the Dramamine.

Mr. Gorbachev raised his glass of champagne and said, "(NEED A RUSSIAN PHRASE HERE)", which, translated meant, "Pass the barf bag".

The consensus is that Mr. Gorbachev will remain in power . . . as long as Deborah Norville doesn't move to Moscow.

My golf game could stand improvement. I've spent more time in sand than Hosni Mubarek.

When it comes to golf, I'm on a losing streak. I bought that videotape, "Golf My Way with Jack Nicklaus". And when I want to stick the cassette in my VCR, I missed the slot.

I took up golf to help my fishing. Last week in the sand trap, my three-iron dug up 184 worms . . . When the worms see me coming, they put on tiny crash helmets.

I know General Colin Powell is here somewhere. During dinner I could hear him humming, (SING) " Be . . . all you can be . . . in the ar-my".

There has been criticism when the army bombarded the Vatican Embassy with heavy metal rock music. It could have been worse. We originally planned to hit 'em with Lee Atwater's new album . . . and then play the Best of the McLaughlin Report.

Lee Atwater is writing a book about the two man ticket that bested the Democratic ticket in the debates and went on to courageously capture the White House. Lee is calling his book, "Roger and Me".

Don't believe those rumors about bad feeling between Marion Barry and Jesse Jackson. The other day the Reverend Jackson was in town, and the Mayor presented Jesse with the key to the city . . . of Budapest.

Marion Barry is worried about his future in this town. He spotted Deborah Norville house-hunting in Georgetown.

WH & Gamble

McNally/Simon/Gamble
Skrovan/Booms
January 20, 1990
Draft One (B:ALFALFA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ALFALFA CLUB DINNER
WASHINGTON HILTON BALLROOM
SATURDAY, JAN. 27, 1990
11:00 P.M.

Sorry I'm late.
Had to take a phone call.
General Scowcroft was between planes.

Sorry I'm late.
We were upstairs in my hotel room
Watching the new FBI show.
"Totally Hidden Video."

I've got some good news and some bad news.
The good news is, I have before me
Some of the best Manuel Noriega jokes you've ever heard.
The bad news is
Dick Thornburg won't let me read any of them.

I was thinking about what you'd want to hear about tonight
And thought about my long, heart-to-heart with Barbara
Late last night on the Truman balcony,
When I poured out my innermost thoughts about
The new secret trips we're proposing for Brent.
But then I thought:
"Nah...you wouldn't be interested in that."

I have caught some flak for keeping too many secrets.
But there's a lesson tonight for all of us.
If Rosty wants to be President
He probably should have kept a few of those jokes secret.

I'm not surprised Rosty accepted your nomination
As Alfalfa's presidential candidate.
If Pat Moynihan gets his social security cut
This may be the only group of senior citizens
Rosty can still address in safety.

I respect Rosty's candidacy
And I'm looking forward to our presidential debates.
Especially on Pat Moynihan's social security cuts.
The first debate's being sponsored by A.A.R.P.

I thought we had a good business-like relationship with Congress.
But it's starting to get personal.
Proposing a social security cut
In the same year I turn 65!

I finally put to rest the rumor
That Dan Quayle would be replaced on the '92 ticket.
Now he's been out of the country for all of 48 hours
And Alfalfa goes and nominates Jim Baker as V.P.!

I am a little worried about the opposition in '92.
Colin Powell may be the first guy to win the Presidency
By being photographed driving around in a tank.

It's tough to fight the drug war in Colombia.
In Tom Clancy's new best-seller
They suggest using the stealth bomber.
What I need is a stealth carrier.

One reporter asked about our safety
Going to the place where the cocaine lords rule
And gunshot rocks the city.
Marlin said: "You mean the country of Colombia --
Or the District of Columbia?"

We are catching flak about my frenetic pace
And far-flung travel schedule.
Helen Thomas is convinced it's a plot to bankrupt UPI.

Last year I sent one of my most senior, trusted aides on a secret trip to meet with a group of powerful, autocratic leaders whose single party rule dominates one of the world's great capital cities.
And I catch flak because they seem unbending despite my friendly gestures.
Well, I'm not backing off. There'll be more secret trips.
We're going to keep sending Dick Darman up to Capitol Hill.

How about that heavyweight fight last week?
Two battle-scarred veterans climb into the ring.
Ready for a long, drawn-out slugfest.
And it ends in a surprise knock-out after just two rounds.
It may be a while before
Cheney takes on Darman again.

I am going to reveal one secret tonight, though.
Most of you think you see
Brent Scowcroft sitting up here tonight.
That's actually Frank Perdue. \\\
The real Brent is over in Tripoli
trying to patch things up with Khadaffy.

A new poll's come out.
It's got some good news and some bad news.
The good news is my approval's at eighty percent.
The bad news is
John Sununu's looking for the other 20 percent.

Stuff

No polling

Some of you wonder why my poll ratings stay so high.
One poll gave the percent of White House staff that
Rate me the best president of all time.
92 percent. \\\
John Sununu is still looking for the other 8 percent.

The papers all say I've been blessed by timing and luck.
But I'm not so sure.
Just as I raise telephone diplomacy to a new art form
A.T. & T. goes on the blink.

I'm still amazed by those who think
We'll get a lot of money out of the peace dividend. \\\\
I thought everyone knew dividends in this country
are double taxed.

end
W.H.

I just spoke to Jesse Jackson
And he says
He had nothing to do with Mayor Barry's recent appearance
On Totally Hidden Video.

I guess I should point out that the lines
I'll be delivering tonight
Were purchased from a joke-seller in Lafayette Park.

I mentioned to Barbara that I was going to a function
Where nothing actually gets accomplished,
But everyone has a good time.
She said: "Why are you having a cabinet meeting
On a Saturday night?"

The fact that this is being held indoors
Is the only thing that keeps me from planting a tree.

I won't be giving my capital gains tax cut speech tonight.
This looks like the kind of audience,
That if I said, "It's not a tax break for the rich,"
Someone would stand up and shout
"It better be."

The only thing I have to say about Panama tonight
Is to apologize to Fruit-of-the-Loom
If we inadvertently hurt their sales of red underwear.

As much as anyone, I regret the damage done
When hostile forces do battle with each other.
But I pledge a concerted re-building effort to make sure
the rubble is cleared away --
And Dick Darman's and Bill Bennett's offices are fully restored.

I'm a little upset at Congress for dragging their feet
On some of my programs.
But it's not true that if they don't act soon,
I'm going to blast rock music at the Capitol.

I was excited when I heard that the person
Who runs the State Department would be here tonight.
Then I remembered that no women are allowed.
So Jim Baker's here filling in for Margaret Tutwiler.

I understand Dan Rostenkowski has a new car
With a unique warranty.
Five years or 50 attacks by senior citizens.

There's a rumor going around Illinois that both Elvis and
Dan Rostenkowski's senior citizen support are still alive.

The charge that I might be devaluing the Presidency
By giving speeches to small, obscure groups is just not true.
And I'll be reiterating that point next week in my speech
To the Cheektowaga Aardvark and Antique Doorknob
Appreciation Society.

Some say I have a desire to be constantly on the move,
But I don't think that's the case.
All I'm doing on Monday is addressing the Religious Broadcasters
in Washington,
Flying to Oregon for a fundraiser,
Travelling to South Carolina for a tree-planting,
Dropping by Minnesota for a ribbon-cutting,
Going to Pennsylvania for a factory dedication,
And visiting Idaho for an agricultural convention. \\\
Then in the afternoon ....

I thought I needed to get into better shape
So I called Arnold Schwarzenegger.
And asked him to come to the White House
And bring along his dumbbells.
He said: "Why can't we just use the people who devised your
_____ policy?"

I can't understand why so many people are concerned
About my visit next month to Colombia.
It's no more dangerous than my visit later the same day
To Universal, Paramount, and Warner Brothers.

Barbara is doing fine after the last of her radiation treatments.
But now when I tell her she lights up my life,
I really mean it. \\\
And when she says I'm a sight for sore eyes,
She's not kidding.

Barbara and I had an argument the other night,
And she said, "When you're ready to apologize,
I'll speak to you again."
I told her "I'm not going to kowtow."
And I didn't. \\
I sent Brent Scowcroft.

# # #

Silber

Here I stand before you...warts and all...as Chuck Berry said to the photographer. (NUDE PHOTOS OF CHUCK BERRY HAVE SURFACED IN MAGAZINE.)

I've tried to be open to the American people. This past year I've held ___ press conferences. The only guy who's shown himself more is Chuck Berry.

Tomorrow is Super Sunday. Around the White House Super Sunday is any Sunday when Daniel Moynihan is out of town.

I predict the Broncos will win. That'll happen the day Itzak Shamir splits a bagel and cream cheese with Bob Dole.

For a long time we knew that Senator Moynihan was planning to spring that on us. I had the FBI plant a surveillance camera in his bow tie.

I have no hard feelings toward Senator Moynihan. In fact, I'm that's why wanted to making him my advance man to Colombia.

Washington is a great city. It's the kind of place where the Mayor would give you the shirt off his back.

The House overrode my veto. But hey, that's life. I don't hold a grudge. It'll just be a coincidence Monday morning when those tanks circle the Capitol and play loud rock music.

The 101st Congress reminds you of an oat bran muffin. Neither does you much good.

The Washington Times has conclusive proof that all those claims about oat bran lowering your cholesterol were exaggerated. They obtained a secret photo of Wilford Brimley ordering bacon and hash browns at Denny's.

The Times says oat bran can actually be harmful. They claim Trigger died of clogged arteries.

Newt Gingrich wants Wilford Brimley to run for Congress. Newt heard Wilford say, "It's the right thing to do."

Lee Iacocca is getting married again. This time, Lee's fiance is insisting on a pre-nuptial warranty.

I hope this one works for our sake. Last marriage, Lee asked the government to bail him out.

Lee's last marriage began on a sour note. When he and his bride were leaving the church, his friends tossed a bunch of Honda Accords at them.

Apparently Lee's fiance isn't taking any chances. After he proposed she walked around him and kicked his shoes.

Lee said it's going to be a very small wedding. Just Americans who drive domestic cars.

Draft 1

GRIDIRON DINNER

I haven't seen people this well dressed since I was in California a few weeks ago, and the Annenbergs held a garage sale.

This looks like the kind of audience where no one will come up to me and complain about postage going up to 30 cents.

When I told Barbara we'd be spending tonight at the hotel where all the action is, she thought I meant the Vista.

Barbara was a sensation here last year when she showed up wearing a red wig. I gave her an idea how she could top herself this year, but she refused to dress up as Marla Maples.

I've been hearing the criticism of some democrats and some in the media about so- called timidity, lack of vision, a low profile and uninspiring speeches. Well I'm not concerned. I'm sure my friend Tom Foley will improve. (He's the Democratic speaker.)

Despite the charges that I have a thin skin, I enjoy being lampooned by the Washington Press Corps. Sometimes known as the "Dignity Battalion."

I've heard criticism that I'm obsessed with public opinion polls. The fact is, I don't think polls serve any useful purpose at all- and 67% of the American people agree with me.

Sure, Barbara and I register high in the popularity polls, but I won't rest until 100% of the American people are behind the Bushes.

There are some who say I'm secretive. Well I have an answer for that, but I can't tell you because it might leak outside this room.

Some in the media think I'm devious. Well I'll fool them. Some accuse me of being too cautious. I'll respond to that after I've considered all sides of the question.

Some say I'm too timid. I'd like to end that perception right here and now, But I'm afraid of the repercussions.

I'd like to report to you on the vision thing. For a few minutes last night I thought I had a vision, but it turned out to be indigestion.

It just so happens that I do have a vision. I see an America where reporters won't criticize me once I've had them over for dinner.

I want to thank AT&T for their offer, but I've decided not to appear with Rafsanjani in a "reach out and touch someone" commercial.

I've taken a lot of kidding about that hoax phone call, so I just want to make it clear that the guy who called was Rafsanjani. Unfortunately-- Irving Rafsanjani, a Toledo pipe-fitter.

We got back at Iran. Rich Little phoned Rafsanjani pretending to be me.

I'll take a phone call from any adversary I'm having problems with, if there's a chance to iron out our differences. But for our future reference my message to my staff is: "Dammit, if it sounds like Greenspan, make sure it is Greenspan."

I don't mind my foreign policy being criticized, as long as the critics are knowledgeable about world affairs. I asked (a Democrat) what he thought about reunification, and he said, "maybe the Trumps will get back together."

Events move so quickly these days, it's mind-boggling. It's so wonderful to see free speech restored to the Soviet Union, to Eastern Europe, to Andy Rooney.

On the way in I passed by a guy who's on a hunger strike until the government does more about aid to the impoverished. I stopped and said, "Look, I hate to see you suffer like this Congressman Gephardt, but we're not sending aid to the Soviets."

I told John Sununu I was never so inspired as I was a few weeks ago when a brave, formerly persecuted leader visited Capitol Hill, made a speech and had Congressmen eating out of his hand. John said, "Yes, Vaclav Havel was remarkable." I said, "I know, but I mean Richard Nixon."

I thought President Carter did a great job observing the election in Nicaragua. I understand he asked for bodyguards to be with him at all times, and was told he had nothing to fear from either the Contras or Sandinistas. He said, "I know, but what about killer rabbits?"

I asked Dick Cheney not to be too funny tonight so I wouldn't have a tough act to follow. Dick said, "Why ask me, Tom Foley will probably be funny too." I said, "I know, but I can't fire Tom Foley."

It's only due to fluke circumstances that Dick Cheney is where he is today. When the Tower nomination fell through, I told John Sununu to get me my favorite politician from Wyoming, and John didn't realize I meant Al Simpson.

Dick learned a little about defense in the Ford administration. He used to put on combat gear to play golf with Jerry.

Dick has to wrestle with a vital issue next week: Whether female caterpillars should be allowed in combat.

Dick Darman pointed out a possible flaw in my plan to drop a million caterpillars on Columbia. After they've eaten the cocoa leaves, is the American taxpayer willing to send them all to the Betty Ford Center?

If anyone thinks woman aren't very good at combat, just put Barbara Bush alone in a room with George Will.

I think you should know that reports of feud between John Sununu and Bill Reilly are overblown. Not only do they get along fine now, but just to show there are no hard feelings, John gave Bill a gift of a ticket for a ride on a Greyhound Bus.

start Skrovan

I wish Marion Barry could have been here tonight.
But I understand he's holed up in the Vatican Embassy.

It's nice to be here at the "Alfalfa" Club.
With the rest of you "Little Rascals."

Dan Rostenkowski's here for a very important reason:
The shrimp puffs. (Or -- Free food.)

I'm glad to see that the Chairman of Reader's Digest
Has been inducted.
George (Grune), next year,
See what you can do about condensing this affair.

I want to thank Dan [Rostenkowski] for his "brief" remarks.
That speech had more cheap material in it
Than a Rosanne Barr party dress.

That speech had more worn out material in it
Than Tip O'Neill's boxer shorts.

That speech contained more cheap shots
That a Romanian firing squad.

I promise my own remarks tonight will be shorter than Rosty's
But longer than the Foreman/Cooney fight.

I hope my speech tonight is funny.
Unfortunately, there's nothing in the First Amendment
That says "The President Gets the Hippest Writers."

I didn't write this speech.
But what were you expecting?
Vaclav Havel? \\\
I admit I'm no writer.
But then again, my Polish friend, Dan Rostenkowski
Is no electrician.

When it comes to humor,
It pays to be original.
At least that's what Eddie Murphy told me.
[[ART BUCHWALD JUST WON A MOVIE PLAGIARISM SUIT AGAINST MURPHY]]

We took a lot of criticism
For bombarding Noriega with rock music.
But, what did they expect from our young troops?
Steve and Edie?
It could have been worse.
It could have been Zamfir and his legendary "pan flute."

I'm proud of our troops.
In little over a week,
Noriega went from Maximum Leader
To Maximum Security. \\\
And I wish the press wold make up its mind.
In one day, my image changed from Barney Fife to Hulk Hogan.

I understand that 12,000 people
Played Noriega's prison I.D. number in the Florida lottery.
Didn't they realize his number was already up?

Women can be very effective in combat.
Just ask the Beverly Hills police.

Women can be very effective in combat.
Just ask Mike Tyson.

Women can be very effective in combat.
Just ask Don Regan.

Women can be very effective in combat.
Just ask Michael Douglas.
That's why I'm appointing Kathleen Turner
New commander of the Green Berets.

I'm also replacing the Joint Chiefs with the Golden Girls.
I think Bea Arthur will make an excellent chairman.
But don't worry, Colin.
I understand DC-101
Needs someone for morning drive-time.

Merv Griffin [[IN THE ALFALFA AUDIENCE]] showed me
The lining of his jacket.
Pictures of Donald Trump with a line through it.
Merv got the last laugh, though.
He's got the peanut concession on the Trump shuttle.

Wait a minute.
I just thought of something.
Has anybody seen Brent Scowcroft?

Arnold Schwarzenegger is starring in a new movie
About the capital gains debate.
He's playing the part of George Mitchell.
It's called "The Procrastinator." \\\
Nobody's moved this slow in Washington
Since Gen. McClellen led the Union troops across the Potomac.

I respect the Democrats' right to fight me on capital gains.
But, let's face it.
Their argument has more holes in it
Than Ceausescu's overcoat.

I have a new strategy for passing capital gains.
I'm calling it an "ethics bill."

I don't want Dick Cheney to cut the defense budget too much.
We'd like to have at least as much firepower
As the average Nicaraguan embassy.

This is fun.
I haven't gotten this many laughs since my last tee shot.

This is fun.
I haven't gotten this many laughs since my last fishing trip.

I don't mind catching a small fish once in a while.
Then I don't have to wrap it in the whole newspaper.
Just Doonesbury.

I have a note here for Henry Kissinger.
Your ego is blocking the driveway.

I have a note here.
Apparently, David Rockefeller's wallet is missing.
If anyone finds it,
Please turn it over to Nick Brady.

I'll never forget the day I was inducted into the Alfalfa Club.
It was 1976.
Just after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor.

I've received great news about the Nicaraguan elections.
Someone just spotted Daniel Ortega campaigning in a tank.

I'm sorry Jesse Helms couldn't be here tonight.
But he's at a private screening of the movie "Glory."

Gorbachev asked my advice about making Rubles convertible.
I gave him Lee Iacocca's number. \\\
If anyone knows about convertibles, it's Iacocca.
Who knows, maybe they'll even talk about government bailouts.

I knew I was in trouble when I walked in tonight.
I overheard Evans and Novak comparing my first year in office
To the Redskins' season.

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March 11, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE B6; OMBUDSMAN

LENGTH: 750 words

HEADLINE: Meltdown in Power Town

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Richard Harwood

BODY:

David Broder published a melancholy essay a couple of weeks ago on the meltdown of Washington as the center of the universe. It ran on our front page under a sorrowful and self-pitying headline: "Nation's Capital in Eclipse as Pride and Power Slip Away."

This may become a popular journalistic theme in the days ahead. One reason for that would be our tendency in the "media" to ride the same nag to exhaustion, especially when the first rider around the track is as influential in the news business as Mr. Broder. A second reason is that this particular subject has a special urgency for the several thousand news practitioners of this metropolis.

If Washington is going down the tubes, we hacks, ipso facto and ipse dixit, are going down with it. We are appendages to the city's ruling establishment, ex-officio members of the nomenklatura, as I delight in saying. Like the sunflower, we bloom in the glow of great men and institutions and wither when their lights go out. Is it to be goodbye, Gridiron Club?

David Brinkley, the television host, told Mr. Broder: "This city is nowhere near as important as it thinks it is." The menace to the "media" in that judgment can be illustrated by Mr. Brinkley's own recent experience. On an ordinary Sunday 50,000, give or take a few, of Washington's 1.7 million television sets, are tuned in to his ABC talk show, "This Week." But there was a horrid blip one Sunday in January; only 16,000 Washingtonians dialed up the show. Had the rest simply needed a respite from Sam Donaldson and the rest of the merry band? Or had they concluded that all Washington talk is now trivia? Mr. Broder found disturbing omens in the behavior of the network news executives in New York. They seem to be turning their back on us, as if we were Peoria or Lubbock. During the third week in February, they devoted only 13 percent of their news programs to stories out of Washington. Even more shocking has been the behavior of The Washington Post itself. There have been a number of days of late when not a single story involving the president, Congress or the Supreme Court was deemed worthy of front-page display. So, too, The New York Times. Mr. Brinkley put it forcefully: "It's gotten to the point, there's nothing I want to deal with in Washington. This year's Washington news sounds exactly like last year's Washington news."

There are other rustlings in the wind. People presumed to be of sound mind are voluntarily quitting Congress to run for governorships and other piddling offices in the provinces. Our city's mayor has left town for an indeterminate

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stay, ostensibly to take the cure. But in anticipation of the decay that seems to be setting in, he may in fact be reconnoitering a greener pasture.

Grass may not be growing in the streets when and if he returns, but we may soon witness a great culling of the press corps. In a no-news town, abandoned by Pride and Power, there is little rationale for thousands of reporters and editors to be roaming corridors of powerlessness. The day may be at hand when the great news organizations -- the AP, Reuters, The Times, Gannett, Knight-Ridder, CNN and the other networks -- shift their huge staffs out of old D.C. to Lithuania or Estonia or Managua or wherever it is that space is available and Pride and Power now reside. Prague, former senator Charles Mathias reported, surges these days with far more "electricity" than you will find in these parts. Such a setting would seem appropriate for the McLaughlin show and similar artifacts of our media-politico culture. They would expose these new power centers to Washington's conception of the Socratic method and to its version of rational, democratic discourse.

Before packing for these exotic destinations or for more interesting assignments in such places as Fargo or Carson City, one may perhaps venture to ask if Pride and Power have taken permanent residence elsewhere, or is their leave-taking a temporary affair, a breather so to speak? The "eclipse," too, may be a transient phenomenon.

From across the Atlantic, the Economist of London sends a reassuring message -- "Yes, you are the superpower" -- and proceeds, as usual, to throw around a lot of numbers to prove the point: Japan, with a GNP half that of the United States, is a poor second as the world's leading economic power. And as for the military "thing," the United States alone can now claim global reach.

Let us hope so. There's no demand for unemployed ombudsmen in Azerbaijan.

TYPE: OMBUDSMAN

SUBJECT: NEWSPAPERS

NAMED-PERSONS: DAVID S. BRODER; DAVID BRINKLEY

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20TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 7, 1990, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 861 words

HEADLINE: Words for The Wizard Of Oz

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

Kathleen Hall Jamieson, the whip-smart professor of communications at the University of Pennsylvania, does a shrewd, funny monologue on the rhetorical devices in George Bush's acceptance speech at the 1988 Republican National Convention. Mocking its male braggadocio, she quotes Bush's assertion of his readiness for the presidency: ''I am that man!'' And then, after the slightest pause, Jamieson adds: ''Peggy Noonan wrote.''

Noonan would appreciate the jest. When she showed up at the White House in 1984, an unconsciously male-chauvinist colleague introduced her as the person ''who took the woman speechwriter's job.'' Within months, Noonan had established herself as the most gifted writer on the Reagan staff, the person who supplied the eloquent and healing words the president spoke when the Challenger blew up, the strong and evocative language of his address at the ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Normandy invasion and many of the other utterances that made his presidency memorable.

Now, she has written a memoir, ''What I Saw at the Revolution.'' It is a delight from beginning to end and a source of insights on three different levels -- the autobiographical, the institutional and the literary.

Noonan (whom I know only from one evening's conversation at a dinner) presents herself as a quirky, off-balance child of an Irish blue-collar family, an edgy, insecure young woman sustained by a flinty sense of integrity that equipped her to deal with such contrasting egos as Dan Rather (for whom she wrote at CBS before her White House days) and Donald Regan.

She learned her writing technique at WEEI, an all-news radio station in Boston, and like all good radio writers, she counts on her listeners or readers to fill in the gaps from their own imaginations and supply their own conclusions. She set out to write a White House book that ''tells you what it's like to be there and lean against the pillars.'' Her depiction of life in the Reagan White House is like revisiting a familiar locale with a guide who has a knack for turning up surprises around every corner, so she makes you look with fresh eyes at everything.

Here she is walking you through the West Wing: ''Here is a friendly office ... a little larger than most, a little finer. A couch, a small Persian rug, a coffee table with hinges, three easy chairs, a fireplace with a big mirror above, two portraits, a U.S. Grant and a Jefferson by Matthew Jouett ... A simple office, not imperial, no boast. The candle-holders on the fireplace and

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the lamps on the little tables could have been picked up on sale at a department store, but the desk is beautiful, heavy old blond wood shined to such a gloss that it looks as if it is encased in glass ... On a little bookcase there is a small picture of a tennis star framed in silver and inscribed with affection to the office's inhabitant. To Vice President George Bush, it says.''

Everywhere she looks in the White House, Noonan finds paradox. The greater the power, the greater the pettiness and the greater the paranoia. Even the perfection of the flowers -- always fresh, never fading -- makes people ''slightly nervous.''

When she sees the young people beavering away in their West Wing offices, she thinks: ''We are the ones who will walk behind the caisson.'' When she sees Reagan, whom she adored from a distance long before she went to work for him and whose goals and values are emphatically still her own, she thinks what a closed-off, inscrutable and lonely man he seems.

She titles her essay on him, ''Who Was That Masked Man?'' And she tells of the reporter who had an interview with Reagan and mentioned that ''he had read that Reagan's father had never gone to one of his son's football games. And Reagan nodded that it was true. And the reporter said, Do you ever see your father in you? Reagan blinked. This least introspective of men, this living proof that the unexamined life is worth living, looked away, his eyes fluttering. Was a realization forming there?''

She wrestles with the Reagan enigma, without pretending to solve it. But her essay on speechwriting is a definitive description of what makes a speech work -- and how vulnerable those distinctive qualities are to the process of White House ''staffing,'' which in her telling, is really less like rewriting and editing than ritual murder.

Noonan's acceptance speech has turned out to be George Bush's first and last memorable address. As the Reagan administration ended, she guessed that ''we are entering an anti-rhetorical age,'' so she gave up speechwriting without regret. But if we miss the soaring language Noonan wrote and Reagan delivered, there is a consolation.

The rhetorical presidency Reagan perfected was also a television presidency; so much so that Noonan came to feel the medium was an all-consuming monster.

''Someday,'' she writes, ''some President is going to put TV in its place. Someday a smart man or woman will come in and say, 'I don't exist to feed that thing. Get it back in its cage. I have a country to govern.' It will be an interesting presidency. It may be Bush's.''

Smart lady, that Peggy Noonan.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: BOOKS; POLITICAL SPEECHES; U.S. PRESIDENT

NAMED-PERSONS: PEGGY NOONAN; RONALD REAGAN

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14TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 18, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE B7

LENGTH: 787 words

HEADLINE: Hollow Government And Lost Revenue

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

This capital is perpetually awash in numbers, and numbers numb the mind. At the risk of losing you this instant, let me mention two numbers that may stun you.

First: individuals and corporations owe the government at least $ 60 billion in taxes that remain unpaid in large part because the government does not have the resources to collect these debts.

Second: in the past 10 years, the percentage of tax returns being audited for accuracy and honesty has fallen by half. This year, for the first time, there's staff and money to check only one return in a hundred.

These facts were given me last week by Rep. Jake Pickle (D-Tex.), who is holding a hearing Tuesday in his Ways and Means subcommittee on the shaky health of the Internal Revenue Service. The facts are not disputed by the IRS.

The tax-collection agency is a prime example of the ''hollow government'' problem I have written about previously in this column. ''Hollow government'' is what results when the bureaus and departments are systematically starved of the funds, the equipment and the people needed to perform their assigned tasks.

The new IRS commissioner, Fred T. Goldberg Jr., told me that the ''feast and famine budgets of the '80s'' have left the agency with a staff ''that is unable to keep up with our work.'' Overall, he said, the IRS staff has grown 10 percent in the past decade. But it happened by fits and starts, with expansions followed by hiring freezes.

Meantime, the volume of collections grew 45 percent, and whole new functions -- including the monitoring of drug-money laundering -- were added. In the middle of last year, the agency was $ 360 million over its spending ceiling, so travel was slashed, supplies not replenished. ''You can't manage an agency that way,'' he said.

Pickle and Goldberg disagree on some points, but the veteran Democratic congressman from Austin and the staunchly Republican commissioner from Yale are as one in saying that the IRS is now so hobbled by the effects of scarce resources that billions in taxes are being missed and basic monitoring of tax returns is being skimped. Ultimately, taxpayer confidence in the fairness of the whole system is jeopardized. In the past six years, for example, the number of delinquent accounts has doubled, and so has the estimated amount of

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uncollected taxes, reaching the $ 61 billion figure Pickle uses and Goldberg says is a reasonable guess.

Pickle says the correct amount might be as high as $ 86 billion, or it might be much less, because his staff found ''gross inaccuracies'' in some of the big-dollar cases in which the IRS said more than $ 100 million was owed. Goldberg acknowledges that with tax-deposit procedures now ''ground down tighter than a drum,'' the daily transactions have become too numerous and complex ''to feed that information through our system'' of computers. The failure to modernize IRS data-processing equipment, much of it built in the '60s, is another area in which budget-cutting has taken a horrendous toll.

No one thinks the full amount owed could be collected in a single year, but the sums involved are so enormous they have become a focus of attention for both Congress and the administration. Whatever the precise figures, they dwarf the annual deficit reductions achieved, after bitter battling, under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. And we're not talking here about raising taxes -- just collecting what the government is owed.

Even President Bush grasps the point -- now. After ridiculing Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis for pointing to the ''tax collection gap'' and after smugly telling campaign audiences that ''I don't agree with his vision of America where the government has a hand in every pocket and a tax agent in every kitchen,'' Bush in his first budget as president is asking to boost funds for the IRS by more than 11 percent and to add 3,667 staff people to improve enforcement.

He's counting on that $ 635 million and a better use of existing resources to bring in an additional $ 3 billion in revenues next year -- a 5 to 1 return which, if realized, just underlines how penny-wise and pound-foolish it has been to keep the IRS on a starvation diet.

With rare exceptions, the government has only six years in which to collect on an individual's or company's tax assessment. Since fiscal 1987 alone, Pickle says, more than $ 5.4 billion has been written off because the government couldn't get around to collecting.

This is surely a case where even the most obtuse can see how costly ''hollow government'' is.

I erred in saying in the last column that 85 million registered voters did not vote in 1988. That figure refers to non-voters in the potential electorate of citizens older than 18.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: PERSONAL INCOME TAX; BUDGET

ORGANIZATION: INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

NAMED-PERSONS: JAKE PICKLE; FRED T. GOLDBERG JR.

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11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Washington Post

February 25, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE B7

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: Put Sanity Back Into Our Elections

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

Last month, I warned you that I was about to become a crank on the subject of corruptly financed and crudely manipulative campaigns. An exceptional number of you wrote in to say, ''Pour it on.'' Apparently you share my fed-up feeling about incumbents tapping huge amounts of interest-group money to intimidate possible challengers and assure reelection. Apparently you are tired of being assaulted with negative ads on matters of dubious relevance and want to hear your real concerns intelligently discussed by those seeking your votes.

And apparently you also think that the press and television need to clean up their acts and help voters understand what candidates believe and propose to do.

I'm back today to tell you that we are not alone -- that many people in politics and in journalism share that anger and that determination to act. Inside a month, we should know how serious Congress is about passing campaign-finance legislation. The backstage negotiations have been going on a long time. The people pushing this cause have been House Republicans under Minority Leader Bob Michel (R-Ill.) and Senate Democrats under Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine). We'll know soon if the necessary bipartisan and White House support are available.

Even if Congress acts, the great turnoff will continue unless we find a way to make candidates talk about the voters' concerns, instead of spending their money on TV ads designed to blacken each other's reputations. The assault-weapon ads of 1988 and 1989 are already spinning off clones in 1990. In the Texas Senate race, for instance, state Sen. Hugh Parmer (D) opened with a radio ad that spent 57 seconds ripping Sen. Phil Gramm's (R) abortion views, using highly emotional language and giving listeners exactly three words -- ''I'm pro-choice'' -- about his own stand.

Some candidates, however, are acting much more responsibly. In Iowa, Sen. Tom Harkin (D) and his challenger, Rep. Tom Tauke (R), already have agreed to debates on seven major issues. In Michigan, where gubernatorial candidates receive public financing, state Sen. John Engler, the likely Republican nominee, has sponsored a bill, passed by a bipartisan majority in the state senate, to make participation in eight televised debates a condition for receiving the taxpayers' money.

Of course, it does little good for the candidates to talk substance if the press and television focus on personal trivia. Rep. Bill Schuette (R), a Michigan senatorial hopeful, set a good example when he publicly criticized

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the priorities of the media in his state. The press and TV ''jumped on the story'' when Roll Call, a Capitol Hill semi-weekly, named Schuette one of the ''Hunks of the Hill.'' But those same news organizations did only short stories or none at all about his recommendations on the drug problem, probably the voters' biggest concern, after he made an official trip to the Andean countries. Schuette called it ''insulting to the voters,'' and he was right.

Happily, the media performance is better than that case might suggest. Here are some examples from the last few weeks:

Ron Casey of the Birmingham News wrote an editorial reminding readers that four years ago the focus in ''the most expensive, most negative'' campaign Alabama had seen was the irrelevant fact that Gov. Guy Hunt (R) ''doesn't have a college degree and once was an Amway salesman.''

''If we allow the consultants and pollsters to set the agenda'' for the 1990 race, he wrote, voters will hear that same ''kind of sound and fury ... There are too many real problems in Alabama'' to permit that, he said. And then he outlined five concerns he and his readers take seriously, challenging the candidates to treat them with equal seriousness.

M. Charles Bakst, political columnist for the Providence Journal, set a noteworthy example with a piece alerting readers to the track record, including misleading negative ads, of the consulting firm of Robert Squier and Carter Eskew hired by Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) for his campaign. A shot across the bow like that can make consultants think twice about using the same shoddy tactics again.

My paper, The Washington Post, has made a yearlong commitment to monitor campaign advertising. Paul Taylor did a hard-hitting first piece earlier this month, including a ''story-board'' graphic detailing the distortions in a 1989 New Jersey gubernatorial ad. Taylor's story was a deliberately blunt message to the consultants to expect similar scrutiny by The Post of their handiwork this year.

On the television side, Timothy J. Russert, head of the NBC News Washington bureau, recently told the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center at Harvard that in the next presidential campaign, political commercials should be dissected weekly on the evening news. He also called on the networks to present true debates, without press panels, and to disdain campaign-designed ''photo-ops'' and ''sound-bites'' in favor of longer excerpts of substantive campaign speeches and examinations of candidates' records and views.

These are a few of many cases I've heard about. Citizens, foundations and education groups are also getting involved. This column is available as a clearinghouse, so tell me about other examples -- whether abuses or good models. We have a chance to get some sanity back into our elections.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: U.S. CONGRESS; CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND FUNDS; ELECTION LAWS

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27TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 25, 1990, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 900 words

HEADLINE: Bringing Down The House;
At the Press Foundation Dinner, Congressional Comedians

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Martha Sherrill, Dana Thomas, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Locker room humor. The women's locker room.

Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-R.I.) stood before the nearly 1,000 press and politicos gathered last night at the Washington Press Club Foundation's 46th annual Congressional Dinner at the Grand Hyatt.

"Senator Cranston leaned over to me at dinner," she said. "And he says, 'Claudine, do you know the difference between a Caesar salad and sex?' "

"No."

"Then what are you doing for lunch tomorrow?"

It was a dinner for the 101st Congress -- thrown by the press. So much to laugh or sob or fight or talk about! Weird book deals! Ethics committees! Honoraria! The Keating Five! That embarrassing 39 percent approval rating!

But what the invited speakers -- all women in Congress, discussing the night's theme: "Female political empowerment in the decade of the 1990s" -- wanted to talk about was even more controversial.

Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) was asked to answer a question put to her by master of ceremonies David Broder of The Washington Post.

"As the representative of San Francisco," Broder asked, "how have you been able to convince your constituents that the Senate S&L scandal isn't just another sexual proclivity?"

"Mr. Broder evidently thinks we women can't explain the difference between the S&L scandal," said Boxer, who called the section sexist, "and S&M. Of course we can."

The crowd loved this.

"To those of us in the house, S&L stands for senators who need lawyers.' "

Ohhhhhhh.

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This was nothing. This was tame. Sorry, the best lines are too blue to repeat here.

Rep. Pat Schroeder wasn't herself at first. She was Nora Dunn. Or rather, Dunn -- a Not Ready for Prime Time Player from "Saturday Night Live" -- was her. Dunn appeared, dressed exactly like Schroeder in sparkly dress and mild power helmet and impersonated her -- breathy and swoony and high-pitched -- and then was joined by the congresswoman from Colorado.

"Nora, let's get to the topic at hand," Schroeder said. "As an observer from outside the Beltway, what do you think women must do to win the presidency?"

"I think the idea of a woman in power," Dunn replied matter-of-factly, "centers around this whole uterus, motherhood, oedipal issue."

"I think you're right," Schroeder said. "I think it's just these psychological bugaboos that have prevented anyone with a uterus from becoming president of the United States."

"Yet," said Dunn, "these same bugaboos have allowed a person without a uterus to become vice president simply because he's got a pretty face. I don't get it."

Other already empowered females were present in the snug ballroom of the Grand Hyatt, at the evening billed "Wonder Woman for President. " Shirley Chisholm. Geraldine Ferraro. Bella Abzug. ("What brings me here? I'm saluting Congress," Abzug said. "I know these guys are in trouble. But we're here to help 'em out! More women in Congress -- that'll make a difference!")

And there was Raquel Welch.

She was dressed in a gold and black satin backless jumpsuit. She sat at the People magazine table. Next to Lee Atwater.

"This is the greatest thing that's happened to me," said the Republican National Committee chairman, "since I've been in Washington." He was standing next to his pregnant wife Sally, as all expression left her face.

"It's true," he said, turning to Sally. "In Washington, I said."

"Oh, yes. In Washington," she muttered.

Atwater turned to meet his dinner partner with that huge devilish grin of his. Welch was talking to other guests about her pro-choice stand on abortion. "But I think I will not talk about my causes at dinner tonight," she purred. "Not with Mr. AAAAtwater at the table. It might cause him indigestion."

Welch was told that Atwater was a big fan of hers -- and that he could rattle off so many of her film titles. She turned to an audience of middle-aged men lurking around her. "You see," she said, "how a man can be a sweet talker first off?"

"I've watched them all," Atwater said to the actress, meaning her movies.

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"No," she said with all seriousness. "You should have had much better taste."

The atmosphere overall was jovial, jubliant even. You'd never know things were crazy on the Hill. "The mood is 52 pick-up," said Sen. John Warner (R-Va.). "You know, that game where all the cards are thrown all over the floor?"

"Any entrenched power system in the age of change," said House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, "is going to get a low approval rating."

Media stars and famous bylines mingled at private receptions before the dinner with Cabinet members, White House staff, members of Congress. David Brinkley. White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray. Housing Secretary Jack Kemp. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.). A certain crowd gathered around Lynda Carter, the real Wonder Woman, and USA Today had invited controversial comedian Jackie Mason.

Anna Perez, the first lady's press secretary, turned up -- unbelievably -- since the State Dinner (usually a prime Perez event) was going on a few blocks away. "I sneaked out to have a night with my husband," Perez said. "I wanted to be here. I get a night off!"

Business was conducted, don't worry. The Everett McKinley Dirksen Award for distinguished congressional reporting was given out to The Washington Post's Dan Morgan, and the proceeds of the $ 125-a-plate dinner will help support the foundation's many activities, journalism research and scholarships.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, LEFT, AND GERALDINE FERRARO LAST NIGHT. DANYA SMITH

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: U.S. CONGRESS; WOMEN

NAMED-PERSONS: CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER; BARBARA BOXER; PAT SCHROEDER

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30TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 21, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 3188 words

HEADLINE: Introspective Electorate Views Future Darkly;
Americans Worried for Children, Skeptical of Government Solutions

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Dan Balz, David S. Broder, Paul Taylor

BODY:

Americans start the 1990s suspended between a tranquil present and a worrisome future.

Despite broad satisfaction with President Bush and a glow over Eastern Europe and Panama, voters are looking inward, with gnawing concerns that their country is no longer the world's premier economic power. They worry that their children will be worse off than they are and that their political leaders cannot stop the slide.

"We're not number one anymore," said Barbara Greer, 47, a real estate agent from San Bernardino, Calif. "It scares me to see us losing that. We're so caught up in our yuppie existence, we're letting it slip through our fingers."

These decline-of-empire worries, expressed in interviews with more than 100 residents of five states and corroborated by a nationwide Washington Post-ABC News survey of 1,518 people, have created a numbness toward public affairs as voters' recognition of pent-up societal problems is offset by their skepticism about the prospect of governmental solutions.

There is little expectation, for example, that the upheavals in the Communist Bloc will create a "peace dividend" of sufficient size, or that such funds will be spent by leaders of sufficient vision and will, to make a dent in the drug problem or the decline in educational performance. The demand for more spending in these areas is moderated by a concern that, with a $ 3 trillion national debt, the country has already been "spending like a kid who's gone berserk with a credit card," in the words of retired Army colonel James Brockmayer of Titusville, Fla.

At the start of a campaign year in which the electorate will choose all of the House, one-third of the Senate and almost three-fourths of the governors and legislators who will redraw the nation's political maps following the 1990 census, the mood of the voters is edgy, introspective, self-critical.

They are ambivalent about the current state of the nation -- 48 percent say the nation is going in the right direction, 49 percent say it is on the wrong track -- and pessimistic about the future. Voters are inclined to blame themselves for their clipped sense of possibility. The mood has the following elements:A plurality says that Japan is already the world's leading economic power, and an overwhelming majority thinks that the Japanese will hold that

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position or be equal to the United States in the year 2000. But interviews produced notably less Japan-bashing than similar grass-roots reporting has in years past. While voters expressed concern about foreign ownership of U.S. companies and real estate -- "I'm too old to learn Japanese," mused Alma Costa of Titusville -- these remarks were often offered in the context of a grudging admiration for the Japanese, even a sense of cultural inferiority.

"It sounds like it's awfully easy for them to sell cars here but not our's there," said Craig Dorn, a General Motors employee from Dayton, Ohio. "It's not that they don't play fair. It's like we have let the quality [decline] for 10 years. Now, we're going back to their way of thinking. For too long, people at GM have been standing around, doing nothing."

Bush's approval rating -- 79 percent -- is the highest in the history of polling for a president on the first anniversary of his inauguration, but the numbers appear in part to be a measure of how little voters expect of him. Bush's name rarely came up unprompted in door-to-door interviews and focus group discussions. Voters do not put the president at the center of their thinking about politics and government as they did with Ronald Reagan. In response to queries, they describe Bush as decent and intelligent, and they give him strong marks for the Panama invasion and for steadiness in handling world affairs. He has made little mark on domestic affairs.

By 53 to 15 percent, voters think that Congress has more power than the president and think that the legislative branch is in the pockets of interest groups and campaign contributors. "We ought to fire them all and get new ones," said Edith Rogers, 72, a widow from Dayton, one of several voters who proposed a limit on congressional terms. But voter apathy may keep any strong anti-incumbent mood from jelling. "It's like, keep the crooks we've got," said Larry Weaver of Dayton, a retired plant manager. "Why put new crooks in?"

In the survey and interviews, blacks were much more inclined than whites to support an activist government agenda. The middle-class blacks interviewed were more inclined than middle-class whites to see their children enjoying a better life than they have. In the Post-ABC poll, voters singled out race relations as an area in which they expect clear progress in the next decade.

Drugs are by far the voters' leading worry. And they weigh on the national conscience not only because of the toll in addiction and crime, but as a proxy for a larger basket of concerns about moral rot, family breakup, decline of the work ethic. "Drugs are stealing the soul of America," said Deneice Jordan-Walker, an attorney from the Chicago suburb of Park Forest. Voters in three states, unprompted, told virtually identical stories of drug use on assembly lines, which they offered as both a literal and metaphorical explanation for the nation's declining competitiveness in the world economy.

While many voters pay lip service to traditional American optimism, closer scrutiny suggests they don't mean it. In the Post-ABC poll, a majority of voters said they expect their lives to improve in the next 10 years. But by far more lopsided majorities, they also said that it will be harder for young people to buy a house, get a job, go to college and save money -- and that on matters from drugs to crime to pollution to homelessness, things will get worse in the next decade, not better. "I wish we didn't have children and grandchildren, that's what I think of the future," said Dillard Burkette, a retired tool and die maker from Titusville, who has four children and six grandchildren. "There won't be

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jobs for them."

The upheavals in Eastern Europe have gladdened voters, but left them wary. "My thoughts are that we have to be very cautious now," said Bruno Kozlowski of the Chicago suburb of South Holland, who opposes big cuts in military spending. "Something still might burp," said Chester Dyer of Titusville. Several voters said the decline of communism will mean new markets for U.S. products; others worried that a free Eastern Europe will be the Japan of the next century -- a daunting economic competitor.The Next Agenda

With the world scene more hopeful than it has been for years, familiar close-to-home concerns -- drugs, education, health care, the environment -- loom larger than ever. They are raised as often by Bush supporters -- such as San Bernardino's Barbara Greer -- as by Democrats. A grandmother of seven, Greer said she was "tickled" with the Panama invasion and thinks "it's wonderful they're getting more democratic governments in Eastern Europe."

But that's not her priority. Asked what she would like to hear Bush talk about in his State of the Union address, she said: "Even though my children are grown, I think education is the most important thing. California has gone from being No. 1 in the nation to somewhere down near the bottom. Our children are our future. Let's take care of our own -- our children, our elderly, our health care, our homeless. We've got people who don't get the care they need. . . . There ought to be health insurance for everyone."

That last statement, echoing a plank in the platform of 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis, turned up in unexpected places. In a round-table discussion involving Arlington, Tex., voters, 73-year-old Al Bunje, who bootstrapped his way from apprentice toolmaker to international consultant to the plastics and aircraft industries, interrupted a stream of criticism of big government to say: "We've got to either have nationalized medicine . . . or come up with a better way of doing these things. When you see these lines of people sitting in the hospital [emergency rooms] over the weekend because they had the flu and they didn't have doctors . . . why can't we take care of them? Kids coming down with the measles . . . because they never got vaccinations -- we're not addressing those problems."

Whether it is the homeless -- a phenomenon that troubles Sun Belters in Texas and California as much as it does people in cities of the North -- or narcotics abusers, few Americans feel immune. In two of the three voter round-table discussions conducted by Post reporters, an unprompted participant brought up a recent suicide -- an adult drug user in one case, a troubled 17-year-old in another. In Matteson, Ill., a Chamber of Commerce employee named Nancy Dominik stunned the strangers at the table by saying: "My 20-year-old daughter is a recovering cocaine addict. She almost died two years ago. She speaks to . . . every group she can speak to. She has statistics, and the statistics are unbelievable. There is a massive number of young people doing cocaine, marijuana -- alcoholics. You name it, and they are doing it, and they're not even starting on a freshman level. They're starting in about fifth and sixth grade."

While drugs far outdistance any other problem cited in the Post-ABC poll, the impression from the interviews was that concern over education was just as strong -- and that environmental worries were not far behind. All were depicted as blights on the future.

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Comparatively speaking, the traditional economic concerns about inflation and unemployment took second place -- and these, too, were focused on the future, rather than the moment. The poll showed only two out of five Americans think the economy is getting worse -- a number that has held steady for the last 18 months. But for every expression of concern about paying the bills or holding a job today, there were four or five people who worried whether their children or grandchildren will be able to afford a house or obtain the education needed to get "a decent job" in the next century.

These concerns become voting issues only if people demand or expect the government to do something about them. But that demand was rarely heard. Part of the inhibition stems from the belief that there's no money to spend. By 56 to 39 percent, those questioned in the poll reject the notion that defense spending can be cut -- and half of those who think it can be cut said only "a little bit."

If there were a "peace dividend," tax cuts would rank far down the list of what people would like to see it used for -- well behind improving education, aiding the homeless, reducing the drug problem, improving health care and strengthening Social Security.

But the flip side of that equation is that few voters are eager to send more taxes to Washington. Time and again, those interviewed cited the machinations over Social Security, the savings and loan bailout and the deficit as factors that make them skeptical about what happens when Washington starts playing its revenue roulette. "They play a numbers game," businessman Jim Miller said at the Texas round-table talk, "moving it from here to there and the truth is -- "

"You can't find out," Al Bunje interjected, finishing the sentence for him.

Washington and Government

The skepticism about Washington's way with money is part of a pattern of hostility, contempt, disgust and cynicism toward the nation's capital. Washington, voters said, is a remote place, dominated by politicians who are indebted to campaign contributors and interest groups and who pay little attention to the everyday concerns of the people.

Agnes Graefe, a San Bernardino Republican, said she watches Congress regularly on C-SPAN and her reaction encapsulated views expressed repeatedly in different parts of the country. "The more I watch, the more alarmed I feel," she said. "The way they behave, I question their ability to carry on."

A certain amount of cynicism toward Washington is normal and expected, but the tone of outrage is sharper than in the past.

One factor is the growing role of money in politics and the "carnival atmosphere" of political campaigns in which negative ads and candidate theatrics block out a discussion of issues that genuinely concern voters. Once elected, voters said, politicians immediately think about raising money for reelection and put self-preservation ahead of the public good.

"We have created a system that says dollars buy votes, let's get you elected and the only way you're going to stay elected is to get more dollars and the way you get more dollars is to listen to lobbyists," said Larry McNeil, an Arlington, Tex., insurance agent.

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"I think one of the problems today is greed," said Jerry Eilers of Titusville, who runs a home marketing business. "Even congressmen, whether they're Republicans or Democrats, they're not looking out for the welfare of the country. They're looking out for their own influence."

Ethics scandals have further lowered public esteem of politicians. "You know, John Glenn's always been our hero, and here John Glenn is one of the whatever five, the Keating Five," said Martha Walker of Arlington, referring to the Lincoln Savings and Loan scandal. "I lose track, there are so many fives and fours."

Bush's record approval ratings indicate that he is exempted from this general contempt, but the interviews also suggested that among the reasons Bush is so popular are a disorganized and undefined opposition party in the Democrats and the perception that a president is simply one man swimming against the tide, relatively powerless against Congress.

"I don't think we can fault him on the fact that he hasn't solved a lot of problems or that we don't all agree with everything," said Wayne Doede, a landscaper from New Lenox, Ill. "I think it's past the point where the president is the guy who can do a whole lot of good. I think the leadership has to come from him, but what can he do to change those other 500 people that are sitting there?"

Much of Bush's popularity stems from the surface satisfaction people express about current conditions here and abroad. But it is clear that personal qualities count at least as much. When people are asked to give quick impressions of the president, the positives include "decent," "family man," "easygoing," "a good Christian," "honesty," "experienced," "persistent."

But with more than half the voters thinking that Congress has the most power in Washington, compared with just 15 percent who think the president is most powerful, Bush is not seen as a commanding leader or a president who has strongly put his imprint on the times.

Ed Kraus, a Dayton firefighter who switched allegiance to the Republicans during the Reagan administration, put it this way: "I think Bush was probably the best thing that could have happened, given all the candidates that were out there, and I agree with him a lot, although I feel he's not forceful enough. The man, I think, could be a good president, but he's not the kind of man who can go out with a speech like John Kennedy did and sway the crowd and get them going."

Compared with the Democrats, however, Bush stands out in bold relief. The Democratic Party barely fits into the political equation of many Americans. Despite Democratic control of Congress for most of the past 50 years, the public has no clear fix on the party's image or its leadership.

When asked for quick impressions of the Democrats, voters spilled forth adjectives that were almost universally negative: "wishy-washy," "scatterbrained," "a weak dog," "chaos," "weak and fragmented," "weak and melancholy." But beyond the negatives was puzzlement over what the party stands for. "Who are they?" asked Katherine Kemp of Chicago Heights.

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"They lack any kind of strong leader," said Sam Cherry, a San Bernardino Democrat who voted for Dukakis in 1988.

"They used to be for the little guy," said Charles Hudecek, a retired space agency employee in Titusville.

Richard Suhr, a Dayton city inspector, retains his Democratic registration, but votes mostly Republican. "As far as I'm concerned, the Democrats changed," he explained. "I think they got more liberal and loose and lost values and lost morals and lost everything."

At another time, all of the resentment and frustration toward the federal government might translate into a "throw-the-rascals-out" mood, but that doesn't appear likely now. Some voters expressed that sentiment, and perhaps more significantly a number of people volunteered that there should be limits on the terms of elected officials. But whatever is stirring among the voters hasn't reached the kind of critical mass that represents a threat to the existing political structure.

Part of the explanation lies in the belief that government won't work no matter who's in office; part of it grows out of the blurred distinctions between the political parties. But a more fundamental reason is the widespread feeling that the roots of the nation's problems are deeper than any public program can reach.

Jerry Eilers of Titusville said: "I think the moral decay that's taking place in the country is probably having a bigger effect on our economy [than anything else]. You look at what's happening with mar- riages. . . . When I was growing up, you never heard of drugs. And today . . . people have lost the values that made this country."

There are some unusual explanations of the "moral decay," according to the interviews. Some blamed it on the abolition of the draft, or the supposed influx of Vietnam War draft resisters into the teaching profession or even the personal influence of pediatrician Benjamin Spock.

But the single greatest culprit was "the breakdown of the family," which two out of three people surveyed said "is a major cause of the drug problem in this country." For many, it's linked to the now-pervasive phenomenon of mothers joining fathers in the work force, forcing both parents to skimp on their responsibilities at home.

Linda Walker, a 21-year veteran of a GM assembly line in Texas, a mother of four and grandmother of nine, said: "I can tell you from experience, it's so hard to be a good mother, a good wife and a good employee all at the same time. Somewhere, you let somebody down -- your children, your husband or whoever you're working for. You just don't do number one in everything."

Real estate agent Greer said she thinks the parents of latchkey or day-care youngsters "feel such guilt" about turning over the child-rearing to others, "and they're so tired when they get home, they don't want to spend the little time they've got with the kids fighting . . . so there's no discipline."

Few people appear to think that government can solve such problems. In this arena, as in many others, people yearn for a restoration of values but are

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unsure where to seek it -- other than among themselves.

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz, polling director Richard Morin, polling analyst Sharon Warden and researcher Bruce Brown contributed to this report.

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SECTION: OUTLOOK; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 1995 words

HEADLINE: Five Ways To Put Some Sanity Back In Elections

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

IT'S THE START of another political year, and the question that demands an answer is: Will the 1990 campaign serve the voters or sicken them?

The last mid-term election in 1986 and the presidential campaign of 1988 left a bad taste in people's mouths, not because of who won what but because so many of the winning candidates in both parties force-fed a garbage diet of negative TV ads down the country's throat. The 1989 off-year elections gave strong evidence that the candidates and political consultants have concluded this is the way to win and are not about to kick the habit.

We need to do something about this win-at-all-costs mentality that is undermining our political process. By "we," I mean, first of all, the political reporters like me, who cover the campaigns. Too often we let the candidates and their image-makers use cheap negative attacks to drive out legitimate policy arguments. We need to re-import some of the reformist zeal that I saw energizing politicians, journalists and the public on a recent trip to Eastern Europe.

As it is, we have an increasing gap -- really, a chasm now -- between the campaign process and the governmental process. The late Sen. Thruston B. Morton (R-Ky.), when he was Republican national chairman, would say, time and again, "The purpose of politics is to establish a government." But today, winning seems an end in itself, by whatever means it takes. After the election, the consultants who masterminded the campaigns collect their checks and get ready for the next round of battles. Only then do the individuals who've been elected try to figure out how to govern.

American voters are not dumb. They have caught on to the fact that they are being conned, that campaigns are increasingly costly distractions, designed to stir their emotions while camouflaging the hard choices the government must make.

Americans heard a lot in 1988, for example, about George Bush's views on prison furloughs, an issue he hasn't mentioned since becoming president. But they heard nothing about how he proposed to bail out the savings and loan industry, the most expensive decision of his first year in office. Then in 1989, the president and Congress negotiated a "solution" that rescued the industry. And the voters, who were cut out of any chance to hear alternatives discussed, had the honor of picking up a bill that will probably total more than $ 200 billion.

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And we wonder why voters are cynical!

It doesn't have to be this way. There's nothing about the temper of the times or the technology of our communications system that dictates that campaigns be negative or nauseating. Consultants and candidates complain that the TV stations make it difficult if not impossible to buy prime-time ads of more than 30 seconds. But 30-second ads can be used to communicate a clear, positive policy statement, if the candidate chooses. That's what Ronald Reagan did in 1980, looking straight into the camera and telling people he intended to cut taxes, boost defense spending and "get government off your back." He was elected on a platform so clear it constituted a policy mandate to Congress in 1981.

Some would legislate a requirement that ads like Reagan's of 1980 be the norm for campaigns. They would require any statement about an opponent be made by the candidate himself -- figuring that it would inhibit some of the mud-throwing now done by actors or invisible voice-over narrators hyping inflammatory visual images.

Such measures might reduce the sludge content in TV campaigns, but they carry a high cost in government restriction on the freedom of political speech. A better alternative is for the press to step up to its responsibility in policing the political arena.

On the basis of 30 years on this political beat, I have a five-point agenda I'd suggest to my colleagues in the press. It certainly can be improved, but I hope it serves as a starting-point, not just for discussion, but for vigorous involvement and action by the press and the electronic media this year. Here's my plan:

The preemption strategy. The first step -- and the most important -- is to challenge the operating assumption of the candidates and consultants that the campaign agenda is theirs to determine. They absolutely believe that the issues they highlight and those they skirt are for them to determine on the basis of what their research -- their polls and focus groups -- tell them will "move the vote."

Well, that assumption is a lot of malarkey. The campaign really belongs to the voters. It is the only part of the political-governmental cycle when they have the right to have their questions answered, their concerns addressed.

Now, it won't improve things a bit if the press simply tries to substitute its agenda for that of the politicians and consultants. That's no more democratic or undistorted than what we have now. It's the voters who deserve to be in the driver's seat.

So how do we find out what they have on their minds? We ask them. Certainly polls can help discern the issues of greatest importance. But the old-fashioned way may be the best. There is no substitute for shoe-leather reporting, walking precincts, talking to people in their living rooms. Editors need to get their reporters out into neighborhoods early in the political year to ask people what concerns them the most. In all the years my colleagues and I have done that at The Post, we have never come back uninformed -- or uninspired -- by the experience. "Issues" may be abstractions, but when you ask people what concerns them, they tell you -- in clear and often passionate voices.

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The problem is that while we've reported the findings from these voter interviews and polls, we've let them slide into oblivion once the candidates put up their first round of ads. That has to change.

If we do our homework -- spend enough time with the voters, early in the campaign -- we can and should define that voters' agenda clearly on our pages. The candidates are, of course, free to talk and advertise about any subject in the world. But we in the press are free -- and obligated -- to keep calling them back to the voters' agenda in every news conference and in every public forum. Being persistent -- to the point of being obnoxious -- is fully justified when we know we are asking the questions the voters want answered.

It's every bit as important that when the candidates talk about those concerns, we report them fully, and do everything we can to keep the dialogue going. But if they try to change subjects, we ought to report that fact prominently too.

Inoculation. This second strategy is one our colleagues in television are particularly well positioned to apply. Early in the election cycle, it would be helpful to remind people of the way their emotions were manipulated by negative ads in the last campaign. I've looked at some of those commercials from other years. Ripped from the context of the times, they are really ugly and disturbing. Seeing them again, before the new versions go on the air, might help inoculate viewers against the effects of this political poison.

On the print side, we need to hold the consultants accountable for their past campaigns. Many of them are good sources of ours; some are good friends. But the plain fact is that they have become the new bosses of American politics, and many of them have histories that include repeated use of negative ads to undercut the opposing candidates and to distract attention from the voters' real concerns. When a consultant takes on a campaign in a state or a district, he should be asked, publicly, by the press how he justifies his past actions and whether he intends to use the same tactics in this campaign.

If these consultants feel free to rummage around in candidates' pasts, looking for ammunition for their negative ads, we in the press should feel no inhibitions about asking the consultants to justify and defend their own track records.

Interrogation. The press should establish, at the outset of the campaigns, one simple ground rule: The candidates will be available to answer questions about every ad, every piece of direct mail, that goes out of their headquarters, at the time it goes on the air or into the mail. No ducking and hiding behind campaign managers or other intermediaries. A candidate who is not prepared to take responsibility for what his campaign does with the biggest part of its budget is a candidate who has a weak claim to public trust. Let's put the issue to them early, and then hold them to their commitment when the slugging gets rough.

Investigation.We should treat every ad as if it were a speech by the candidate himself. In fact, it will be seen and heard by far more people than any speech he gives to a live audience.

We routinely flyspeck those speeches, weighing the assertions against the evidence, setting the political charges against the context of the relevant

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information. We need to do this, just as routinely, with political ads: Demand the supporting evidence from the candidate airing the ad, get rebuttal information from his opponent and then investigate the situation enough ourselves that we can tell the reader what is factual and what is destructive fiction.

And we ought not to be squeamish about saying in plain language when we catch a candidate lying, exaggerating or distorting the facts. The consultants have become increasingly sophisticated about insinuating -- visually or verbally -- charges that they avoid making in literal terms.

We have to counter that sophistication by becoming increasingly blunt when we are exposing such falsities. And we need to report the falsity more than once. Some politicians and consultants believe cynically that as long as they can drive their advertising message home by endless repetition, they needn't worry about an occasional print piece or television story questioning their statements.

Denunciation. This final strategy is not for reporters: Reporters can report, but not condemn. But columnists, commentators and editorial writers have the license -- and the obligation -- to apply verbal heat to those who sabotage the election process by their paid-media demagoguery. And the evidence suggests that such denunciations can have an effect.

Those in the business tell me that there's always a calculation before any candidate "goes negative" on his opponent as to the risk of a backlash. And there are obviously cases where negative ads have boomeranged against those who used them. We should do everything we can to increase the boomerang supply in 1990.

Well, those are my five strategies. Cumulatively, they consitute an effort to break the vicious cycle of current campaign and coverage patterns. In recent years, as the candidates and consultants have relied more and more on negative ads to win their races, the press and television have responded by focusing on those ads, suggesting that they are manipulative but not effectively exposing and denouncing them. The result has been that even as we have decried these tactics, we have magnified their effectiveness by publicizing the very messages we deplore. And in the process, we have probably deepened public cynicism about politics without doing anything that might remedy the practices that make people cynical.

We have been inhibited by thinking that if we did any more, we would be thought partisan. But we need to become partisan -- not on behalf of a candidate or party -- but on behalf of the process.

That won't be easy or comfortable, because many of the politicians and more of the consultants are pals of people in the media. But we in the press weren't given a privileged position in this society so we could cultivate personal friendships with people in power. We have our own obligations to the people who read, listen to and watch the news. It's time we started fulfilling them.

David Broder covers national politics for The Washington Post.

TYPE: FEATURE

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SECTION: SUNDAY SHOW; PAGE G10

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HEADLINE: Blues for the Atwater Era;
When Politics and Culture Drew Closer Together

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Juan Williams, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

And the envelope, please.

The nominees for the person who provided the major influence on popular culture during the 1980s are:

Michael Deaver, for scripting and directing Ronald Reagan's eight-year reign as TV's number one star;

Jesse Jackson, for telling his press aide, "Drama, that's what it's all about," and shamelessly making himself a one-man media blitz;

Lee Atwater, for transforming rapist and slasher Willie Horton into the star of the 1988 presidential campaign.

And the winner is: Lee Atwater.

Atwater personifies the '80s because the hallmark of the decade is that culture and politics snowballed into a phenomenon that defined the decade -- Media.

Media as in CNN with nonstop news; C-Span with nonstop coverage of Congress; ESPN with nonstop sports and MTV with nonstop cutting from one picture to the next and nonstop, slow-motion, sexual images. The '80s provided the moment when political conventions became scripted, prime-time events held in large TV studios. At the 1984 Republican convention, viewers could see Nancy Reagan turn to a mammoth TV screen and wave at a closed-circuit broadcast of Ronald Reagan in his hotel room waving at her on TV.

The '80s were when the president of the United States refused to take questions about world events because "this is a photo-op" and "I'm just thinking of looking pretty for the cameras." The '80s had congressmen taking bribes on tape; the Vicki Morgan sex tapes; the Rob Lowe sex tapes; and the South Bronx becoming a TV set for politicians who wanted to show that they cared about the slums -- until New York City, worried about its image, decided to drape bombed-out buildings with plastic decals that featured flowerpots and happy faces looking out of clean windows. It was in the '80s that a Pennsylvania politician pulled out a gun and committed suicide at a televised news conference.

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Atwater stands out in this electronic haze because of his unabashed glee at using politics as soap opera under the rubric of news programming. His triumph was in joining politics and culture to open just the right closet of American anxieties over race, sex, violence and liberals to turn a boring candidate who was down by 17 percentage points into a runaway winner.

Willie Horton wasn't Atwater's only achievement. He also broke ground by boldly taking crass cynicism about American voters to a new level by literally putting Bush in a flag factory for the TV cameras to record him swathed in red, white and blue. And he did not laugh out loud when they followed the scent like trained dogs.

Atwater gets added points for correctly predicting that shrill, negative advertising was the winning ticket for any 1980s political campaign. And even then, Atwater was not finished. Having exploited the white fear of big, black men, he is ending the decade with a rock-and-roll and blues album, on which he sings and plays bass guitar with Isaac Hayes -- a big, bald, black man.

Deaver did a good job, but fumbled badly by propping Reagan in front of Nazi graves at Bitburg; and he absolutely lost his media-master ranking by appearing on the cover of Time as a slippery, money-mad lobbyist selling his Reagan connections. Jackson remains a fascinating character, but his self-promotion has gone so far that he is now dropping the cloak of civil rights and even political pretense and just starting his own money-making TV talk show to go with his newspaper column and radio show.

The best testimony to the reign of culture, politics and money under the big tent of Media can be found in the failure of anyone to advance a convincing argument that this marriage in service of ego and greed was wrong. David Broder, the Washington Post political reporter, tried to argue against journalists (such as Pat Buchanan or David Gergen) switching to and from jobs as politically appointed government officials and media commentators in search of a paycheck and a spotlight, but his critique amounted to a hiccup in a storm.

The richest moment of the media decade may have come at a 1984 Democratic primary debate for the eight candidates moderated by TV personalities Phil Donahue and Ted Koppel. Having Donahue quiz candidates about their preparedness to run the nation was crazy enough, but the event achieved brilliance when Patrick Caddell, the quintessential self-promoting political strategist who views candidates as warm bodies for his masterful media strategies, said he was "uncomfortable at having the candidates hold up their hands like they were children trying to get the attention of Phil Donahue. It's too symbolic of what's happening to our politics."

It wasn't only symbolism but, unfortunately, reality.

The hit song "Don't Worry, Be Happy" was both a No. 1 hit and the informal Bush campaign song.

The pope became a media personality to the point of having a weekly newspaper column. The New York Post ran a front-page picture of Gadhafi in lipstick and earrings under the headline "Madman Moammar Now a Druggie Drag Queen" -- and its former owner, press mogul Rupert Murdoch, became a media star equal to the stars he publicized. USA Today was the newspaper of the '80s, not for excellence in journalism, but for its happy relationship with public relations men. The

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paper featured color pictures and brief, happy profiles of politicians, movie stars and athletes. And USA Today's biggest star was not one of its writers but -- in the spirit of Rupert Murdoch -- publisher Al Neuharth, who preened in an autobiography that he was an "S.O.B."

In the political-cultural media complex, million-dollar advances and more were run of the mill for former White House aides David Stockman, Larry Speakes and Donald Regan, and even Mrs. Reagan. Even real writers sometimes were paid more for their best-selling names than for their probable royalties. That was the reasoning behind multi-million-dollar advances for Tom Clancy, Judith Krantz, Stephen King and James Michener. For example, James Clavell's 1986 book "Whirlwind" got a $ 5 million advance and some in the publishing world seemed surprised when the book didn't earn out the advance.

The same politics and culture equals media equation was working for businessmen. The '80s saw guys once caricatured for their baggy suits become potential political candidates and celebrities. That's what happened to Lee Iacocca after his book, TV appearances and then endless stories about the pressure on the poor man to save America by running for president.

That path was followed by Roger Enrico, the president of PepsiCo, who wrote a self-serving book called "The Other Guy Blinked: How Pepsi won the Cola Wars." Even Mickey Mouse was overshadowed by his corporate boss as Disney executive Michael Eisner appeared in his company's advertisements. Steve Ross, of Time Warner, became as well known as the movie stars he puts on the big screen. The same was true of Mike Ovitz and David Geffen, who found their media spotlight as the most famous, richest agents -- stars to the stars -- often through the pages of celebrity, ego-driven magazines that started in the '80s: Spy, Fame, Taxi, Lears, Details and Manhattan Inc.

The decade has also featured a political split in movies. There are were political movies and films that were aggressively escapist. Sometimes, the political movies replaced actual debate over politics with debate over the fictional accounts of political situations, as with "Mississippi Burning;" "Do The Right Thing;" "Platoon;" "The Last Temptation of Christ," "Cry, Freedom," and "Ghandi." These movies were quickly described as depressing. On the other side were laugh-and-thrills fare like "Raiders of the Lost Ark;" "Top Gun," "E.T." and "Rambo." These movies broke the box-office cash register. But it was the marriage of politics and culture that dominated Washington. The marriage was a happy one as Tip O'Neill published a book and starred in TV commercials, Atwater appeared in Esquire in his underwear, Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown appeared on the cover of the socialite magazine Dossier, Diane Sawyer posed as a sex symbol in Esquire and Oliver North, convicted of criminal activity, stood on the courthouse steps with a grimace on his face for the cameras and played the role of all-suffering patriot. Even during the trial North commanded $ 25,000 a speech.

But the politics-culture marriage became ever so unpleasant when Jesse Helms complained about Robert Mapplethorpe's pictures of homosexual activity that were scheduled to be shown at a government sponsored institution. The same complaints were heard when Tipper Gore stood up to the lucrative tune of sexually explicit rock lyrics. Suddenly, the artistic community was offended at the idea of censorship though not quite as quick to say they would stop taking government money.

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Supreme Court Justice Byron White was in fact attacked for mishandling the marriage of politics and culture in Salt Lake City. An elderly man began hitting Justice White and later explained he was upset that the justice was allowing "four-letter words to come into my living room through the TV set."

Deaver had an early instinct for the supremacy of media in the decade. Early in Reagan's first term, Deaver had him complaining that coverage of unemployment was hurting his presidency and asked if "it is news that some fellow out in South Succotash someplace has just been laid off -- that he should be interviewed nationwide." Reagan seemed to appreciate the truth of the 1980s -- being interviewed made the man important and not the fact of his unemployment.

Reagan was a good student for Professor Deaver. Apparently on his own he suggested that TV news departments limit themselves to "good news" broadcasts and graciously offered that if "the ratings go down they can go back to bad news." In the same spirit, Reagan's favorite aide, Ed Meese, took the time to explain that Ebenezer Scrooge was not a bad guy -- he "just had bad press."

Out of the heart of this media decade madness came unique characters like Morton Downey and John McLaughlin as well as talk show hosts like Oprah, Donahue and Geraldo. Racial politics, cigarette smoking on planes and religious fundamentalism were debated not in local political meetings but on television. For instance, Donahue once went into a black church to get shouting and screaming from the lawyers and supporters of Tawana Brawley, a woman who charged rape and racial abuse. (A grand jury later said she made the whole thing up.)

Even the traditionally conservative news talk shows were taken with the mix of culture and politics. Boy George and Jerry Falwell faced off on "Face the Nation" to discuss androgyny. And the highest-rated "Nightline" of the decade featured the political-religious scandal of TV preacher Jimmy Bakker and his wife, Tammy Faye.

In this media-heavy climate all politics came down to the expertise of the media advisers, spin-doctors and speech writers who managed the political symbols that played on TV, such as the heroes for Reagan's State of the Union address or the crack cocaine that Bush held up during his address to the nation on drug abuse.

The great political debates were not really between the candidates but between candidate and TV personalities -- Reagan vs. Donaldson and Bush vs. Rather.

In this media decade the true anthem could have been sung by Lee Atwater -- the political-cultural hero of the '80s -- but was instead performed by "Dire Straits." Their song "Money for Nothing" was about about rock stars, but politicians fit the bill too. "That ain't working, that's why you do it -- you play the guitar on the MTV ... Get your money for nothing and your chicks for free."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, RONALD REAGAN WAVES VIA VIDEO SCREEN TO NANCY AT THE 1984 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION. AP; ILLUSTRATION, LEE ATWATER ON DAVID LETTERMAN'S SHOW, LEFT, AND OLIVER NORTH DURING HIS TRIAL. LEE EDWARD WOLF; PHOTO, CRAIG HERNDON

TYPE: REVIEW, FEATURE

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SUBJECT: POLITICS; TELEVISION BROADCASTING

NAMED-PERSONS: JESSE L. JACKSON; MICHAEL DEAVER; LEE ATWATER

ENHANCEMENT: DECADE

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48TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 13, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A25

LENGTH: 802 words

HEADLINE: Catching Up With The '80s

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

These words are being written six miles up over the Atlantic. By the time they are read, I will be in Berlin, the first stop of a two-week reporting swing through Eastern Europe. That is where a reporter goes these days to get a glimpse of the fastest-moving story in the world.

Looking eastward for change, or turning toward Europe to see the future, is a reversal of American history, of course. For 200 years, Europeans have come to America in pursuit of their dreams, and we in turn have sought our future on the westward-moving frontier. Even when we have incorporated all the land up to the Pacific shoreline within our borders, our internal migration patterns have tipped us toward California and the West.

But this reversal of directions is only one of the unexpected developments that confound us at the end of the decade. My last assignment before leaving was to report and write, with several colleagues, a series of stories on America in the '80. The project was instructive on many levels, not least in helping to understand why the United States has become what economists call ''a lagging indicator,'' not ''a leading indicator,'' of worldwide trends.

Our scramble to keep up with foreign competition in product design and manufacturing techniques is the story of the decade, along with our slide from the biggest creditor to the biggest debtor nation. Looking back, we can also see how hard it has been for us to keep pace in po1818850409 The one clear American policy revolution in this decade was engineered by Ronald Reagan, when he came to power intent on reversing the almost half-century growth of the welfare state. He succeeded to a significant degree in realizing that ambition. But his thunder had been stolen, his rhetoric and agenda anticipated, by Margaret Thatcher, the formidable woman who began remaking British government 18 months before Reagan came to office. And now, of course, Mikhail Gorbachev is setting off even more sweeping changes in the Communist world.

Thatcher and Gorbachev were too young to have been in uniform during World War II. They are part of a new generation of leadership. It was my notion back in 1979 that this decade would see that generation replace the World War II vets at the helm of American government. I was wrong.

The leadership change I expected simply has not happened on this side of the Atlantic. Instead, George Bush has become the latest in an unbroken string of eight World War II veterans, going back to Dwight D. Eisenhower, who have led the nation from the White House.

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The slow pace of change in U.S. leadership in this decade is underlined by the fact that 10 years ago this month, Bush was already well into his first campaign for the presidency. Yet even now, he has not finished his first year in the job.

Nor is his an isolated case. Ronald Reagan had to wait 12 years from the time of his first try for the presidential nomination, in 1968, until he became president. By then he was the oldest man ever elected to the office. Behind Reagan and Bush a long file of potential national leaders has grown old waiting.

It is true that many other posts of power have changed hands. In Michigan, where I was reporting my part of the '80s series, the governorship, the legislative leadership, the presidencies of the Big Three auto companies, the United Auto Workers, the University of Michigan and many of the other institutions that shape the state have moved into the hands of younger people. Only Coleman Young, the perennial mayor of Detroit, remains where he was when the '80s began.

In Michigan, the new people are the ones who have forged the partnerships that link labor, management, government and academia in cooperative efforts to adapt to the economic and demographic changes that have marked this decade. Their successes have been limited by the failure of national leaders to focus on the issues critical to our future -- the quality of our schools, the skills of our work force, the productivity of our businesses. Most of our national leaders are a generation removed from those concerns.

In interviewing Michigan voters, I was struck by the fact that those who expressed most satisfaction with the '80s were men and women who, like Reagan and Bush, are at or past normal retirement age. The younger voters who have not discharged their personal obligations to their children are far more worried about the state of the nation at the decade's end.

And so I fly to Berlin, where in the '60s, an American president not yet 45 rallied the spirits of a city encircled by communism -- and where today the East German Communist Party has installed as its new leader a reform-minded man who is all of 41.

What a change the '80s have brought. And what an effort it will take for the United States to catch up.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES

ENHANCEMENT: EIGHTIES

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59TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 The Washington Post

November 26, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE C7

LENGTH: 876 words

HEADLINE: Congress's Budgetary Scams

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

Itis typical of the just-concluded Congress that what should have been its first piece of business became virtually its last -- and then was botched.

Back last winter, Congress balked at raising salaries for itself, for judges and other senior government officials and ending the odious practice of its own members collecting speaking fees and free trips from lobbyists trying to influence them. What was not done in February finally was accomplished by the House in November, but even then the Senate balked and chose to remain on the interest groups' payrolls a while longer.

This, despite the fact that the first session of the 101st Congress ended with seven senators under investigation for the way their official actions may have been influenced by financial ties to contributors and benefactors. From beginning to end, this Congress was shadowed by the scandals that toppled Jim Wright from the speakership, forced the resignation of Tony Coelho from the No. 3 job in the House Democratic leadership and kept ethics committees in both chambers busier than many of the bill-writing panels.

New Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) deserves credit for restoring a sense of civility to the House after the bitter partisanship that developed during Wright's reign and contributed to his downfall.

But when he and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) met with reporters to review the session's accomplishments -- the minimum-wage bill, the drug bill, aid to Poland and Hungary -- they were conspicuously silent on what most would consider their main challenge: setting the budget of the U.S. government. Only when asked did Foley claim that, fiscally speaking, Congress turned in a ''very credible performance.''

That won't wash. The biggest flop -- a bipartisan failure attributable as much to President Bush as to the leadership of Congress -- was exactly the refusal to address hard choices needed to reduce the chronic budget deficit.

While others preened about bookkeeping chicanery that pretends to meet the infinitely elastic Gramm-Rudman-Hollings ''targets,'' Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.) kept reminding his colleagues of uncomfortable truths. ''The interest that we pay to service a $ 2 trillion national debt is now the fastest-growing part of the federal budget,'' he said. ''We will soon, in just one or two years, be paying more for interest on that debt than we pay for all of defense.''

Starting with the bipartisan agreement to hide much of the $ 164 billion cost of the savings-and-loan bailout ''off-budget'' and to count none of it against

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the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings ceiling, George Bush and congressional leaders countenanced every kind of dodge known to acrobatic accountancy that would help them sneak past another year's deadline.

They shifted paydays, shuffled accounts and performed dozens of blue-sky estimates to avoid tough decisions. And then, being politicians, they looked for someone else to blame. Increasingly, the favorite target in Congress is the Japanese. On the final Sunday, Rep. Doug Applegate (D-Ohio), a onetime real-estate salesman who has spent the past 28 years in the Ohio legislature and in Congress, was the self-designated Japan-basher.

''Mr. Speaker,'' he said, ''the Berlin Wall is coming down, but the Bamboo Wall is getting taller, and it is getting stronger. Japan is beating us in American Monopoly. They are buying America out, they are shutting us out. ... We should be mad as hell, and we should be getting back to what America used to be, and that is: No. 1.''

That's the kind of rhetoric legislators use to bamboozle the folks back home, instead of doing things that would make America more competitive. Improving education would help America, but Congress and the president agreed to subject education programs to blind across-the-board spending cuts ordered into effect -- get this -- from now until the end of the first week in February. Why then? No other reason than Gramm-Rudman-Hollings camouflage.

Investment incentives would make America more competitive. This Congress extended the research-and-development tax credit -- but only for nine months. Why? Again short-term budget math subverts the common-sense realization that no one will make a long-term investment on the basis of a nine-month tax break.

As if that chicanery were not bad enough, this Congress actually scuttled gains made in the past. Panicked by tax protests engineered by powerhouse lobbies of the affluent elderly, the 101st Congress voted to repeal the catastrophic-illness insurance program passed in 1988. One of the things that was swept away in the stampede to appease high-income oldsters was Medicare coverage of mammography screening for breast cancer.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), who tried to halt the panic, said: ''This mammogram screening alone is predicted to save 4,000 lives a year. I do not see how we can possibly consider such a callous and cruel position.'' But by Wednesday, the Senate had acquiesced to the House's determination to cut taxes for the wealthiest of the elderly.

Foley and Mitchell are not personally to blame for this -- or other follies. They are able leaders. But the fact remains that this Congress has not begun to measure up to the nation's needs.

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, MIKE PETERS

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: BUDGET; U.S. CONGRESS; CONGRESSMEN

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62ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 17, 1989, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 821 words

HEADLINE: The Man Who Tickled the Bear

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

In all that I had read and heard about Lech Walesa, I had somehow missed one important fact: he has an irrepressible sense of humor. As the leader of Solidarity toured Washington, he was followed by waves of cheers -- and of laughter.

In a closed-door session with members of Congress, fretting about the pay-raise vote they were facing the next day, Walesa offered consolation. ''If it doesn't go through,'' he said, ''come to Poland. It's one place you can afford to live.''

Later, at a public question-answer session, he finished off almost every response with a quip or a story that made his point. On dealing with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, for example, he said, ''There's no point in pulling the bear by his mustache. Better to tickle him.''

Many of his jokes were at his own expense. At the end of a plea for American investment in Poland: ''There is a huge business opportunity. So come. You will make money. And I will win the Nobel Prize -- for economics.''

On his own decision to stay out of the Solidarity-led Polish government and remain with the union: ''When I was offered the job of prime minister, I liked the idea. Everywhere I went, they would play the National Anthem. But I said no.''

To an exceptionally earnest man, asking his views on freedom of choice and the abortion issue: ''I have eight children. Why don't you follow my example?''

Walesa is no clown, but you could see how the humor undergirding his stubborn faith in freedom could help him gain a following and sustain him and his movement through the years of repression.

As President Bush reminded listeners in a moving speech at the White House ceremony in which he awarded Walesa the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Walesa's seventh child was born while the Gdansk shipyard electrician was under arrest for his union-organizing activities. There was an empty chair at her baptism, Bush said, as there were empty chairs on the platforms of many U.S. colleges that awarded Walesa honorary degrees that spring of 1982.

''We saw empty chairs in Maine, in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois,'' Bush said. ''At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and to the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, [AFL-CIO President] Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's

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behalf.

''For eight years, these empty chairs and the American people have waited. Today, the waiting is over. Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is at the White House. We think of it as the house of freedom. And Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you, 'Take your place in this house of freedom; take your place in the empty chair.' ''

What stirred the president to unusual eloquence was felt by almost everyone who was exposed to Walesa's direct, even blunt, but passionate advocacy of Poland's cause. It infused the chamber of the House of Representatives, when Walesa recounted the struggle that now ''has opened up entirely new horizons,'' a crusade, like our civil rights movement, in which the victory of freedom was all the sweeter because ''this struggle was conducted without resorting to violence of any kind.''

The impact can be measured in many ways, none more dramatic than Walesa's effect on Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), the hard-bitten political veteran who has risen from the Chicago wards to the chairmanship of the House Ways and Means Committee. Rostenkowski was the last speaker at the dinner honoring Walesa in Statuary Hall of the Capitol, and by the time he was called forward, the guest of honor had departed to get some much-needed sleep.

But Rostenkowski was a man transformed. A colleague in the House whispered to me, ''Look at his face. I've never seen that expression.'' And, in truth, the usual calculating, appraising eyes glistened with tears. ''Today,'' he said in a choked voice, ''if you are Polish, your heart is filled with so much pride!''

And then, this power-wielding pro spoke to a roomful of other politicians and guests as if he were unburdening himself to his closest friend. ''For a long time in my political life,'' he said quietly, ''I really didn't want to admit I was a Polish-American. I wished I had some other name. ... And today I feel ashamed of such feelings. ... Lech Walesa came to us and made a speech so simple, so direct, so honest ... and, God bless us, we responded. ... And today we are 10 feet tall.''

It was almost as if Rostenkowski had forgotten the audience, had forgotten the television lights in his eyes, and was speaking to himself, making his own resolutions: ''We have got to help these people,'' he said. ''We have got to help these people -- for our own good. It is the right thing to do.''

And then, as if recalling the setting and the audience, he said exactly the right words, the words that put Walesa's humor in perspective:

''Lech Walesa is no Polish joke. He is freedom.''

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: POLAND; POLITICIANS

NAMED-PERSONS: LECH WALESA

ENHANCEMENT: HUMOR

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67TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 The Washington Post

November 1, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A25

LENGTH: 831 words

HEADLINE: Fumble, Punt, Fumble

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

The Redskins, the only professional team to play its games in the city of Washington, have a quarterback, Mark Rypien, of whom it is said, with fatal accuracy, ''Every time he gets hit, he fumbles.'' The same, sadly, can be said of government in Washington.

Sports reporters notice things like Rypien's tendency to give up the ball when sacked. Political reporters, unfortunately, tend to be less attentive to a pattern of failure on our beat, especially when it involves a whole institution rather than an individual. A few years back, one New Yorker remarked that for 25 years, ''The New York Times had reported everything that happened in the New York City schools except that they were collapsing.'' The same thing can be said of most of the Washington press corps and the national government today.

Truth is, few Washington reporters know much, or care much, about what goes on inside government. We write about scandals, when they are gamy enough, and about the handful of policy fights that pit the White House against Congress, like the battle over capital-gains taxes. But the question whether government is working well -- or working at all -- is not one that usually draws our interest.

Today, by almost any measure, government is working very badly, so badly in fact that even journalists are beginning to notice it. When Stanley W. Cloud, a veteran Washington reporter and editor, took over recently as Washington bureau chief of Time magazine, he persuaded his editors to do a cover story, headlined, ''Is Government Dead?''

The answer, Cloud's story said, is that if government is not dead, it increasingly ''looks like a costly irrelevancy today. . . . Under the shadow of a massive federal deficit that neither political party is willing to confront, a kind of neurosis of accepted limits has taken hold from one end of Pennsylvania Avenue to the other.'' Whether the challenge is an oil spill in Alaska or a hurricane in South Carolina, an abortive coup in Panama or a democratic revolution in Eastern Europe, the government's response is slow, grudging and massively inadequate.

When confronted by a crisis or even an unexpected opening, it fumbles. And on the larger, long-term challenges -- things such as the decline of the schools, the deterioration of our transportation system, the scourge of drugs and the steady accumulation of unpaid debt -- its tendency is to postpone hard choices and posture rather than produce.

The explanation is two-fold. What we choose to call a government is no such thing. In our era of debilitated political parties, Washington is run by 536

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individual political entrepreneurs -- one president, 100 senators and 435 members of the House -- each of whom got here essentially on his own. Each chooses the office he seeks, raises his own money, hires his own pollster and ad-maker and recruits his own volunteers.

Each of them is scrambling to remain in office, no matter what. And each of them has commitments and objectives he considers paramount. When George Bush says, ''Read my lips,'' each member of Congress replies, ''I want mine.'' And the result is the paralysis of which Time wrote.

The second part of the story is laid out in the October issue of a magazine called Government Executive, a sort of trade paper for the bureaucracy. In a piece called ''Hollow Government,'' writer Mark L. Goodstein cites example after example of how the budget cuts of the 1980s have left ''federal agencies increasingly unable to perform the missions for which they were created.''

His story is a compendium of examples of government struggling with outmoded equipment and inadequate staffing. A former Internal Revenue Service commissioner says the IRS computer system ''is somewhere in the Ice Age.'' At a time when the nation is aging and new programs for the elderly are being enacted, the Social Security Administration has had a 20 percent cutback in personnel.

The root of this problem is that presidents and Congresses in this decade have lacked the courage to ask people to pay for the government services they receive. This year's budget fiasco compounds the hypocrisy. When the political cowards in the Bush administration and on Capitol Hill decided last month it was easier to admit failure than to reach agreement on a budget, that triggered automatic, across-the-board cuts in hundreds of domestic and military programs.

No one seems to know or care what those $ 16 billion cuts will do to the people who depend on those services. The president and Congress are engaged in a conspiracy of silence to keep the public from putting the blame where it belongs.

But those cuts guarantee that a ''hollow government'' will be further drained of the talent, the energy and the equipment it needs to do its job. When the complaints come in, the politicians will do what they always do: blame the bureaucrats. ''Is government dead?'' The answer is that it might as well be, so debilitated and demoralized has it become.

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, T. GIBSON

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; U.S. CONGRESS; BUDGET

NAMED-PERSONS: STANLEY W. CLOUD

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February 1, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 825 words

HEADLINE: Will This Easy Style Work?

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

White House chief of staff John H. Sununu was just finishing up an anecdote illustrating how ''the very loose approach the president wants to take'' is shaping ''a much more open structure'' of White House decision-making, when George Bush made the point for him. The door to the chief of staff's office opened last Friday and, unannounced, Bush walked in on the interview in progress.

''You going over to this thing?'' he asked, referring to the swearing-in of Secretary of State James A. Baker III. ''Yes,'' Sununu said. ''Do you want to go now?'' ''Finish up what you're doing,'' Bush said, ''and pick me up when you're ready.''

In three decades of White House interviews, this is the first time I can recall a president walking to the office of an aide, rather than having the aide summoned to the Oval Office. It illustrated the tone of openness and access the fledgling Bush administration set in its first days.

For the press, it's meant frequent and lengthy news conferences with Bush, Sununu and others in the high command. For members of Congress, especially the opposition Democrats, it's meant not just substantive formal meetings but social events in the White House residential quarters, including glimpses of the new first family's bedrooms.

Internally, it's meant that Sununu has for now shucked off the short temper and arrogance he often displayed in his old job as governor of New Hampshire. Instead, he has emphasized the impatience with bureaucracy that comes naturally to a hands-on manager accustomed to dealing with a pocket-size government.

Sununu suggested that the scene I had just witnessed indicated why he was optimistic about being able to ''reduce the bureaucracy and paperwork in the White House. I tell the staff, 'If you've got a problem, don't write a five-page memo. Come ask. And if I can't answer it . . . I'll go in and ask him [Bush] and for the most part, you'll get your answer within two hours.'''

''That's wonderful, if it survives the first big bump,'' I said, voicing the skepticism with which Washington views such assertions.

He replied: ''It's easier to survive the big bumps with a system that is flexible than one that is rigid. A rigid system tends to be brittle. A flexible system can handle the give and take. People will pull together much better if the communication has been taking place on a personal level than in a more distant, formalized way.''

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There were no big bumps in the early days, just a couple of gaffes involving Cabinet members who are personal favorites of the president. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady set off one by letting members of Congress know that he was considering recommending a fee on savings accounts as a way of financing the savings-and-loan bailout. And Dr. Louis Sullivan, the appointee to head the Department of Health and Human Services, aroused the suspicions of conservatives by again intimating that his private views on abortion may be more permissive than the president's.

It took some quick scrambling to nudge Sullivan back into line and to make it clear that Brady had not yet sold Bush on his S&L plan. But in neither case was there a White House crackdown.

Talking about the congressional leaks that embarrassed the two Cabinet members, Sununu said: ''You have to expect that when you talk to people early, and that's going to happen again and again. . . . The president hopes, and everyone here hopes, it will not inhibit a continued willingness . . . to go up and consult as early as possible [with members of Congress].''

Sununu's studied nonchalance is understandable, since the damage done to Bush in the Sullivan and Brady affairs was neither serious nor long-lasting.

Heavier weather is just ahead, however, when the bad news in the Bush budget is conveyed in advance to the key players on Capitol Hill. ''We're going to prepare people for some of the tough things we have to propose [to reduce the deficit],'' Sununu said, ''and there will be selective disclosures . . . what you call leaks in this town. . . . There will always be somebody to say we're not planning to put enough money into this or that, and we know we'll have to live through that flurry. There's no way to avoid it, except by not having consultation, and consultation is going to be a hallmark of this administration.''

Old hands in Washington will nod wisely and say that if this policy of openness continues to provide raw material for anti-Bush sharpshooters, the iron curtain will come down around this White House as it has around others.

I thought that myself, before Bush took office, but I am no longer sure that cynicism is warranted. The new president's approach to rival politicians (in both parties) and to the media is so determinedly relaxed and non-antagonistic that it may take a lot to end it.

Given the difficulties of dealing with the nation's problems in a divided government, it will be a blessing if it lasts.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION; U.S. PRESIDENT; UNITED STATES

NAMED-PERSONS: JOHN H. SUNUNU; GEORGE BUSH

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March 7, 1990, Wednesday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: VIEWPOINTS; Pg. 58

LENGTH: 514 words

HEADLINE: Time to Make Press Answer For Mistakes

BYLINE: MONA CHAREN

KEYWORD: COLUMN; NEWS; NEWSPAPERS; MISTAKE; JOURNALISM; ELECTION; NICARAGUA; RESULT; PROPOSED; ORGANIZATIONS

BODY:

SOMEONE SHOULD DO a survey asking which group in American society is considered the most arrogant. I'll just bet the runaway winner would be the press.

Every other group is accountable to someone. Politicians are kept honest (mostly) by the voters and the press. Actors are reviewed and criticized. Businessmen must show a profit.

But who does the press answer to? As the moderators of public discourse, we decide what will and won't be discussed. And alas, what the press almost never wants to discuss are the errors of the press. That's the most under-reported story in the world.

Richard Harwood, the Washington Post's in-house ombudsman, cites the blundering coverage of Nicaragua in the days leading up to the election - NBC Nightly News correspondents chatting to each other about how President Bush will deal with a freely-elected Daniel Ortega, the Washington Post credulously publishing a poll showing Ortega ahead, a poll that proved to be 30 points wrong. But the day after, none of the news organizations or individuals who were so dramatically, pyrotechnically wrong were even the slightest bit sheepish. NBC simply described the results as "surprising." The Washington Post tossed its head and kept moving.

The Doctrine of Press Infallibility does have its heretics though. Columnists David Broder and William Safire comb through their work at the end of every year and publish lists of their mistakes and misjudgments. And roughly 30 newspapers employ ombudsmen to generate, and field, criticism.

But on the whole, the popes in loafers answer to no one. When challenged, they have two classic replies. If the accusation is of bias, they usually respond with some variation of "I know I'm doing my job when the left accuses me of being too right-wing and the right accuses me of being too left-wing." The other standard reply is even less satisfying. When accused of unfairness or inaccuracy, the mandarins of the press intone "We stand by our story."

Richard Salant, former president of CBS News, thinks this is the worst habit the press has fallen into. "They exercise no discrimination, no judgment, between crank complaints and justified ones. They just get stiff-necked and

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arrogant and say 'We stand by our story.' This exasperates me."

One possible solution is to revive an organization, the National News Council, which was strangled almost at birth six years ago. The idea is to provide a forum for those aggrieved by their treatment in the press. The news organization and the individual would each get a chance to present their case to a neutral body and get a ruling. Participation would be voluntary, with no hint of government intrusion. But an honor system would have to prevail. Under the old Council, the Louisville Courier-Journal was taken to task by a physician claiming that the paper had been unfair in reporting that he overbilled. The Council ruled in his favor - and the Courier-Journal duly published the results.

Such a council couldn't prevent errors like the Nicaraguan election bungle - but it might prevent their being ignored.

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DATE: MARCH 15, 1990

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Copyright (c) 1988 The Washington Post

November 10, 1988, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 889 words

HEADLINE: Bush Will Set His Own Agenda

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

In the campaign, George Bush essentially said he would continue the policies and directions of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. But many close and longtime friends of the president-elect think the changes Bush will bring to the White House will be striking and significant. I strongly suspect they are right.

Clearly the political environment at the beginning of the Bush years is very different from the start of Reagan's ascendancy. Reagan campaigned in 1980 on a set of clear policy changes -- sweeping tax reductions, a major military buildup, a skeptical reevaluation of domestic programs and regulations. And he won not just a 44-state victory but a coattail Republican takeover of the Senate and working control of the House.

Bush has none of those advantages. His personal victory was modest by Reagan standards. The substantive policy proposals of his campaign were meager. And the Democrats in Congress strengthened their position. He has acknowledged those realities in his post-election comments and has signaled clearly that he intends to use the period from now until Inauguration Day in an effort, neglected during the campaign, to build support for his policies.

Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), a longtime Bush ally, makes the valid observation that the agenda will be much tougher for Bush than for Reagan. Reagan started with tax cuts, something Congress loves to approve. The budget deficit must be Bush's priority. Having ruled out new taxes, Leach notes, Bush will have to try to discipline spending. And Congress will be much less eager to do that.

Bush's approach to the Democratic Congress was previewed in the good cop/bad cop duality of his presidential campaign. He will reach out for compromise, involving himself in personal negotiations with congressional leaders in a way that Reagan rarely did. But he will also brandish -- and use -- the veto power more frequently than Reagan, believing it an essential prerogative of the chief executive.

Bush's privately expressed confidence about his ability to cut a deal on the budget deficit faces obvious hurdles. Many congressional Democrats have expressed disdain for his campaign tactics -- and for the ''read my lips'' pledge on taxes, which he cannot abandon without losing political credibility. But I think his longtime former aide, Pete Roussel, is correct in guessing that Bush will be assiduous in ''reaching out to former adversaries . . . as a peacemaker and coalition-builder.'' He starts with many friends on Capitol Hill and his personality invites comradeship.

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The Bush White House, almost everyone I interviewed said, will have a different feel to it. It will be an inviting family setting, filled with children and grandchildren. Barbara Bush, who held both her convictions and personality in check during the Reagan years, will, it's safe to predict, quickly emerge as the person of empathy and ebullience friends know her to be -- a major asset to her husband in dealing with the public and with other politicians.

The Bush White House and administration will be staffed by people who match his recent description of the kind of judges he will appoint -- ''moderate people of conservative views.'' The programs and policies will fit the Republican mainstream, which is clearly conservative. But crusaders for ideological causes -- the James Watts and Ed Meeses -- will be few and far between. World Bank President Barber B. Conable Jr., another old friend, says: ''George lives in the real world. He views with considerable seriousness his responsibility to run the government. He will look for the best people he can get for government, rather than try to establish some kind of ideological pattern.''

Edward J. Rollins, former political director of the Reagan White House, predicts that ardent conservatives will find more fault with his appointments than with his policies. But Bush is probably wise enough to elevate -- rather than purge -- some of the younger conservatives recruited for second- and third-tier jobs in the Reagan years.

Everyone who knows him expects Bush to be a more personally engaged president than Reagan has been. Robert Teeter, a political adviser and pollster, says people may be surprised to see how ''activist'' Bush is, not just in personal style but in prodding appointees to engage government in the problems of this society.

In turn, the character and interests of those appointees will be a crucial determinant of Bush's policies. He is influenced by his environment and he takes seriously the advice he gets from people he trusts. If he picks strong, compassionate people for such posts as domestic-policy adviser and secretaries of Housing and Urban Development and Health and Human Services, they may remind him of his pledge to make this a ''kinder, gentler nation.'' Otherwise, Bush's natural bent is toward foreign policy and national-security issues.

What he will do with some of those issues, like ''keeping pressure on the Sandinistas,'' is a mystery even to old friends. But on the big one -- the Russians -- Sen. James McClure of Idaho is probably not exaggerating when he says Bush ''understands the Soviet Union as well as anyone in politics. He'll negotiate with strength and toughness -- and no stars in his eyes.''

This is probably what the voters wanted -- and what they will get.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS; U.S. PRESIDENT; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS; POLITICAL POSITIONS / PHILOSOPHY

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

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Copyright (c) 1988 The Washington Post

September 14, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 873 words

HEADLINE: Voters Are Smarter Than the Candidates

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

"Big enough to lead the world?'' That is the question asked on the cover of The Economist, the British weekly whose insights into American politics are often shrewder than any minted on these shores. The unstated subjects of its question are, of course, George Bush and Michael Dukakis, and the implicit, provisional answer is ''No -- not if you judge them by what they have said so far.''

That is the same answer four Post colleagues and I heard last week from voters in swing precincts in five key states in our first round of door-knocking since the conventions. The public mood is so skeptical that it is safe to predict that unless one or both of these men elevate their rhetoric and captivate their audiences, voter turnout may again decline in this election.

The irony is that many of those turned-off voters can articulate the stakes in the election more clearly than the candidates are willing to do. There's a widespread apprehension, even among those who count Ronald Reagan's presidency as an overall success, that the United States faces difficult challenges -- and maybe hard times -- ahead.

After seven fat years, many voters expect some lean. More than that, they tell you that increasing foreign competition, rising public debt and the wave of mergers and takeovers have sapped their confidence that the big shots running the economy really know what they're doing.

Though the candidates can't seem to fathom it, the voters' concerns are not selfish. In the middle-class neighborhoods we visited -- from Long Beach, Calif., to Parma, Ohio, to Englewood Cliffs, N.J. -- the real worry is not how the voters will pay their own bills, but how well cared for their parents will be as the illnesses of age afflict them, how well trained and educated their children will be, given the problems in the schools, and whether their grandchildren will be able to ''move up'' a ladder of opportunity that seems to have lost its bottom rungs.

''We're all pretty well set,'' said Dale Harting, a 52- year -old St. Louis plumber, ''but the kids coming along behind us are not going to be able to afford the same standard of living. We're a consumer nation sucking stuff out of the rest of the world and eventually we're not going to have the money to buy this stuff.''

This sense of tough challenges -- and tough times -- ahead makes these voters long for a president who has the judgment to see what needs to be done and the force of character to persuade the nation to do it. As the Economist editorial

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put it, ''The political skill required of an American President . . . is to choose a few not-quite-possible goals, and then to use his personality and the authority of his office to lead his countrymen and the world to them.''

At this point, neither Bush nor Dukakis is displaying those qualities. Instead, they are turning off the voters. ''The candidates should give us firm facts and not so much back-stabbing,'' said Donna Freiner, a St. Louis medical receptionist and housewife. ''They need to do a better job telling us who they are.''

All the praise the rivals drew for their acceptance speeches in Atlanta and New Orleans has done little to improve the stereotypes voters carry in their minds. Bush is still weak -- a wimp, as many say -- and Dukakis is still vague and emotionless. Indeed, the only significant change in what we heard was a change for the worse: Republicans have succeeded in planting doubts about Dukakis' values and beliefs by hammering on the ''Massachusetts liberal'' image.

To a remarkable degree, these men are still strangers, mysterious figures to many voters. Bush has been around for years, they know, but only for a few weeks has he attempted to step out of Ronald Reagan's shadow. His first big decision -- picking Dan Quayle as his running mate -- mystified almost everyone we interviewed and dismayed quite a few. As for Dukakis, he comes across to them as a stern, strait-laced fellow who popped up in Ted Kennedy and Tip O'Neill's back yard and somehow worked his way into the presidential race.

The single biggest reason these candidates seem amorphous and unimpressive is their reluctance to deal head on with what the voters recognize as clearly as the Economist editors to be the greatest challenge awaiting the next president: the budget deficit. Voters are not dumb. They recognize the truth of what The Economist says: ''Ronald Reagan made America stand tall partly because he placed it on a mountain of debt. Sooner or later, mountains have avalanches.''

So long as the candidates evade that reality, they will continue to invite cynicism. Greg Atkinson, a St. Louis tax lawyer, voiced the common complaint: ''They keep telling you what they're going to do, but they don't tell you how they're going to pay for it.''

There is time for Bush or Dukakis to level with the voters and show the strength of character Americans and our friends abroad want to see in a president. Whoever does can win over millions of voters who now see the election simply as a ''lesser-of-two-evils'' proposition. What's more important, democracy can win an important victory over cynicism.

But at the moment, the answer to The Economist's ''big enough?'' question is an overwhelming no.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; VOTERS; HUMAN BEHAVIOR

ORGANIZATION: THE ECONOMIST

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH; MICHAEL DUKAKIS

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April 24, 1988, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A18; POLITICS

LENGTH: 360 words

HEADLINE: Election Specialist Predicts Bush Win

BYLINE: Maralee Schwartz, David S. Broder

BODY:

You may think the general-election campaign has not yet begun, but as far as Allan J. Lichtman is concerned, it's over. And George Bush won.

Lichtman is the American University history professor who, with help from a Soviet geophysicist, six years ago developed a system of 13 "keys" that he says determine the outcome of national elections. In an April 1982 Washingtonian magazine article, during the depth of the recession, he predicted President Reagan's 1984 reelection, and an adaptation of the system correctly called 30 of the 34 1986 Senate races.

In the issue of Washingtonian that hits the stands this week, Lichtman and cowriter Ken DeCell say Bush will win because only three of the 13 keys are turned against the Republicans while at least three more would have to fall for the Democrats to win.

On Lichtman's checklist, the counts against the Republicans are that the incumbent is not running, that Reagan initiated no major changes in national policy during his second term and Bush is neither charismatic nor a national hero.

On the other hand, Bush has locked two keys, one because Reagan received a mandate-sized victory in 1984 and the second because Bush clinched his nomination early. Several other keys seem likely to go Bush's way, Lichtman said: Bush's challenger seems unlikely to be charismatic; no major third-party or independent campaign is in prospect; no recession appears imminent; and there is no prospect of widespread social unrest.

Four keys are in doubt or matters of judgment. Lichtman believes that the administration will be credited with a major foreign policy success in U.S.-Soviet relations and that the Iran-contra affair will not be judged a major foreign policy failure. He also thinks that what the Democrats call "the sleaze factor" will fall short of the historical test of being a major scandal touching the White House. Finally, it's a question whether the real growth in the gross national product will hit the 1.9 percent mark to equal or exceed that of the previous two terms.

"Barring major setbacks to the administration," Lichtman concludes, "this just does not look to be the Democrats' year. "

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

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(c) 1988 The Washington Post, April 24, 1988

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

NAMED-PERSONS: ALLAN J. LICHTMAN; GEORGE BUSH

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December 28, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A19

LENGTH: 873 words

HEADLINE: Did I Say That?

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

Each Halloween, kids try to ward off the evils of encroaching winter darkness by dressing up as ghosts and goblins. And two months later, this column tries a similar trick-or-treat approach by parading some of the notable goofs and gaffes of the previous year. Mentally, you see I'm still stuck in second grade.

Goofs and gaffes had we aplenty in 1988. Years divisible by four are always great for entries in the dunce-cap derby. Presidential campaigns may bore the voters, but they stimulate the best work from those of us who have made a career of being wrong.

Like the classic crooked politician who "seen his opportunities and took 'em," I started my course of errancy as soon as the first voters went to their caucuses in Iowa last Feb. 8. I had shrewdly hightailed it out of the state 24 hours before the voting and gone to Manchester, N.H., to prepare for the following week's New Hampshire primary. The distance and perspective gained by this move paid big dividends when I boldly wrote of the Iowa results, "Vice President Bush became a vulnerable front-runner tonight."

With returns from the caucuses showing Bush trailing Sen. Bob Dole and television evangelist Marion G. (Pat) Robertson, I approvingly quoted New Jersey Gov. Thomas H. Kean (R) as saying that Iowa "throws everything in the Republican Party in a cocked hat."

Well, something was cockeyed, for sure, but I didn't know it was me.

The misreading of Iowa may be excused because of the haste with which it was delivered. Second thoughts often are better, and with 24 hours to think it over, this is what I said of vulnerable Republican front-runner Bush: "Eight years ago, he came into New Hampshire as the winner of Iowa and lost here because he had nothing of substance to say to people. This year, he comes in as the loser in Iowa, and he still has nothing of substance to say. Loyalty to Reagan and a vague commitment to be 'the education president' will help in this state, but they are not enough to sustain Bush for long."

Just long enough to make him president, it turned out.

The Broder bid for the 1988 Booby Prize, which began so auspiciously in the Iowa-New Hampshire period, staggered badly in the following weeks, as I wandered into unfamiliar fields of perspicacity. But I showed I had not lost the knack when the Democratic race took a dramatic turn in Michigan.

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"Jesse L. Jackson's breakthrough victory in Michigan Saturday has transformed him into a formidable contender for the Democratic presidential nomination and prompted shellshocked party leaders to question Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis' ability to compete with him," began a March 28 story on which I generously shared byline credit with colleague Paul Taylor. "If Jackson can continue to connect in this way, he will be formidable," we wrote.

Well, perhaps. It took eight days after Iowa for New Hampshire voters to disprove my judgment about Bush's vulnerability, but only four for Connecticut voters to "untransform" Jackson and show that Dukakis could indeed compete. Party leaders emerged quickly from their shellshock; this reporter did not.

In fact, it was not until May 17 that the old crystal ball was back in working order, displaying vivid mirages. By then Bush and Dukakis had cinched the nominations, and the question was their vice presidential choices. Dealing first with the Democrats, I wrote that two months before their nominating convention "the focus in preliminary discussions [is] on Sens. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and John Glenn (D-Ohio) far more than on Sam Nunn (D-Ga.)." Rereading the 1,200 words in that account, I now see that I mentioned virtually every living Democrat who might be on the ticket with Dukakis. All but one, that is: Lloyd Bentsen.

Five days later, there was another breathless bit of foresight, beginning, "Dixie Democrats are putting out the welcome mat for prospective presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis. After hiding from their national ticket four years ago, southern Democratic officials are telling the Massachusetts governor's aides that Vice President Bush does not have their region's electoral votes locked up -- unless Dukakis decides to default."

I'm sure Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater read that story, and it clearly affected his strategy. Recognizing that the odds were against Bush, Atwater largely wrote off his native South, balancing the Bush ticket with a little-known senator from northern Indiana, Dan Quayle. I expect Atwater was astonished when the South gave all of its electoral votes to the Bush-Quayle ticket. I know I was.

The general election produced its own bumper crop of blunders, including one that Washington Post political researcher Colette T. Rhoney believes should be designated the "goof of the year." That was the assertion that, in the first presidential debate, Michael Dukakis proved "that he could deflect George Bush's efforts to place him outside the mainstream of American politics."

That piece is a strong contender, admittedly, but there were other howlers of similar proportion during the fall, too many to chronicle here. Let me just say that I think I'm on a roll that will carry right over into 1989. As the president-elect would say, "Read my slips."

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, OHLSSON

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; PRIMARIES; IOWA; NEW HAMPSHIRE; PRINT JOURNALISTS

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NBC doing Rose in Cage – could it be axed

Sex Pix & Video

After we didn't get Vegas, it had to be just Pix & Video

~~[illegible]~~

My view of W.N. – Glory

_____'s view – Dirty Rotten Scoundrels

Crime & Misdemeanors

The 90s have been hard on the 80s

Rex Reed, the Trumps, Senior

Iran & Germany, finally got freedom, wanted to

True story guy going to baseball game on greyhound bus

– that's like Rich Gephardt wanting to

oil on the rocks

Perrier on the rocks.

My doc took me off of Perrier, put me back on Scotch.

Last year our agricultural surplus was $60 million.

You know what $60 million is – all the fucks given in Vatican

last yr, Dooty proposed cut. Health.
— old people harassed Gen.
getting harassed by Dems.
Dick Gephardt let the air
out of the tires

W.H. staff to Felicitous
I said pond out for Chinese
First thing I know, Brent in Beijing.
Where Brent? He's in Utah.
Oh
— On my desk next day — Sanctions against Nancy Pelosi proposing Utah.
He would have raised
a toast — but there was no booze.

I said Daewoo, prefer
He said, derogative Dorothy, the Tin Man.
fruit loops & M&Ms

Why do make Buick convertible? Why not stick on a hardtop.

((to somebody else))
I know Bushspeak. Earthquake. Not my fault.
San Andreas fault.

Good news: Sam & Diane show ALL behind your Dem. response in ratings.

Foley. His leg died. His bike got stolen.

Good news, Tom. You won the door prize tonight.
A bag of Alpo and a tricycle bump.

Nunn on the Run.

Newt had a long time. Long day, back to hotel, Tip tipped out of the suitcase.
But one of them.

Ann Richards - just say no. Or yes.

Clayton Williams, opponent

She fed [illegible] a silver spoon up her nose.

Barbara is known as [illegible] from Texas w/ white hair,

Israel wants me involved
I will never get involved in a Shamir campaign.

The National [User Fee] Service

Cigarette user fee.

Dusty stuffing to N.K.
I said what's in the trunk.
(guacamole)

4/15 — that's when your
user fees are due.

Women in Combat - ~~[illegible]~~ - Roseanne Barr

I've gotten flack for appointing Schwarzenegger to Pres. Council Fitness - But what was I to do? The shortlist was down to him & Roseanne Barr.

~~The~~ Multi party System in:
Poland, Hungry, East Germany, Panama.

~~[illegible]~~ Tom Foley: Tear down the Wall

~~Yeltsin~~ - Next thing; Jim Hunt Pres.

Maybe some day Ike

we give them
Lenin & Ed Koch
Yakutat

E. Germ:
We'd like to send you our wall.

Great! We'd like to sell you our Wall. Have my lawyer call.

Al, more sleaze material in those jokes than Dirty O'Neil's book
Basil, more recycled garbage in your speech than ~~[illegible]~~

Money came to me earlier w/ a plan - his idea of a peace dividend
Don't dream - whatever I pay, it's a peace dividend

is change to
tricks in
pentagon coun

What's your idea of peace divided.

Rusty has plan for peace div where we'll cure cancer, solve deficit, educate.

Chevy has plan which would make down payment on Yugo.

☆ Chevy got carried away. Trying to convince Webster there is a threat. Has been making crank calls to Webster, a Corpo-

Unlike N.H. - CT has caller I.D. It was this: the called me. My st. chief asked one, Is your refrigerator running?

Beleaguered by calls; Lou Pierce Pat Sangiorgi. I have to take calls w/new proposal. From ——— I thought it was Kostakowski. ———.

Telephone diplomacy. - Wondered why his voice was so All this time I've been talking to 976 #s.

Here how we fix deficit. We make the N.Y. a 900 number.

Do you have Prime Algerian.

Proposals –

Dan Moynihan – gov't Soc. Sec / Even 65, he says / The Heart to Heart Club

Dan Rooty –

GRIDIRON DINNER -- DRAFT ~~THREE~~ Four

Sorry I'm a little late. Barbara wouldn't let me up here until I ate my broccoli.

Thank you, David. Nice to have an intellectual in charge here. It took vision to predict my race would be over after Iowa... to say Dukakis would get the Southern vote... to work for a paper predicting Daniel Ortega by 30 points... ~~Any man with that kind of vision is the right man to do a speech in the dark.~~

Speech in the dark? Hell, David Broder writes whole columns in the dark.

But David does take a pretty serious view of things. If he ever does a column about my press secretary's weight loss, he'll probably title it, "Marlin: A Beer Gut in Decline."

Marlin's come a long way. Last year we went into a clothing store and Marlin said, "I'd like to see a bathing suit in my size." And the clerk said, "So would I."

But what's really in decline, of course, is dictatorship. In my inaugural address I said "the day of the dictator is over." All over the world, repressive regimes and totalitarian tyrants are toppling. But I didn't mean you, John.

Sure, my Chief of Staff's a tough guy. Down in Cartagena during a lunchtime photo op, they had to keep saying, "Remember John, bite the taco, shake the hand..."

has rubbed a few people wrong, too. Sup

And maybe Dick Darman ~~has a reputation for being hard to work with.~~ I've come to understand him better since I heard a story from his childhood. When he was 10, his family very nearly lost him. Later on his father said, "We should have taken him further into the hills."

But I think overall we've got a good team in place. Phone rang the other day. Brent ran it through intelligence. Jim Baker checked everything out. Happy to take the call. Certainly worth it. Never thought I'd hear from Elvis again.

Phone rang again later. They told me it might be a crank call. I said, "Oh, what the hell. Put Gephardt on."

In this town you've <u>got</u> to have a sense of humor. So I don't want to take this personally, but I turn 65, and Moynihan says "Let's rethink Social Security."

~~[illegible]~~ I asked Senator Mitchell if he'd consider a seat on the Supreme Court. He said no. Not enough job security

Lot of comedians out there. Doing impersonations. Okay with me. But natural disasters -- out of bounds. California earthquake? Not my fault. San Andreas fault.

Speaking of California, I <u>did</u> get some flack for appointing Arnold Schwarzenegger to head the Council on Physical Fitness.

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And that White House Press Corps is still asking "Where's Brent?" So in the spirit of openness, we revealed that Brent took a vacation in Salt Lake City. The next day, Nancy Pelosi proposed new sanctions against Utah.

But world-shaking events do move quickly these days. Boggles the mind. Wonderful to see free speech restored to the Soviet Union. To Eastern Europe. To Andy Rooney.

But It's important to remember that these are dangerous times. We had to determine whether that Libyan plant was making mustard gas. That called for very sophisticated intelligence. I told a C.I.A. agent to drive by, roll down his window, and say to a guard, "Pardon me sir. Would you have any Grey Poupon?"

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Some say that Washington isn't the Goliath it once was.

As another David -- David Brinkley -- noted not long ago, "This city is nowhere near as important as it thinks it is."

The lesson here is not one of declining influence. It is of deflating self-importance. The power of Eastern Europe is that of people and personalities, yes. But it is, above all, about the power of ideas.

The idea called America has given the world a path to follow. And now so many

And whether we've seen the world though eyes wincing in pain, blurred with tears, or bright with laughter, it will never be the same again.

Laugh, and the world laughs with you.

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Transitions

GRIDIRON DINNER -- DRAFT THREE

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But David does take a pretty serious view of things. I mean, if he were to do a piece about my press secretary's weight loss, he'd title it, "Marlin: A Beer Gut in Decline."

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But kinder and gentler? Yes. I hear the voices others don't. Haunted by them. The downtrodden. The destitute. Piteous souls who struggled bravely and still lost their house. Like Drexel Burnham.

In my inaugural address I said "the day of the dictator is over." Good news. All over the world, repressive regimes and totalitarian tyrants are toppling. But I didn't mean you, John.

~~Good team in place~~. Sure, my Chief of Staff's a tough guy. Down in Cartagena, during a lunchtime photo op, they had to keep saying, "Remember John, bite the taco, shake the hand..."

And maybe Dick Darman has a reputation for being hard to work with. But I've come to understand him better since I heard a story from his childhood. When he was 10, his family very nearly lost him. Later on his father said, "We should have taken him further into the hills."

Of course, Lee Atwater's famous for his mean streak. When he was in the hospital, the nurses caught him short-sheeting his own bed.

So in Washington you've got to be tough. Have a sense of humor. And I don't want to take this personally, but I turn 65, and Moynihan says "Let's rethink Social Security."

Too bad

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~~But~~ what's really in decline, of course, is dictatorship. In my inaugural address I said "the day of the dictator is over." All over the world, repressive regimes and totalitarian tyrants are toppling. But I didn't mean you, John.

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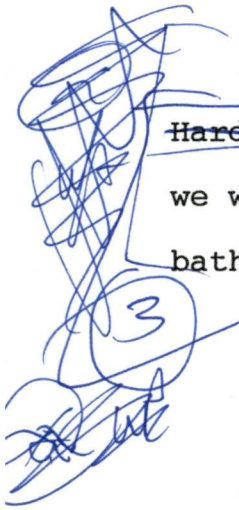

But I think overall we've got a good team in place. ~~Hardworking, lean, efficient... just look at Marlin.~~ He's come a long way. Last year we went into a clothing store and Marlin said, "I'd like to see a bathing suit in my size." And the clerk said, "So would I."

~~These days the White House is a well-oiled machine.~~

When the Phone rang the other day, Brent ran it through intelligence. ~~Even~~ Jim Baker ~~put it through channels.~~ checked Everything ~~checked~~ out. Happy to take the call. Certainly worth it. Never thought I'd hear from Elvis again.

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David, I hope I can count on your non-endorsement in '92.

David Broder, Crown Prince of Darkness. Like, if my press secretary loses weight, David headlines it, "Marlin: A Beer Gut in Decline."

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I didn't write this speech. But what were you expecting? Vaclav Havel? I admit, I'm no writer. But then again, my Polish friend, Dan Rostenkowski is no electrician.

~~I've taken a lot of kidding about that hoax phone call, so I just want to make it clear~~ that the guy who called was Rafsanjani. ~~Unfortunately,~~ Irving Rafsanjani, from Toledo.

Events move so quickly these days, it's mind-boggling. It's so wonderful to see free speech restored to the Soviet Union. To Eastern Europe. To Andy Rooney.

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Too bad Tip O'Neill couldn't be here tonight. [or: Tip O'Neill nearly didn't make it here tonight.] Somebody lost the key to the suitcase. \\ So he's on his way to Toronto. [or: Poor guy only had 12 seconds of oxygen left.]

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B

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DRAFT

Chris/speech-writers

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript March 12, 1990

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU
DURING VISIT TO THE CAPITOL HILL CLUB

The Capitol Hill Club
Washington, D.C.

9:40 A.M. EST

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Thank you very much. Obviously, this can't be a very tough job if I can come out and spend some good time with folks such as yourselves. So I -- I keep telling people it beats work. (Laughter.)

Please don't tell Senator Bentsen about the statistics of of the crowd. It will probably ruin our chances of getting capital gains tax cuts. (Laughter.) And I will resist the temptation of saying that only within the Beltway will people -- people define Beltway. (Laughter.)

I thought I'd come down today and talk about everything you already know, which is usually the easiest thing to do. That way, we're on the same wavelength, I think. But sometimes, talking about the obvious is a very important thing to do in any case, because quite often the first thing people forget is the obvious.

I used to make a reasonably good living as a consulting engineer. And one of the things that I would be asked to do is to come in and solve a problem that the company itself was best equipped to solve. And quite often, I've found that the difficulty was that they really had not just structured themselves to deal with the problem and to take full advantage of what they already knew.

To me, there are three things that you have to do if you want to accomplish something. Number one, you have to decide where you are. And then you decide where you'd like to go. And then, you lay out the path to get there -- three very obvious, very straightforward principles. But all three are absolutely necessary, and very frankly, I think you've got to do it in that sequence.

In Washington, people like to decide where they'd like to go -- never take the time to look at where -- first -- they never, then, take the time to look at where they are, and heaven forbid they should have to make a commitment on whatever path they want to take to get there.

But the fact is, is that understanding where we are at any given time is a very crucial part of dealing with issues. In terms of economy, in terms of fiscal policy, in terms of budget -- in terms of all those things associated with the financial side, both in terms of where the country is and in terms of where we are vis a vis the countries around the world, it is important sometime to talk to ourselves about the very obvious reality of what the facts associated with the status of the American economy.

Believe it or not, the numbers are not what a lot of the press has been suggesting. And at the risk of being accused of being euphoric -- and I am not trying to be euphoric, I'm trying to at least point to the reality of where we are, because that is what we will build a goal from, define a goal from and build a scenario to achieve that goal -- and it is just as bad to underestimate where we are as it is to overestimate where we are.

MORE

The first point I'd like to emphasize, then, is the reality of the size of the American economy. We have about five percent of the world population. We represent over a quarter of the world's economy.

Our economy is, in fact, two and a half times -- two and a half times larger than the next largest economy, Japan. And yet, if you read the press, you would think that the Japanese economy had overcome the U.S. economy in terms of size.

Now, one reason that's an important fact is that it underscores, in my opinion, a great deal of the difficulty we have in terms of trade. It takes absolutely no intelligence at all, if you're a foreign manufacturer, to decide that you want a market in the U.S. economy. It's a no-brain decision. Yet I guarantee you that for each one of your companies it is probably still a tough decision to decide which one of the foreign markets you might want to get into. And I'll wager that if you just sit down and do it in terms of short-term impact, intermediate-term impact, it's still an easier decision for your companies to decide to send a sales group to Peoria than it is to send them to Tokyo, or to send them to Dallas instead of sending them to Hamburg. The fact of the matter is that that kind of an analysis is a very critical part of the millions of decisions which reflect national policy in terms of what our private sector is doing as a whole and in terms of the components of that private sector.

And we cannot forget it. That it is still the best market in the world is the U.S. market. It is the market that drives succes, not only for our own companies but for companies around the world. And it is the best market because by at least a factor of two and a half it is the biggest market for just about everything.

Secondly, the number one exporter in the world is the United States. And we seem to forget that. I say the reason that is important is it underscores why we are so desirous of establishing a true and maintaining a true free-trade environment. Because a great deal of the strength of our economy comes from a trading climate.

Third, our standard of living is about a third higher than our nearest competitor. And a sidebar to all of us is something we forget, and that is the fact that our productivity is still number one in the world. Still those that might have higher rates of improvement than ours, but they haven't even come close to catching up.

Now with that in mind it at least defines the base from which policy ought to be established or some of the base data from which policy ought to be established, from which goals are to be defined and from which we ought to decide how we would like to get where we would like to go.

We are very much committed to a set of economic policies that sustain strong economic growth. And as you hear the administration debate on the Hill, around the country, those issues that are critical to us, you will always see us try and bring it back to the reality of policies that create growth, that maintain that growth, that are contributing to that aspect of what we think is so critical. It is critical, and in fact, impacts our capacity to do just about anything. That's why our policy is built on programs designed to produce deficit reduction; designed to cut the tax rate on capital gains; designed to make permanent, and expand, the R & E tax credit; designed to get significant reform both in terms of regulatory reform and reform in terms of product liability in tort, legal reform; to unchain, if you will, some of the constraints imposed on the private sector; focus and target resources in education to maintain a competitive population in the work force; and in fact, to make sure that the level of federal R & D spending, which this year is the highest it has ever been, continues to grow and reflect the commitment of this country to the higher technology side

of the competitive sector.

With all of that we look at what is happening today and although we're pleased with the long-term trend looking back, as we are in a continuation of a long growth we are looking at some signs that indicate a softening. And we feel that this economy certainly needs commitment on the part of the private sector and the public sector to keep that level of growth going. Obviously everybody has a whole host of shortcut formulas for taking care of it and sometimes you've got to balance the capacity to get a jump start in the short-term for its long-term negative impact. And what you are seeing, I think, is a balancing act of trying to maintain the continuity of the growth cycle we're in without doing it in such a way that it creates a backlash intermediate or long-term that hurts the capacity of the country to continue to grow, continue to compete.

We are committed to the programs as defined in the budget the President sent up. That budget, we think, includes all those growth components I talked about. It includes a continued moving down of the deficit for example, projects it to flatten out about 1993. But we can't get that if what we get out of Congress are budget packages that do not reflect the significant balance of cuts and leveling off of growth and allocation of resources that the President sends up.

Last year we were about to have that fall apart, that we were about not to get the savings we needed, and the President was willing to take sequester. It had been assumed in this town that sequester was too painful for an administration to accept. That it was unmanageable, that it couldn't be handled, that no administration would ever accept sequester. Well, we accepted sequester and were in no hurry to get out of it until they provided back a budget resolution package that gave us the kinds of savings that were necessary to keep moving down that deficit reduction line.

I think you will continue to see the kind of tug of war that has been taking place on the budget, but I do think the debate is taking place with a lot more focus on the kinds of things that can really make a difference. If nothing else, the level of rhetoric in terms of whether it can be done with no new taxes is at least talking now about trying to address it in a much more constructive way. There is even debate up there now in terms of tax cuts. We are not recommending that at this stage, but the fact is that having gotten their attention on having to keep growth going in the economy, at least the debate is focusing in terms of general direction on the right side of that issue.

We do think that the world markets that have been closed to us ought to be open. And the President, in his meeting with Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan in California about a week ago, emphasized that. He made it very, very clear that we are not in these discussions to discuss details, progress is not going to be measured on whether one detail gets taken care of or another, but the only measure is the measure in terms of the trade balance. There'll be another meeting today with former Prime Minister Takeshita, and I guarantee that the President's message was and will continue to be extremely clear -- that this has to be results oriented. That the debate and the dialogue in terms of dotting this i and crossing that t and having that drag out over a long period of time is not how we will measure whether or not there has been a response.

I think last year's 301 action got their attention. I think the President's comments have gotten their attention, and I do think for the first time in a long, long time we have the possibility of getting a response out of our major trading partners that open up the process for American firms. Having said that, I will also say that as we look around the world we see other countries, again major trading partners, EC for example, as having at least contained within itselves some discussions that do raise some concerns. And I can assure that we have expressed our dissatisfaction with some of the

internal debate that has taken place, urging them not to use EC as a mechanism for stalling freer trade structure but one that should be, and was originally intended, and should be one that is designed to maximize exchanges amongst Western trading partners.

These are exciting times. Certainly what is happening in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union are significant not only because of their movement towards democracy in political implications, but they are significant because it is clear that over a reasonable period of time there will be much more participation in world commerce by a major portion of the population that had been excluded from that for a long, long time. How we handle that, how the private sector takes advantage of investment opportunities, how we in the public sector create public policy that makes that easy, how we establish relationships that continues the unfettering of their economies without doing it in such a way that they are wracked by internal splintering that creates problems in the long-run is the challenge.

The question that was put at the very beginning was how will the historians in 2030 look back at this administration. I hope that the -- the only thing I would suggest and hope for -- is that they look back at it with a little bit more of an analytic perspective than some of the current press who seems to suggest that everything is an accident. If you are part of that group that thinks that all these things that happen around the world are accidents, then in my opinion, you've really missed the reality of where we are, the definition of where we'd like to get and somehow then aren't going to be able to enjoy watching the laying out of the scenario and the progress that is made in trying to get there.

They are critical times. They're times where the private-sector, public-sector partnership which is so much the strength of America is an important part of where we go, and I just hope that as you and your representative institutions, your companies, take a look at what you have to do on a daily basis to fulfill your own goals, that you keep in mind that there are some national goals that make some sense and perhaps together we can make this a period of time to really deliver on what everyone perceives is a tremendous opportunity for restructuring that will make a difference not only for this generation but for the next, and the next, and the next.

I thank you for the chance to come and visit with you. I'll be happy to answer questions, talk about whatever you'd like. (Applause.)

Q Governor, you talked about the trade deficit. Is there either a formal or informal target within the administration as to when you expect to see -- you particularly talked about resolves -- when do you expect to see the trade imbalance corrected?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, I must tell you of all the things we have to target, that's the one that's the most illusive in trying to lay out a scenario. Because frankly as you lay it out and look at it with the assumptions of what might be happening, it is very difficult to find assumptions that keep that thing moving the right direction over any significant period of time. And the question we have to ask is whether zero is the right target or not. And I must say that there are some folks that make some very persuasive arguments that what we want to do is make sure that we get it down to a manageable range. But unlike the budget deficit there is nothing magic about the trade balance over the long-term having to go down to zero, but we really do think that we are looking at a 10-year battle at the very least to get that trade deficit down. It is not going to happen overnight, it is not going to happen any faster than the budget deficit. Our budget deficit target is 1993. If you extend that out a little bit, you see that that's the timeframe that we're talking about.

Q Governor, what's your reaction to Chairman

Rostenkowski's proposal over the weekend?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well I think, first of all, that the Chairman of the Ways and Means, Chairman Rostenkowski, does deserve some credit for putting together what is, amongst a lot of rhetoric that has occurred in the last few months, some serious and comprehensive proposals. I don't think it's a surprise to anyone that the administration finds some components of what he has in his plan not consistent with programs we've -- policies -- we've laid out. There are some parts of it, we cannot support.

But I think if you look at it, the interesting thing about what Chairman Rostenkowski did is that his plan is in very specific contrast with some of the other Democratic approaches. Certainly Senator Moynihan's plan would have increased the deficit by about $55 billion so there's that divergence. Representative Gephardt, who's been talking about what he would want to do with the peace divident, decided to give the peace divident to the Soviet Union and not use it for deficit reduction, so obviously there's a conflict there. Actually I'm not sure if he was just using the peace divident or whether he was also going to raise taxes and give that to the Soviet Union as well. (Laughter.)

Within the Democratically controlled budget committees they're working on pieces but haven't come together with any broad package, so that's a significant contrast. So I think Chairman Rostenkowski deserves credit for doing it quite differently than a lot of the hot rhetoric that's been flying around from the other side. Some of the fundamental problems we had with it, though, is that it does not -- either in terms of its individual pieces or in terms of the total, it does not stimulate economic growth. And in fact, it has some components that are downright antigrowth within it.

And as I said in the presentation I made, we are very concerned that whatever gets done, gets done in such a way that maintains the incentives for growth and the reality of growth that we think is appropriate in the economy. And whatever is done to deal with the deficit, for example, must be done in such a way that it increases rather than decreases economic growth.

And the last of the concerns that I'll raise here is that we do get concerned that anytime anybody wants to get rid if the Gramm-Rudman discipline, and in particular the sequester tool in Gramm-Rudman -- as I say, up until last year everyone thought it was not going to be used and never paid much attention to it -- a sequester is a very important tool in keeping the unlimited growth of the process and being able to turn back a budget and stand firm with some discipline in the system. So we have a little concern that he's included an elimination of that within this package as well.

But it's thoughtful, it has pieces in it that we obviously don't support, but at least he deserves some credit for having done it in this comprehensible way --

Q To follow up on that Govenor, what parts of Chairman Rostenkowski's package do you like, and in particular, what do you think about his proposal for a freeze on all spending increases, including the non-Means-tested goals?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, I met with Darman this morning, and Dick is going to sit down and take a line-by-line look at what has been proposed. And rather than jump into it right now, endorse any of the pieces that are there, let me take a look at the analysis. But anytime you get something thoughtful, it deserves a thoughtful rather than off-the-cuff response -- let defer that until we get some better ideas.

Q Governor, there's been a lot of discussion that the administration would be willing to take a sequester as a way of raising defense spending above the level that Congress might

appropriate, and yet, I hadn't heard that in the administration --

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, when we took sequester last time, we took the cut in both defense and the domestic side and showed that we could manage it. Sequester this time will also cut defense spending significantly. So it's not -- we're not taking a sequester to raise defense spending, it will be significantly lower than the package we sent up. I think -- Congress decides what it's going to do with the budget, it will find that its own hot rhetoric of $10 billion, $20 billion, $30 billion cut capacity in defense is not achievable with anything that makes any sense. And as they sit down and look at the specific changes they have to make, they will find that it just is not that easy to make those cuts if you've fulfilled the responsibility of this country -- the country has to itself, to be able to deal with the kinds of uncertainty and instability that still exists as we go through change.

As you look at what happened, for example, with Lithuania declaring its own independence, the fact that people kind of take a deep breath and are watching that very carefully underscores the concerns that people have about instability and uncertainty. So when there's a more responsible look at defense, you'll find that sequester is still a defense cut relative to what we're going to get -- rather than an increase.

Q Governor, there's a lot of discussion this year about environmental fees which some of us consider taxes. And I'm wondering what the administration's point of view on fees for cleaning the air, fees for solid waste and things like this.

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, we're great believers in the market system, and total cost of the market includes cost of -- we are opposed to fees such as the one being proposed now in the House side, at least in one of the subcommittees. That doesn't mean that there is not a fee structure for some pollutants -- pollutant-specific that might not be considered. But I haven't seen the list that makes any sense yet that we would jump on and say that that's a great idea and we're going to go that way.

There are some things included in the clean air bill that we felt very minor numbers that are there for dealing with some of the administrative costs associated with regulating and monitoring and so on. But even on the major pollutants such as in acid rain, we really tried to create a system where the major transfers would be market-oriented and would be determined by the marketplace themselves, and I think that's probably the way we'll go for virtually all of the major issues.

That doesn't mean that somebody who is making amendments in the legislation may stick something in there that we might have to be forced to accept and we're going to try and avoid it if we can.

By the way, I have to say we are absolutely opposed to a national utilitie tax, if that's the question. We're absolutely opposed to fees under the current House subcommittee structure on industrial emmisions that are trying to be used as a "cautionary mechanism." So those major ones we're still currently opposed to.

Q There seems to be growing support, on the House side in particular, certainly a lot more rhetoric and support that we're finding even among some of the Democrat proponents of the capital gains provision last year for eliminating the bubble in the context of doing a capital gains provision package this year. Would the administration still consider that to be an unacceptable tax increase?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Yes. Why not?

Q Looking at putting together a package, whether that might end up being something you'd have to accept?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: No, that's a tax increase -- not only is it a tax increase, it's an antigrowth tax increase. As I said, we have to look at a package that is a growth stimulus, not a growth inhibitor. And they're not eliminating the bubble; they're making the bubble bigger. They're extending it all the way out. That's not eliminating the bubble.

Q Governor, we're importing 54 percent of our oil requirements now, and it seems that demand is really outstripping supply because production is declining in the U.S. and the Soviet Union -- in the U.S. mainly because the government is shutting down key areas like the OCS. We had a committee hearing last week and the environmentalists wanted the entire OCS shut down. Do you see a beginning misery index as a result of this, with rapid increases in the price of oil?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: There have been some increases. Oil was at one point down around $11 or $12 a barrel. I guess it's up around $20, $21, $22 -- I don't know that the latest number is. But there's been a significant enough increase that at least there's a slightly more relaxed look amongst the producers, but has not been large enough to inspire any major domestic drilling. The number of rigs is still a fraction of what it used to be -- the number of rigs being used.

It is a concern -- particularly the import side. And the difficulty is that you have to look at the reality of trying to deal with an issue that is awfully tough to keep foolish legislation from being written on. And what you have to do is balance getting through a period of time where there is a likelihood that if you overreact to that need that you're going to end up with foolish legislation and still not shut yourself out in such a way that you can't recover from it as the pressure of the need creates a better environment -- no pun intended -- for response.

It's a very fine line, and I suspect that when the President puts his OCS decision out, it will be designed to walk that fine line.

I'll take one last one and then go to you.

Q In January, Budget Director Darman indicated the $20-per-ton fee on virgin materials to produce paper, glass, metals et cetera would be considered a new tax by the administration. Yet last week the Treasury Department testified that they were currently studying a virgin materials-type tax. They set forth some criteria that they would look at, including amount of the fee, whether or not it could be administrable and what the odds were for collectability and that sort of thing. I wonder if that indicates from your perspective a change in the administration's position that that kind of a tax is a new tax?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, they might have found a way to give it two more legs, and I guess I've never seen a four-legged duck. (Laughter and applause.)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Thank you very, very much, Governor. We see Burt Solomon's words were very well put.

Let me add just one thing on the capital gains thing. We were delighted last week when the administration came out swinging on the revenue estimates. We appreciate that very, very much.

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Well, it's just the beginning. (Laughter.)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 10:06 A.M. EST