

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2025-0373-S

FOIA Number:
2025-0373-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries: Briefing Books

OA/ID Number: CF00556
Folder ID Number: CF00556-001

Folder Title:
President Bush - 1st 100 Days File

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	22	2	

ANDY CARD FILES (CONT'D)

BOX 3 of 3

Briefing Books:

Federal Judgeships, 1989

WH Office of Policy Development--Transition Briefing Materials,
1988

President's Trip to Japan, PRC, & Korea, 2/22/89-2/27/89

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 26, 1992

337735
F6006-01**C. F.**

MEMO FOR THE RECORD

RE: ANDY CARD FILES

Today Lee Johnson received a phone call from Lisa Kiser, a member of Secretary of Transportation Andrew Card's staff. Ms. Kiser said that they had identified two boxes of Presidential records among Mr. Card's boxes now located at the Department of Transportation. She asked if she could return these boxes to WHORM, and we agreed to take custody of these records. About thirty minutes after her call, she arrived in the EOB's South Court in a DOT vehicle with the two large banana boxes of records.

We transferred the contents of the banana boxes to three FRC's and prepared rudimentary container lists for the boxes (see attached lists). While reboxing the records, we determined that some of the briefing books were security-classified. Therefore, we made arrangements with Tom Taggart to store these three boxes with other sensitive records on the 5th floor.

These records generally deal with personnel matters, transition matters, and foreign trips. They are definitely Presidential records and should fit logically with other Andy Card files transferred to WHORM as Oversized Attachments during the past several years. Ms. Kiser agreed to transfer other Presidential records that may surface at DOT. Her telephone number at DOT is 366-1111.

David E. Alsobrook
David E. Alsobrook
Archivist

CF 554
CF 555
CF 556**C. F.**

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

3 boxes filed 7/13/92
π

ANDY CARD FILES

BOX 1 of 3

C. F.

Briefing Books:

NATO Summit, Rome, 11/6/91-11/8/91

President's Visit to the Hague and the Netherlands,
11/8/91-11/9/91

Report on Transition, President Ronald Reagan, 1988

Presidential Commission on Executive Exchange, 1989

[Transition, 11/88 (No Title)]

"Managing the Transition: The Next Fifty Days," 11/30/88

First 100 Days: Initial Planning Volume, 12/8/88 (In Folder)

Files:

AC [Andy Card]--FYI Memos [and Resumes], 1988-89

WH Resumes to be Held, 1988

C. F.

CF554

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

ANDY CARD FILES

BOX 2 of 3

Briefing Books:

Transition Book--1980 & 1988

STA/LTA Planning Book, 1/9/89 (2 Copies)

Houston Economic Summit, 7/9/90-7/11/90

Oakwood Child Development Center, Los Angeles, CA, 6/89-9/89

Michael J. O'Neil (U.S. Army Records), 1990-91

Foreign Presidential Travel--London, Greece, & Turkey, 1991

Transition Personnel Book, 11/19/88

President's Education Summit with Governors, 9/27/89-9/28/89

Travel--Official & Political, 1991

C. F.

C. F.

CFSSS

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

ANDY CARD FILES

BOX 3 of 3

Briefing Books:

Federal Judgeships, 1989

WH Office of Policy Development--Transition Briefing
Materials, 1988

President's Trip to Japan, PRC, & Korea, 2/22/89-2/27/89

C. F.

C. F.

CF556
ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

Make 100
Day file



Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

For Bush, the First 100 Days Have Offered Little To Provide Strength for the Tough Times Ahead

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—After his first 100 days in office, George Bush's poll ratings are about average for a new president, but more and more he's seen as someone blending into the landscape, reacting to events or allowing power to swing to the Democratic Congress.

The Wall Street Journal's regular panel of political experts credits Mr. Bush with surrounding himself with competent associates but worries he will have little to fall back on when he and his administration face real adversity for the first time.

"He has no constituency of his own," says John Sears, a Republican strategist. "He doesn't have people who will just automatically take his lead and go with him because they trust him or believe in him. So he exists after a hundred days still sort of naked in office."

"Jimmy Carter when he was high in the polls was as high as anyone," says Alan Baron, a Democratic strategist. "But when he started to drop, there was nothing to stop his fall." Mr. Baron figures the same sort of thing may happen to Mr. Bush.

'Always Reacting'

"I can't recollect a previous situation where a new president was being assessed as not giving the country a sense of where he's going," says GOP theoretician Kevin Phillips. "He's always reacting, never initiating. The public senses power is swinging to Congress," not necessarily a good thing, says Mr. Phillips, because voters "like Congress even less than the president."

"He just blends into the landscape," says Peter Hart, a Democratic poll taker. "If the landscape looks OK, Bush looks OK." But "there is no core constituency for him. He doesn't alienate any great body of voters at this stage but there's very little positive feeling about him." So, as the landscape starts to change, everything about him starts to change too.

It simply isn't enough to be a competent manager, the Journal's political sages agree. Mr. Bush seems to want to be "a Fortune 500 executive director" running the country, says Mr. Baron, or maybe the new Calvin Coolidge. That may work for a while. If Mr. Bush can avoid economic bad times and conclude some successful negotiations with the Soviets, he probably can escape a serious downturn in his political fortunes for a year or more, the panelists agree.

Mr. Sears argues Mr. Bush should have spent his first 100 days—"the days that he knows that he's not going to be in trouble in the polls—trying to build a constituency, trying to become predictable to elements

of the population that like him and could become a core for him for the harder days ahead."

But the people he has tried to reach out to—upper-middle-class liberals—are just the people who would bail out in times of adversity.

Oil Spill

The Alaskan oil spill "symbolizes what he's all about," says Mr. Hart. Most politicians "would have been outraged and would have said, 'Heads are going to roll and I'm taking numbers.' But he held his balance and the event just overrode him, and that's always what seems to happen to him."

The consequence was an environmental "PR disaster," according to Mr. Sears, that ended any hope Mr. Bush might have had of making a "quick alliance with that group."

Another problem in trying to reach out to upper-middle-class liberals is money, says Mr. Phillips. "He [Mr. Bush] won't spend money on anything, whether it's the environment or the minimum wage, day care or education."

"He wants \$441 million more for education. That's lower than [junk-bond salesman] Michael Milken's bail bond."

"Making a choice," says Mr. Sears, "is always difficult for him." Mr. Sears points out that the president has switched posi-

tions on gun control and tuition tax credits, and paid a price for it. "You have to prove yourself predictable in some fashion and stick to it," he says.

'The Fatal Thing'

"The one thing that's predictable," says Mr. Hart, "is you know he's going to compromise on every single thing."

Mr. Phillips: "That's the fatal thing."

Mr. Baron: "It's a very subtle kind of thing, whether you believe this guy or not. But when Bush says he's going to do something like this [change positions] there's immediate suspicion."

The panel agrees Mr. Bush has named competent people to serve him, but isn't swept off its feet by that fact.

"[Herbert] Hoover had a terrific cabinet," says Mr. Phillips. "I think where I would disagree with this administration is that they feel that if they pick good people and they put them in the right jobs they'll be viewed as competent and they'll handle everything that comes up and everything will go well. I don't believe that."

"It's the old insider fallibility," says Mr. Phillips. "Just when you need new people and new ideas what you get is the quintessence of the establishment out of a third-term administration."

"The big problems aren't going to be solved by the best and brightest mechanics," says Mr. Baron. "It comes down to the president's judgment."

The best thing going for Mr. Bush and the Republicans, the panelists agree, is the Democrats. For starters, three of the four panelists agree (Mr. Hart reserves judgment), the Democrats need to replace embattled House Speaker James Wright.

"They better get rid of him as soon as they can," says Mr. Baron. "He's got to go," says Mr. Phillips. Mr. Sears agrees, but figures the Democrats may fumble it.

Aggressive Strategy

More importantly perhaps, the panelists agree, the Democrats need a more aggressive strategy. Mr. Baron thinks the "loyal opposition" may be too loyal. Rep. Thomas Foley, Mr. Wright's likely successor as speaker, would be an improvement, Mr. Baron says, but neither Mr. Foley nor Senate leader George Mitchell "is much of an opposition politician."

Democrats need to challenge Mr. Bush more, the panelists say. Take him on, for example, on the minimum wage. Instead, says Mr. Baron, they are too willing "to compromise to get legislation through."

"Exactly right," says Mr. Hart. The problem, Mr. Hart concludes, "is that Democrats aren't afraid enough. They all came back after the 1988 election, a terrible wreck, and looked around to discover, 'Hey, we're all still here.' So they have no sense of urgency."

"They just sit around collecting their PAC money," says Mr. Phillips.

Meanwhile, the panelists agree, the people's agenda isn't being met. "People believe everybody in Washington is making a deal for himself," says Mr. Hart, "and no one's fighting for our cause." If such malaise persists, the panelists suggest, the ultimate blame will rest with the top elected official—the president.

Given Mr. Bush's problems, who will be president in 1993?

"Maybe Bill Bradley," ventures Mr. Hart. Democrat Baron and Republicans Sears and Phillips are in agreement: George Bush.

Cabinet's tone backs president's stated goals

By Isaiah J. Poole
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WT 4-20
AP

When Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp went before a House committee last week, he walked into an all-too-common Capitol Hill scene: Democrats complaining that a Republican White House was spending too little on social programs.

Usually, the administration official would plead, often fruitlessly, the cause of fiscal austerity. But this time Mr. Kemp rewrote the script.

When Democrats on the committee said they wanted to add \$241 million to HUD's 1989 budget for aid to the homeless and for public housing programs, contrary to President Bush's budget plan, Mr. Kemp said he would simply "wink" at the Democratic proposal rather than oppose it.

"I didn't come to HUD to be the secretary who diminished the housing stock," he told the committee.

Mr. Kemp is one of several Cabinet secretaries on the front lines of making Mr. Bush's "kinder, gentler nation" a reality. And these secretaries are succeeding, by most accounts, in at least creating a different image from the Reagan administration on issues affecting the poor, elderly and racial minorities.

"If the comparison you are making is with Reagan, Bush has sent very different signals," said Judy Weitz, a lobbyist for the Children's Defense Fund, a liberal advocacy group. "The question is how much of that will be reflected in actual programs. The change in tone is good, but children can't be fed or educated just on a change in tone."

"I would have to give them good marks on rhetoric because we haven't had a chance to see much else," said Rep. Louis Stokes, an Ohio Democrat who sits on House Appropriations subcommittees that oversee many key social programs.

Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, like Mr. Kemp, has been talking less about tight budgets than about how his agency can tackle thorny problems. For Dr. Sullivan, those issues include the implementation of welfare reform, controlling the spread of AIDS and confronting health problems among the urban and rural poor.

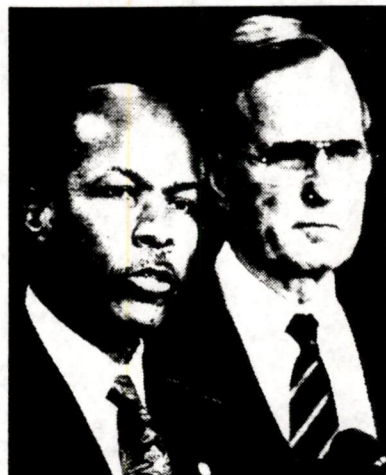
Also, Dr. Sullivan and Mr. Bush have tried to mend fences with blacks and other groups, which had hostile relations with the Reagan administration and called Mr. Reagan "insensitive" to their needs.

Mr. Kemp's initiatives have been the most dramatic. The self-styled "bleeding-heart conservative" began his term by touring public housing projects in Atlanta and Philadelphia.

The Atlanta trip earned the administration praise from such black Democrats as Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Georgia Rep. John Lewis. The Philadelphia trip, where Mr. Kemp witnessed a drug deal, led to his public assault on drug abuse in public housing, an effort that appears to have strong grass-



Jack Kemp, housing and urban affairs secretary, talks to Virginia Wilks in Philadelphia. The visit led to his attack on drug abuse in public housing.



Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan with President Bush.

roots support.

Mr. Kemp also halted a Reagan administration compromise on one of his pet projects, enterprise zones. The original plan, which Mr. Kemp helped fashion while a member of the House, was to give federal tax breaks to businesses that locate in economically depressed neighborhoods. Congress gave the administration the authority to designate federal enterprise zones two years ago but did not authorize the tax breaks.

Rather than accept half a loaf, Mr. Kemp is junking the idea until he can have it all.

Dr. Sullivan, the administration's lone black Cabinet member, has taken such low-profile steps as meeting with a group of black health professionals last week on the issue of

health in inner-city neighborhoods. With an assist from Mr. Bush, he also called attention to a plan to add increased funding to the Medicaid program that, in part, would be targeted to low-income single mothers.

Dr. Sullivan is well liked so far among welfare advocates partly because of his experience as the founder of the Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta, designed primarily to train black health professionals. In his confirmation hearings, Dr. Sullivan highlighted his concerns about health care needs among the poor and minorities.

"He is somebody who understands there are poor children and poor families. You don't have to do some of the basic education," Miss Weitz said.

But Dr. Sullivan has had his share of political trouble, first with abortion groups, which threatened to derail his nomination because of newspaper statements that suggested he favored a woman's legal right to an abortion. (He later said he did not.)

Later, he ran into trouble with some urban political leaders when he was quoted as favoring a federally supported program of distributing clean needles to drug users to prevent the spread of AIDS. Dr. Sullivan subsequently, according to an aide, said he only favored the federal government "looking at" the idea.

Whether the difference in tone will make a political difference to voters outside the GOP camp is yet to be seen, Mr. Stokes said.

"It's too early to make that assessment," he said. "At this juncture, we have to say we are not only interested in what you say you are going to do but what you actually do."

Report card from the right: Bush gets A for style

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WT 4-28
08

President Bush's first 100 days have proved to be a triumph of style over substance, according to conservatives inside and outside the Beltway.

Mr. Bush, who gets some high marks from unexpected quarters, nonetheless has succeeded once again in dividing the conservative community.

Clearly, style emerges as his strong suit, even among some who were initially hostile to — or at least skeptical of — his candidacy.

"I find myself surprised about how much I personally like the man and his wife, Barbara. I give them both an A-plus on style," said political fund raiser Richard Viguerie, who backed Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp's nomination bid.

Reflecting the view of most graders, Mr. Viguerie finds "something nice about this man who feels comfortable with the office, in projecting an image we need in a leader — a family man who's comfortable going to church, for example."

"It's one thing to moralize and make speeches and another to be the kind of person we admire," Mr. Viguerie said. "That's very refreshingly different, but whether he will wear as well as Reagan remains to be seen."

But a president who attempts to humanize the presidency runs the risk of appearing to trivialize it in the eyes of some and, in Mr. Bush's case, of undoing much of what former President Reagan accomplished.

"If he holds up enough puppies and throws enough horseshoes, people will be convinced he's just like the guy next door," said American Conservative Union Chairman Da-

vid Keene, a former campaign consultant to Sen. Robert Dole. "But then if there's a domestic or international crisis, they look at the guy next door and say he couldn't solve it — and I'll bet the president can't either. In large measure, that's what happened to Ford and Carter."

Since one of the self-assigned roles of the conservative movement is to hold a Republican president's feet to the fire on issues, it is not surprising that Mr. Bush draws mixed reviews, especially regarding Central America.

What is surprising is that Free Congress Foundation President Paul M. Weyrich, who brought Mr. Bush much grief by testifying against the confirmation of John Tower as defense secretary, turns out to be one of the president's kinder graders.

Regarding the Nicaraguan aid plan worked out with Congress by Mr. Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Mr. Weyrich, often one of the harshest critics on the right, said: "It's too early to grade, but I agree with Baker that [the United States was] totally out of the park."

"The problem Bush inherited is that decisions were being made by Central Americans without the White House, but I wouldn't have gone the route Baker went. I would have put a far higher emphasis on military aid [for the Contras] in es-

In contrast, Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, flunks the president on the pact, which calls for no military aid for the resistance and allows the withdrawal of non-military aid if Congress judges that the Marxist Sandinista government is living up to its promise of free elections.

"It surrenders power to Congress. It's not bipartisan; it's a Democratic plan," Mr. Helms said. "If giving four

Democratic committee chairmen veto rights isn't usurpation of the president's constitutional rights, I don't know what better example there can be."

Political consultant Craig Shirley, a longtime Bush supporter who nonetheless quit the campaign early in a dispute with campaign manager Lee Atwater over tactics, is as surprisingly harsh as Mr. Weyrich is gentle. "I'd give him a D-plus overall," Mr. Shirley said. "If the criterion is continuing the Reagan mandate, he's not doing particularly well."

"Although he's held the line on taxes, he's reneged on tuition tax credits and Contras, handed over the presidential foreign-policy authority, which Reagan spent eight years building back up, to Congress, and given the anti-gun forces an opening wedge."

Like a number of other disappointed Bush supporters, he spies a political trap Mr. Bush might have laid for himself among a significant segment of his political base with the temporary ban imposed on semiautomatic weapons.

"The anti-gun lobby knows the number of crimes committed with semiautomatics is minuscule, so once they ban them they're going to come back and say most crimes are committed with handguns," Mr. Shirley said.

Where some conservative critics see specific blunders as well as a themeless drift in the first 100 days, others see the wisdom of practicality. And while style is emphasized inside the Beltway, substance is the focus outside, especially among former Reagan administration officials now scattered around the country.

Perhaps because they have known firsthand the responsibilities of governance, these former officials see the new administration as off to a calculated start. They see its strategy emanating from the Election

Day numbers, which indicated that the broad-based support Mr. Reagan had in his first year wasn't there for Mr. Bush.

In New York, Albert A. Angrisani, an assistant labor secretary in the Reagan administration, said Mr. Bush, "being a smart man, has chosen to pick ... fights much more carefully."

Even in Nicaragua, the issue as Mr. Angrisani sees it "is not presidential prerogatives, but harmony and emotions in Central America regarding U.S. policy. The president knows that in the public's mind he appears, on the surface, to have solved the problem, so it's a victory for him."

In Dallas, Thomas W. Pauken, who headed the ACTION agency in the first Reagan term, said the new president deserves "an A for sticking firm on taxes and an A for his willingness to address the savings and loan crisis and to acknowledge its seriousness."

On education, conservatives long have held that the problem with the nation's schools has been not money, but standards and incentives — for teachers, administrators and students alike.

Mr. Bush, who set out to be "the education president," has drawn criticism from Democrats for requesting fewer education dollars than in Mr. Reagan's budget.

But C. Ronald Kimberling, an assistant education secretary in the second Reagan administration, gives President Bush a B-plus for "really making [parental] choice an issue that works politically."

"He's pushing the Minnesota-type experiment, where parents can send [their children] to any school district they want within the state, which heightens competition among public schools," said Mr. Kimberling, who now lives in Los Angeles.

He also praised Mr. Bush for "pushing for [state] deregulation of teacher certification, as [former New Jersey] Gov. [Tom] Kean succeeded in doing in New Jersey, so if you have a bachelor's degree in something solidly academic you can teach and take a few education courses in the summer."

Why a B-plus and not an A? "Because he backed down too soon with his recent statement about tuition tax credits," Mr. Kimberling said. "He gave up the fight without putting up a fight."

While Bush graders are almost uniformly pleased with his handling of the budget, Citizens for America Chairman Donald J. Devine, another former Dole campaign consultant, is particularly impressed with the president as a tactician.

"His stong suit is tactics," Mr. Devine said. "Look at his ploy on the budget. He took the current-services myth that Reagan played along with and exposed it, so the president doesn't get damned for appearing to cut spending when in fact he is increasing it over the previous year's level."

Mr. Devine and other graders said the ploy threw Congress off track because the lawmakers don't know how to deal with a president who takes the credit for that which other presidents used to take the blame.

At California's Hoover Institution, former Reagan policy adviser Martin Anderson said Mr. Bush has baffled Congress with a number of savvy tactics — from appearing to cut a deal on reducing the capital-gains tax rate while holding the line on spending and keeping his no-tax pledge to national security, which "still has incredibly large numbers in the budget and ... SDI, which is still alive and well."

"Brilliant," Mr. Anderson said. "A-plus."

First 100 days Short on 'flash'

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WT 4-28A)

When then-presidential candidate George Bush was slumping in the polls last year, he embraced the call for change that his Democratic opponent Michael Dukakis was driving home each day to applauding audiences.

Picking up on a phrase coined by President Reagan, Mr. Bush proclaimed, "We are the change," before crowds around the nation, pledging to continue the "revolution" that reversed the "malaise" infecting the country during the Carter era.

As Mr. Bush reaches his 100th day in the Oval Office tomorrow, critics and supporters alike are still looking for change.

But with the exception of some critics who have charged that he has moved too slowly to fill key defense and foreign policy positions, Mr. Bush has won generally good marks.

"This is not a spectacular 100 days in the sense that there are some huge numbers, large numbers of bills," said House Majority Leader Thomas Foley.

However, Mr. Foley said Mr. Bush should get high grades for creating a "new relationship" with Congress, adding that the 100-day standard is no longer relative to the modern presidency.

"I'm afraid that... in recent years we've gotten into kind of an agenda-setting mood where we have to have dramatic, even theatrical kinds of displays," he said.

Rep. Dante Fascell, Florida Democrat and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which has worked closely with Mr. Bush in his first months in office, agreed.

"It's a new administration, it's a new Congress. I don't know who came up with the idea that President Bush could just simply move in and everything would be right on track and there would be no review, no slowdown, no nothing," Mr. Fascell said.

"... They have their own sense of responsibility, their own determination as to what the policy ought to be; they're not taking anything at face value or past value. I find that very comforting as a member of Congress and as a citizen," he said.

Still Mr. Bush feels the pressures from Congress and the American people to fulfill his campaign pledge to hit the ground running and at the same time craft his own approach to the dozens of issues facing the nation.

While he admits Americans "expect results," Mr. Bush this week said he isn't rushing to unveil revolutionary programs, the standard past presidents have been judged by at the 100-day mark.

Unlike the past two presidents to sit in the Oval Office, Mr. Bush inherits policies he agrees with. "We didn't come in here throwing the rascals out to try to do something — correct all the ills of the world in 100 days," he said last week.

"He was elected because Americans liked what they had," said a senior White House official.

That is a sharp difference from many of his predecessors who were elected on the promise of change. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, laid out a huge "New Deal," in his

first few weeks; John F. Kennedy called early to pass the torch "to a new generation;" Lyndon Johnson established his "Great Society," and Ronald Reagan created the "Reagan Revolution."

Instead of being a revolutionary, Mr. Bush is taking a yeoman's approach to the job, with a goal of creating a consensus solution instead of a flashy — and hasty — answer.

Mr. Bush and his lieutenants have drawn up a budget with a \$10 billion cut in defense funding, moved to settle the savings and loan industry crisis, created tough ethics rules and attempted to thwart the flow of drugs to American cities. But these acts are for the most part awaiting congressional approval.

In his first 100 days, Mr. Bush also backed the controversial congressional pay raise and even after its

defeat on Capitol Hill has continued to voice support for such an increase for federal judges, hard-to-fill government posts — and members of Congress.

But Bush supporters point out that while the president supported the pay raise from the start, his backing was lukewarm, leaving the public with the impression that Congress, and ultimately House Speaker Jim Wright, were the real forces behind it.

Another controversy Mr. Bush managed to straddle was the explosive union crisis at Eastern Airlines, a feud that at one point threatened to disrupt air and rail transportation throughout the East Coast. However, the president refused to intervene.

Because Mr. Bush hasn't acted swiftly to revise or add to the policies inherited from Mr. Reagan, few

know his agenda, or if he even has one, aides to the president said this week.

Initially, the president was scheduled to focus on a single, different theme each week, but his messages have been muddled by loosely written speeches that often touch on several equally important subjects.

Citing the "patchwork" of programs created thus far, Allan Lichtman, a political historian at American University, said the president lacks "vision," adding that "there is danger in the lack of an agenda."

"It was George Bush who said 'We are the change.' Well, where is the change?" Mr. Lichtman asked.

He also called Mr. Bush "methodological," a trait that has caused other presidencies to fail.

"He's feeling his way, he's learning by doing," said Mr. Lichtman. "Bush tends to be underestimated, but, by God, he's had eight years to create an agenda."

Said presidential scholar James David Barber of Duke University: "We still have yet to see what he's going to do, if anything."

White House Chief of Staff John Sununu discounts complaints from critics that his boss is moving too

slowly to create his own agenda. "Everytime there's an opportunity there, he's gone out and jumped on it," he said.

"I think he's doing just fine," said Mr. Reagan during a meeting with Mr. Bush Wednesday.

Absent any changes in policy, Mr. Bush has set himself apart from his predecessor through style. His 12-hour days are a stark difference to Mr. Reagan's days, which began at 9 a.m. and ended by 5 p.m.

Mr. Bush's often erratic schedule is also a marked change from the Reagan era when schedules were known a week in advance and never included the hastily called trips to Capitol Hill the current president has taken.

A more involved president, Mr. Bush has reversed Mr. Reagan's practice of delegating authority instead tackles every major issue. But he has avoided the everyday minor details that interested former President Carter, who oversaw the White House tennis court schedule.

Mr. Bush also has revitalized relations with the White House press corps, shunned by Mr. Reagan. The president almost weekly holds a press conference or meets with a pool of reporters. He seems to enjoy

bantering with the journalists — many of whom he addresses by first names — even though they have ridiculed his tortured speaking style, dubbed "Bush Speak" and featuring the word "thing" when he can't call on the proper phrase.

His easy-going style doesn't end when heads of state visit Washington. During three recent visits with leaders of Middle Eastern nations, Mr. Bush broke formalities by taking them sightseeing, including a trip with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to Baltimore for the Orioles' opening day.

Add to that Mr. Bush's construction of a horseshoe pit on the White House grounds, his love of fishing and the first family's coddling of their grandchildren and new puppies, and "you have a president that Americans can relate to, hug, if you will," said a senior aide.

Polls show that Mr. Bush enjoys a favorable rating higher than Mr. Reagan at his 100-day anniversary, a time when he was recovering from an assassin's bullet.

Aides said Mr. Bush's attention to style and accessibility have helped him survive attacks that he has moved too slowly and clear major snags, such as the Senate's rejection of John Tower as defense secretary, the first presidential nominee to be turned down in 30 years.

Only this week, Mr. Bush signaled he is ready to break from the issues gate, promising new defense and foreign policies and pledging to tackle the biggest issues facing the nation, namely drugs and education.

Claiming that the administration's reviews of past policy are finished, Mr. Bush set out on a four-day campaign-style trip this week to highlight the accomplishments of his first 100 days in office and his agenda for the future.

The cheerleading will continue Sunday in New York with the celebration of the 200th anniversary of President George Washington's inauguration, extending the "George to George" theme of Mr. Bush's own swearing-in Jan. 20.

As if to pre-empt his critics in weekend newspaper stories about his relatively uneventful three months in office, Mr. Bush's staff this week distributed a 17-page handbook titled "Building a Better America" that details his initiatives on several fronts.

BUSH VIEWS HIS SUCCESSES

President Bush this week spelled out what he viewed as the accomplishments of his administration's first 100 days, detailed in a 17-page booklet entitled "Building a Better America."

DOMESTIC ISSUES

- Created a child care initiative to give low- to moderate-income working families greater choice and flexibility in meeting their child care needs.
- Drew up legislation to add 95,000 more 4-year-olds to the Head Start program and expand the number of infants and pregnant women eligible for Medicaid.
- Called for a \$1 billion program to help end homelessness.
- Proposed sweeping ethics legislation that would toughen rules for all three branches and promised to seek a deal outlawing honorariums to members of Congress.
- Outlined a massive educational program that authorizes spending for minority programs and excellence in education programs.
- Sent the military to assist in the clean-up of the rescue in the Alaskan oil spill.
- Ordered drug czar William Bennett to draw up a nationwide anti-drug program by September.



ECONOMIC ISSUES

- Proposed a far-reaching program to clean up the crisis plaguing the savings and loan industry.
- Succeeded in winning congressional support for a fiscal budget that meets deficit targets without raising taxes.
- Announced proposals to help drought-ravaged farmers.



INTERNATIONAL AND DEFENSE ISSUES

- Reached accord with Congress to provide Nicaraguan resistance with humanitarian aid.
- Proposed a huge aid package to bolster political and economic reform in Poland.
- Met with several Middle Eastern leaders in an attempt to speed up the peace process.
- Decided to fund both the multi-warhead MX nuclear missile and the single-warhead Midgetman.
- Cut defense spending requests for fiscal 1990 by \$10 billion, reducing funding for several major Reagan administration programs including the Strategic Defense Initiative.



Source: White House

VT 4-21P BP

The Washington Times

The century mark — a comparison

Here's how George Bush's first 100 days in office compare with those of some of his predecessors:

Franklin D. Roosevelt

- ▶ Hires more than 3 million for Civilian Conservation Corps.
- ▶ Signs bill to pay farmers not to plant crops.
- ▶ Launches Tennessee Valley Authority to provide hydroelectric power.
- ▶ Offers \$500 million to poor through state, local agencies.

John F. Kennedy

- ▶ Creates Public Works Administration funding bridges, dams, roads.
- ▶ Seeks funds for space exploration.
- ▶ Makes federal grants to combat unemployment in low-income areas.
- ▶ Creates Peace Corps.
- ▶ Authorizes Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.
- ▶ Pardons Vietnam-era draft evaders.
- ▶ Asks that thermostats be

set at 65 degrees during oil crisis.

Ronald Reagan

- ▶ Proposes creation of Energy Department.
- ▶ Becomes first president to endorse a Palestinian homeland.
- ▶ Proposes 10 percent income tax cut.
- ▶ Lifts grain embargo on Soviet Union.
- ▶ Suspends U.S. aid to Nicaragua.
- ▶ Survives being shot and seriously wounded.

George Bush

- ▶ Proposes \$126 billion savings-and-loan bailout.
- ▶ Imposes temporary ban on import of semiautomatic assault rifles.
- ▶ Offers Mideast peace initiative.
- ▶ Reaches bipartisan pacts with Congress on a \$50 million contra-aid plan, a \$1 trillion budget.

Sources: *The Complete Book of U.S. Presidents*; *FDR: A Biography*; *Congressional Quarterly* almanacs; *Facts on File*.

Bush Spent Most of His First 100 Days Cleaning Up Problems of Reagan Era

By GERALD F. SEIB
And MICHEL McQUEEN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President Bush says he wants to be the president who prepares the U.S. for the century ahead, but so far his most significant accomplishments have involved cleaning up problems left over from the past.

In his first 100 days in office, Mr. Bush and his aides have invested the most time and political capital on dealing with three such urgent issues inherited from the Reagan administration. The president's earliest big initiative was his plan to bail out America's sickly savings-and-loan industry—a plan that recently passed the Senate largely unscathed.

Next, his administration unveiled a new proposal for addressing the festering Third World debt problem, under which the U.S. is shifting its policy from one encouraging more bank lending to one that arranges debt reduction. Finally, Mr. Bush negotiated an agreement with Congress providing for continued humanitarian aid for Nicaragua's Contra rebels, thereby ending years of bickering between the White House and Capitol Hill over whether to send military aid to the Contras.

Otherwise, Mr. Bush has acted on a wide variety of disparate issues in his first 100 days—though critics contend his steps don't amount to a clear plan of action and in many cases are too small to make a difference. Among other things, Mr. Bush:

- Negotiated a budget agreement with Congress to cut the federal budget deficit enough to meet the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets.

- Suspended imports of semi-automatic rifles that have been used in drug-related crimes.

- Proposed a new \$441 million education initiative.

- Proposed raising the minimum wage to \$4.25 an hour, while also instituting a lower, six-month "training wage."

- Unveiled an eight-point plan to increase international lending and American investment in Poland.

- Proposed a new law and signed an executive order regulating ethics among government officials and lawmakers.

- Decided to pursue both the MX and Midgetman mobile land-based missiles by fielding the MX immediately and continuing development of the Midgetman.

On many of these issues, Mr. Bush already has had to trim his sails, though. His budget agreement with Congress is widely viewed as too vague and flimsy, and covers only one year rather than the desired two. Congress is about to pass a higher minimum wage than Mr. Bush wants, and the president is expected to veto the measure.

After repeatedly decrying the inequalities in the ethics rules governing Congress and the executive branch, Mr. Bush dropped a key proposal in his ethics bill that would have equalized the requirements by banning congressional honorariums.

Also, many lawmakers and education lobbyists have criticized Mr. Bush's education initiative as too small to have a significant impact. And environmentalists have criticized what they consider a slow and weak response to the Alaska oil spill.

On some issues, Mr. Bush has simply lost. He was defeated in an embarrassing fight with Congress over his first nominee for defense secretary, John Tower, although his second choice, Dick Cheney, was confirmed swiftly. And despite a continuing push to persuade Congress to cut the capital-gains tax, key Democrats continue to balk at the idea and it will be difficult to pass this year.

Media reviews on president: Schmooze, but no substance

► 'At the very least, he has moved skillfully in his first 100 days to erase the worst legacies of Ronald Reagan's 2,922 days.' — *The New York Times*
► 'Bush's approach to the presidency is determinedly unheroic, and he is paying the price. But it hasn't been so bad for the country.' — *William Schneider, Los Angeles Times*
► 'The nation is still wondering about Bush. His personal style is certainly inviting and warm, but the questions of substance are still not answered.' — *Timothy McNulty, Chicago Tribune*
► 'The most notable Bush tactic has been to schmooze. By now the only employees on Capitol Hill who haven't

been invited to the White House are congressional pages.' — *Paul Gigot, The Wall Street Journal*

► 'Whether the Bush method is working or not depends on who is judging. ... There remain suggestions that Bush has described no clear purpose and that his own identity remains indistinct, ill-defined.' — *Walter Mears, The Associated Press*

► 'For Bush, decisions flow from personal here-and-now experiences and encounters. As a result of this predilection to let his senses be his guide, Bush is somewhat unpredictable.' — *U.S. News & World Report*

► 'He may be the president, but is still

tip-to-top Bush. His brown shoes (accompanying a gray pinstripe suit) are cracked and polished almost orange. Boola boola. His wide, worn black leather belt swaths a trim middle. True blue. He wears a necktie with dozens of zebras frolicking on a field of red. ... Bush is president, but with a trace yet of awe.' — *Time magazine*
► 'He seems to view the presidency as a place for stewardship, not leadership. He's content with coalition government. He's not actively dangerous. ... His administration is a crashing bore. His hundred days have felt like a thousand. Zzzzz.' — *Hendrik Hertzberg, The New Republic*

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

USA 4-28 YA

Bipartisan budget hits House, Senate



FRENZEL: Budget's 'a deal,' if unrealistic

A \$1.17 trillion federal spending plan for 1990 hits the House and Senate floors next week after House committee action Thursday. Backers hail the bipartisanship that's marked Congress-White House budget talks, but opponents charge the deficit is kept to the \$100 billion target only on paper. Perhaps so, says Rep. Bill Frenzel, R-Minn., "but a deal's a deal." How House spending plans differ from the Senate's: more for education, health, science and veterans; less for agriculture, energy and law enforcement. After floor action, a House-Senate conference committee will seek to reconcile differences.

**THE FIRST
100 DAYS
DAY
99**

HOW TIME FLIES . . . President Bush marks the passing of his 100th day in office by joining four predecessors Sunday: ex-Presidents Reagan, Carter, Ford and Nixon. They'll meet in New York City to attend the reenactment of George Washington's 1789 inauguration there as first president.

WRIGHT PAYMENT: House Speaker Jim Wright's campaign committee paid off a 4-year-old debt of \$8,050 for chartering a plane, saying the delay occurred because of an oversight. The plane was owned by an associate of a savings and loan executive and was used for a campaign trip.

ALSO THURSDAY . . .

► As the Iran-contra jury continued to deliberate Oliver North's fate, he focused on a speech in Ohio. North, whose legal bills run an estimated \$380,000 a month, has made several speeches since his trial began Jan. 31, reportedly for up to \$25,000 each.

► The chairman of the House Iran-contra committee, Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-Ind., called for a probe of roles Presidents Reagan and Bush may have played in a secret plan to reward Honduras for helping the Nicaraguan contras.

► President and Barbara Bush and Vice President and Marilyn Quayle met last week to discuss the transition of power to Quayle should Bush become disabled, *The Washington Post* said.

PEOPLE WATCH

► **Garett Lewis, 6**, wants to be an actor — but he's already a super salesman. The spinal muscular atrophy victim was on NBC's *Today* show as 1989 March of Dimes special ambassador. **Barbara Bush**, also on the show, made a point of stopping backstage to meet him — and he promptly hit her up to sponsor him for \$10 in the charity's annual walkathon Sunday. Then Garrett went on the air to be interviewed by **Willard Scott**. Garrett got him, too, to give to the birth defects fight. The son of **Joe and Audrey Lewis**, of Highland Park, Ill., will lead Chicago's walk in his motorized wheelchair.



GARETT: Not shy about charity drive

► When **President Bush**, with fanfare, planted an elm on state Capitol grounds Monday in Bismarck, he may have given North Dakotans more than expected. The tree, which Bush said descended from one President John Quincy Adams planted at the White House, came complete with tiny bugs foresters say may be gypsy moth larvae.

► Member of the household likely to be most exuberant when Vice President Quayle and wife Marilyn return from their Australian-Pacific tour next week: Breezy. The 7-month-old Labrador retriever has had to skip the mile run Mrs. Quayle takes him on daily. (The Quayles discuss their fitness regimen in this week's *USA WEEKEND*)

CLOSE-UP: WYOMING HARDBALL

House race's negative tactics could preview 1990 campaign



THOMAS: Wins Dick Cheney's old seat

Candidates like to call them "comparative ads."

Everyone else calls it negative campaigning. "It's accepted now," says Democratic pollster Alan Secrest: "Chop the other guy's legs out before he does it to you."

That was certainly the case in Wyoming where, after a nasty campaign, only 56 percent of registered voters turned out Wednesday to fill the state's House seat.

The winner, Republican **Craig Thomas**, blamed the loser, Democrat **John Vinich**. But Wyoming Democrats may have been copying the hardball President Bush's team played against Democrats last fall and previewing attacks to come in 1990 congressional races. Explains state Democratic Chairwoman **Muffy Moore**: "Everybody says, 'We hate negative campaigning.' It's equally true they respond to it."

Vinich's campaign manager, **Rodger McDaniel**, blames the race's \$1 million cost — almost \$10 per voter: "That amount of money breeds this kind of stuff." Wyoming Secretary of State **Kathy Karpan** says people told her office, "I don't want to vote because I don't like how the campaign was conducted."

Wyoming's feisty statewide newspaper, *Casper's Star-Tribune*, was so disgusted by what it called "the corrosive and destructive movement toward nationally dictated 'assassination politics,'" that it endorsed Libertarian candidate **Craig McCune**.

But he may be among the best indications of why the situation exists: McCune ran a positive, issues-oriented campaign — and won 4 percent of the vote.

WASHINGTON TODAY

► **PRESIDENT BUSH:** Meetings: U.S. Ambassador to Britain **James Lilly**; Mayor **James Garner**, Hempstead, N.Y.; American Legislative Exchange Council. Signs executive order recognizing historically black colleges and universities.

► **VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE:** In Sydney, Australia.

Written by **Sharen Shaw Johnson**. Contributing: **Sam Meddis**, **Bob Minzesheimer** and **Richard Wolf**.

TIDBITS AND TRIVIA ON 'THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS'

"The first hundred days" is most often associated with the special session of Congress called by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 to address the Depression. Standard references note that the historical parallel was Napoleon's escape from Elba and his march across Europe—the 100 days was applied to Louis XVIII's absence from Paris until Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. Tomorrow, President Bush celebrates his first 100.



NUMBER OF NEWS CONFERENCES



Roosevelt	28
Eisenhower	8
Kennedy	10
Nixon	5
Carter	5
Reagan	2
Bush	9

HONEYMOONS

Approval Ratings as Measured by Gallup Polls*



Roosevelt	None recorded
Eisenhower	74%
Kennedy	83%
Nixon	61%
Carter	63%
Reagan	67%
Bush	58%

*Surveys date from mid-April to early May of first terms.

IN BRIEF



Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933

Set up structure of the New Deal, took the United States off the gold standard, approved the serving of beer in White House and delivered the first fireside radio chat.



Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953

Proposed creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now Health and Human Services), agreed to U.S.-North Korea prisoner-of-war exchange, and went to Augusta, Ga., to play golf, his first trip out of Washington.



John F. Kennedy, 1961

Created Peace Corps, approved the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion, established committee on equal employment opportunity, and held the first live television news conference.



Richard M. Nixon, 1969

Directed the Defense Department to develop a plan to end the draft, announced plans for modified deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system, embarked on eight-day, five-country trip to Europe, and celebrated his first hundred days by staying up until midnight at White House birthday fete for Duke Ellington.



Jimmy Carter, 1977

Pardoned Vietnam draft evaders, emphasized human rights as a basic tenet of U.S. foreign policy, proposed deregulation of airline industry, banned playing of "Hail to the Chief" in his honor, declined to serve hard liquor at state dinners, and asked nation to turn thermostats down to 65 degrees.



Ronald Reagan, 1981

Survived assassination attempt by John W. Hinckley Jr., welcomed American hostages home from Iran, broke campaign promise and continued Soviet grain embargo, approved announcement of aid to El Salvador, signed legislation to raise national debt limit, and reinstated playing of "Hail to the Chief."



George Bush, 1989

Initiated legislation to overhaul S&Ls, approved a contra aid accord with Congress, decided to proceed with development of MX and Midgetman missile systems, traveled to four nations and 20 states and showed White House tourists the First Family's new puppies.

TWO PRESIDENTIAL VIEWS

"All this will not be finished in the first hundred days . . ."

—Kennedy in his Inaugural Address

"I don't count either the days or the hours; really."

—Nixon

Compiled by staff researchers Michelle Hall and Bruce Brown

BY MICHAEL DREW — THE WASHINGTON POST

High-Definition Commerce Chief

Asserting Himself Swiftly, Mosbacher Dashes 'Party Boy' Reputation

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher led about a dozen business executives down the aisle to the rear of the banquet hall, where they huddled and presented their views on one of his favorite subjects: high-definition television (HDTV).

For about 30 minutes, Mosbacher listened to a spirited debate on the role the government should play in helping the United States catch up in HDTV, an emerging technology that he believes is vital to this country's well-being because of its spillover into areas such as the manufacture of advanced semiconductors. U.S. companies are lagging far behind their Japanese rivals, and Mosbacher would like to craft a government program to help them catch up.

On the HDTV question and a number of other issues, Mosbacher jumped ahead early in the Bush administration.

He challenged the Defense Department, forcing changes in a deal with Japan for joint development of the FSX, a new-generation fighter plane; asserted a stronger role for the Commerce Department at the expense of the State and Defense departments on export controls, and demanded that the European Community give greater weight to American concerns that protectionism could accompany the creation of a unified market in Western Europe.

Mosbacher also emerged as a force in forging Bush administration economic policies, meeting for breakfast every Tuesday morning at the Treasury Department with buddies from the Bush presidential campaign: Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and Richard G. Darman, director of the White House Office of Management and Budget.

By becoming a major player during the first hundred days of the Bush administration, Mosbacher has confounded conventional Washington wisdom. He arrived here bearing the reputation of a rich Texas party boy, confidant and chief fund-raiser for President Bush, and husband of Georgette Mosbacher, who was labeled "curvy and nifty" by *Women's Wear Daily*. "Is the Commerce Department ready for her?" the publication asked.

In fact, Georgette Mosbacher has been conspicuous by her absence on the Washington social scene and her husband has been working six-day weeks, 12 to 14 hours a day.

"I hate to ruin a wonderful image," Mosbacher said in an interview. "Being a party boy sounds like so much fun. But if you check in Houston, you will find I can't live up to that image. I've been a reasonably serious player there for a long, long time."

His activism has won applause from Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill. "He's giving new prestige to the Commerce Department and elevating the status of trade and economic policies," said Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.). Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) said Mosbacher is trying to develop an "exciting and important" role for the

department in seeing how government policies affect American competitiveness.

"He took charge of a singularly important matter [the FSX] and caused the government from the top down to reconsider its position. That has ramifications not merely for U.S.-Japan relations but for the consideration of trade and economic policy more generally throughout this administration," said Lionel Olmer, an undersecretary of commerce in the Reagan administration.

But Mosbacher's outspoken positions also have attracted accusations of "Japan bashing" in the FSX case and complaints that he is a closet protectionist. Mosbacher is aware of the criticisms and concerned that they could impede his effectiveness in sensitive trade negotiations.

"I am a total free-trader. I believe in free and fair trade, but I do not believe in unilateral free trade any more than I believe in unilateral disarmament," he said.

As a businessman, Mosbacher said he was "surprised by the number of career people who are smart, dedicated and, if you motivate them and bring them into the inner circles of planning, can contribute tremendously. I have been trying to do that and they have responded beautifully."

At the same time, he is impatient with the pace of government, especially with the time it takes to get

top officials approved by the White House and confirmed by the Senate. By this week, only two of the 29 presidential appointees in the department—himself and general counsel Wendell L. Willkie, who was sworn in Tuesday—had been confirmed.

The other appointees are listed as consultants and play an unofficial role in policy making. Mosbacher keeps them so busy that he called the White House last month to say they could not attend a Saturday indoctrination program for political appointees because he needed them for a staff meeting. "Guilty. Guilty. Guilty as charged," he said.

Mosbacher can do that because of his long ties with Bush and other key members of the administration, especially Baker, a fellow Texan and friend of 30 years.

The two have been on opposite sides of issues during the past hundred days. But they kid each other even as they are banging heads. Baker, for example, sometimes jokes that Mosbacher is wearing his "protectionist hat," while Mosbacher retorts that Baker—generally known as the supreme pragmatist—put on his "ivory tower hat" that day.

The competition between the two is well recognized. Baker inscribed a *Time* magazine cover that called him "a gentleman who hates to lose":

"To Bob, who hates to lose even more."



BY JAMES K. W. ATHERTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

"I try not to, and I don't believe I do, play on being a friend of the president's. I don't look for any extra edge. We have been friends for a long time. But I don't play on it. I won't say that under dire circumstances I might sometime. But I have not."

—Robert A. Mosbacher

White House

Maureen Dowd

Travel (Samoa, Australia, Pago Pago, Pango Pango and Pogo Pogo) is broadening Quayle.

NYT 4-28-91

Special to The New York Times

MELBOURNE, Australia, April 27 — Dan Quayle had not done much traveling abroad before he became Vice President. But now that Mr. Quayle has joined the White House, he is seeing the world. And the world is seeing him. And there is a bit of bewilderment on both sides.

"I hadn't heard of them until yesterday," 16-year-old Tanya Rough said of the American Vice President and his wife. Miss Rough, whose mother runs the florist's at the Canberra Hyatt Hotel, where the Quayles are staying, was hurriedly recruited to accompany Marilyn Quayle on a tour of the Australia National Gallery of Art, after Mrs. Quayle decreed that she wanted to meet "real" Australians.

President Bush has told Mr. Quayle that he wants him to travel as much as he did when he held the second spot. Since Vice President Bush went to 76 countries, many of them more than once, Mr. Quayle will probably be on the road a great deal as a roving United States ambassador.

When Air Force Two took off from Washington on Monday for a 12-day tour of Australia and the Far East, stewards removed from the plane a photograph at the Quayles at the Inaugural Ball in favor of one showing Mr. Quayle crouching to talk to Asian-American toddlers. The image-makers felt it made Mr. Quayle look more worldly.

Mr. Quayle has said his biggest surprise as Vice President has been how much he enjoys the foreign travel. But one adviser concedes that Mr. Quayle is starting with "a low base of knowledge" about politics and culture in other parts of the world.

On a brief stop in Samoa on the way to Australia, the Vice President donned flowered leis and looked out eagerly at the island's Gauguin lushness and the welcoming reception of several dozen residents in Pago Pago (pronounced Pango-Pango by natives and Pogo Pogo by Mr. Quayle). The Innocent Abroad bubbled over the sunny paradise.

"You all look like happy campers to me," he told the Samoans. "Happy campers you are, happy campers you have been, and, as far as I am concerned, happy campers you will always be."

As an often wide-eyed Mr. Quayle planted ceremonial trees in Canberra and took his first 19-gun salute (two

less than the President gets), jokes began circulating back home about the Administration's designated top diplomat.

Representative Claudine Schneider, Republican of Rhode Island, told guests at a political dinner in her home district that Mr. Quayle heard her speaking French at a Belgian Embassy reception in Washington, and remarked: "I was recently on a tour of Latin America and the only regret I have was that I didn't study Latin harder in school so I could converse with those people."

The Vice President doesn't mind what Washington cynics say. He was so fascinated by his Latin American trip that he has been seriously considering studying Spanish, his press secretary, David Beckwith, says.

As a traveling Vice President, he will not be offering policy initiatives. Rather, he will be delivering warm

Listening to world leaders and aggressively waving his country's flag.

notes from George Bush to allies, listening to the gripes of world leaders and aggressively waving the American flag.

Mr. Quayle has hammered away with his message, which he sanguinely describes as "bold." "The United States is a great power, is a Pacific power and will continue to be involved in the Pacific as a great power," he tells audiences. Mr. Quayle is fluent in the universal language of sports (and took along his tennis racket), using his knowledge of basketball, golf, snorkeling, jogging and tennis to make small talk. Visiting the Australian Governor-General William Hayden, Mr. Quayle noted that there was a nice golf course next to his residence.

Mr. Hayden replied that he did not play golf himself, but suggested that Mr. Quayle look up the low-handicapped Crown Prince of Tonga. The Vice President nodded, making a mental note of that, since Tonga will, no doubt, be on his travel itinerary.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR SMS

FROM: FRED
SUBJECT: 100 DAYS

I requested these articles from the file in preparation for the President's first 100 days. They all deal with the President's image as portrayed in newspapers around the country.

I think you have to put together a report on your first hundred days - public appearances, advance, the President's image, etc.

*Excellent -
KEEP!*



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION
Washington, D.C. 20503

March 14, 1989

14 MAR 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR STEPHEN M. STUDDERT

FROM: MELINDA ALTER

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S IMAGE

I have selected articles from our clippings file on President Bush which you might find useful in terms of gathering information on the "President's Image". This is a concept which is difficult to search on the computer. If you find that you need more information after reading these articles, I will be happy to perform a computer search if you can come up with some keywords which express the concept you are looking for.

Peter Milius

Obits for the Administration

The village wisdom, this week, is that the wimp thing may have been right after all, that the Bush administration sadly lacks both a compass and an engine, can't get off the ground, is floundering, drifting, aimless, forfeiting goodwill, wasting its honeymoon and—well, not to put too fine a point on it—that the Bush administration seven weeks after inauguration is just about over. You know it must be true because so many people say it, from David Gergen ("Win or lose on the Tower fight, President Bush now stands perilously on the edge of a cliff") to Teddy Kennedy ("The administration has no agenda other than coping. . ."). The crisis has reached that point of purification in which it becomes the subject of a question at the president's news conference, setting off a circular, self-validating process in which the president is gravely asked something like, "Mr. President, when are you going to stop drifting?" and the press can then accurately report the next day with equal gravity that "President Bush denied yesterday that his administration was drifting. . . ." So we drift.

You don't have to be a fan of George Bush to think that it is still a little early for this kind of mortal judgment. It is not just that the media are playing herd again or even that they are being superficial, but that they are criticizing the administration partly for failing to do precisely what they (properly) criticized its predecessor

for doing too much of—putting on a smooth show. You wonder exactly what was—and is—expected. Charisma? From George Bush? Great policy shifts? The man's broad campaign promise was to stay in the footsteps of his predecessor. What he offered was not even more of the same but a little less. That stated willingness to move toward the muddy and less exciting middle was supposed to be one of his virtues. When he first announced his Cabinet, a lot of the people now deploring the terminal state of his administration were moved to say the lineup looked remarkably good. You remember the joke: not ideological, but competent. What happened to that? Yes, the sub-Cabinet appointment process has been slow, but it is slow in every administration. The reformulated national security and foreign policy objectives of this administration are nowhere written out in longhand yet, either, but there is time. The Tower fight won't last much longer. If the president loses, the nomination will have been mishandled—that is the definition—but the republic and the president's relationships with the Democratic Congress will both survive.

In the meantime:

■ Bush has sent up his peculiar budget. It is either hollow or brilliant, depending on your point of view—or brilliant because it is hollow. If you persist in thinking of it in substantive terms, as a plan for reducing or even directly

confronting the deficit and the enormous danger to the economy that the deficit presents, it gets an F. If you think of it in tactical terms, as a way of getting from a set of impossible campaign promises to a possible workable compromise, it gets an A (for acrobatic). No one can know at this point how the budget negotiations will turn out, and you can wish until you are blue in the face that the president had shown more leadership on the issue and not ducked, to use his budget director's favorite word. But the president's men and the Democrats are talking if not quite negotiating; the jury's still out on this.

■ The president proposed a savings-and-loan bailout. Its critics rightly observe that it likely understates the total cost and obscures the cost to the taxpayer, but even they acknowledge it is a solid start on a problem that neither the Reagan administration nor the last Democratic Congress faced up to.

■ Mr. Bush has similarly invited Congress to enact two social initiatives of major and underestimated importance—a long-overdue increase in the minimum wage, and what amounts to an increase in the earned-income tax credit in the form of the children's tax credit he proposed in the campaign. Together these steps are a program of income redistribution by another name that will likely have a major effect on the fortunes of the working poor.

■ The new president has authorized his environ-

mental administrator to draft a clean-air bill, a step likely to end an eight-year impasse in that complicated legislative area. He has indicated a willingness as well to move the country out of chlorofluorocarbon production entirely by the end of the century, thus helping to preserve the threatened ozone layer.

■ He has appointed an ethics-in-government commission that had a clumsy beginning but whose work seems likely to help generate reform. He has likewise tried to suggest in several ways that his administration will be less coldly ideological on civil rights issues than its predecessor (though here again the jury is still partly out).

That may not be the world's longest list of such accomplishments, but it is not a reason for beheading John Sununu, either. This was always going to be a torn administration. You knew that from the contradictory nature of the campaign: the kinder, gentler America with a death penalty and no new taxes. On issue after issue it will be an administration that offers half a loaf. That kind of thin-sliced, half-accommodative government is not inspiring, but that doesn't necessarily mean it won't produce results. Forty-nine days of age is a little early for the obit page.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

Public's Views Could Aid Democrats, Poll Finds

Opportunities to Challenge Bush Indicated

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

The public holds views on taxes, foreign investment, defense spending and income distribution that provide the Democratic-controlled Congress with a host of opportunities to challenge and attack the Bush administration, according to experts who conducted an extensive postelection poll for the Times Mirror Co.

The in-person survey of 2,048 adults conducted from Jan. 27 to Feb. 5 found strong support for various tax increases on the wealthy, a growing belief that the gap between rich and poor is widening, a willingness to target budget cuts toward the Pentagon, and extensive support for increased domestic spending to combat drug abuse, improve health care and help the homeless.

"I suspect Congress is going to play George Bush like a violin on these issues," said Norman Ornstein, who is serving as a consultant to Times-Mirror and the Gallup Organization, which conducted the poll. "This is a nice blueprint for Democratic attacks."

This largely liberal agenda is secondary, however, to continued public optimism over the economy, according to the poll analysts. Fifty-four percent of those polled said they expect to be better off next year while only 15 percent said they expect to be worse off.

This optimism, in turn, has "an anesthetizing effect" that for the moment is keeping public opinion generally on the side of the Bush administration.

In addition, the poll found that the spread of illicit drugs tops all public concerns. On this issue, the GOP is in as good a position as the Democrats to gain public support.

By a substantial margin of 58 to 30 percent, the respondents said the gap between rich and poor is getting wider.

"I was just shocked by how high it comes up," said Andrew Kohut, Gallup president.

This dovetails, he pointed out, with the finding that 82 percent of those surveyed support raising income taxes for those with incomes

larger than \$80,000 and 59 percent support a 33 percent top tax bracket for those with incomes larger than \$150,000.

But the public does not place a high priority on some of these liberal views. The survey found, for example, that only 9 percent of those polled consider closing the gap between rich and poor to be a top priority issue.

On the issue of trade, the overwhelming majority, 70 percent, believes that foreign investment in the United States is bad for the country, and a majority, 53 percent, believes that it is in the national interest to increase tariffs on Japanese goods.

By a strong margin, those polled view Japan's foreign trade policies as significantly more unfair than those of Canada, the European Community and South Korea.

Japan's policies were viewed by those in the survey as unfair by 63 percent and fair by 22 percent, compared with a 72-to-7 percent favorable view of Canada, a 44-to-26 percent favorable view of the European Community and a 39-to-25 percent unfavorable view of South Korean trade policies.

The poll analysts found that satisfaction with the economy, combined with "the perception that America's own shortcomings are a major part of the problem, appears to have limited the degree to which antforeigner sentiment translates into public pressure for new protectionist measures."

While the public is worried about international trade, fears of military conflict have reached what appears to be a 40-year low point, according to the Gallup Organization. Only 9 percent of those surveyed mentioned international tension as the most important problem.

On defense spending, 49 percent of those polled would hold spending the same, 37 percent would cut it and 11 percent would increase Pentagon appropriations.

Majorities supported increases for fighting drug abuse (65 percent), for health care (57 percent), for the homeless (53 percent), for AIDS research (52 percent), and for public education and programs for the elderly (50 percent).

... and a tortoise-like start for Bush

George Bush is beginning to disappoint people who expected him to take the presidential baton from Ronald Reagan and keep the governmental relay race going full tilt. Instead, he is taking his time, sizing up the stadium and examining the condition of the track before turning on the speed. Trouble is, other things aren't standing still.

Saving savings-and-loans, tackling the deficit and seeking peace or advantage in Central America; responding to NATO allies' perception of Mikhail Gorbachev and to the Soviets' growing interest in the Mideast; and preparing for a contest over raising the minimum wage here at home—these are just some of the matters requiring attention.

Yet the new administration, which has been slow to fill sub-Cabinet posts and in no rush to articulate its priorities, has seemed content with followership rather than leadership, sounding tough only in its defense of John Tower and in its opposition to new taxes.

To some extent, the situation confirms what Shakespeare said: "Oft expectation fails, and most oft there where most it promises." Americans look for a lot from a seasoned government man like Bush, someone

who has learned the score even though he could do little to affect it. Now he can, and what do we see? A kind, gentle approach—but a very deliberate one.

Still, high expectations must be tempered by recognition that even Bush, though he represents no sharp break with the past, deserves his own fresh start. He has chosen to go slowly, and it is too soon to condemn that choice, however great the appeal of a more robust beginning.

Besides, early assessments can mean little in the long run. A Newsweek magazine analysis of President Reagan's first 100 days in 1981 noted that although his domestic program was quick off the mark, "he has had rather a bumpier time laying a coherent Reagan foreign policy in place." It also spoke of "a confusion of signals on a series of issues from El Salvador to Poland." Who cares anymore just when the confusion of signals on, say, El Salvador turned into Reagan's unwavering anti-Sandinista, pro-contra position?

What matters is the long haul. Bush's slow pace may make some of us nervous, and he should take that into account; but he deserves the benefit of the doubt. It was, after all, the tortoise who won the race.

Bush Tries to Dispel 'Drift' Image, Says Administration Is 'on Track'

1 By GERALD M. BOYD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7 — President Bush, fighting a growing perception in Washington that his Administration is adrift, today gave a spirited defense of his new team and his policies, declaring that they were in fact "on track" and that he had total confidence in his staff and its initial agenda.

At a news conference in which his six-week-old Administration appeared to be on trial, Mr. Bush listed steps that he said showed clear movement in both domestic and foreign policy.

"So I would simply resist the clamor that nothing seems to be bubbling around, that nothing is happening," Mr. Bush said. "A lot is happening, not all of it good, but a lot is happening."

Agendas Are Compared

The fact that Mr. Bush had to make the defense reflected a concern that now exists in Republican as well as Democratic circles in the capital, and within the Administration itself.

The Carter Administration came under similar criticism early on, as

The President defends his policies and staff.

lacking focus and a distinct set of priorities. By contrast, Ronald Reagan's pursuit of a limited but sharply defined agenda when he came into office generated wide applause.

By the same point in his first term, Mr. Reagan had signed a series of executive orders that indicated policy changes. By mid-February 1981, he had outlined his major economic policies in some detail in an address to a joint session of Congress and had proposed some 200 cuts in Federal spending.

The deliberate pace of the new Administration is most glaring in the filling of Cabinet posts and senior Administration slots. In the five administrations before Mr. Bush's, all Cabinet selections were confirmed by early February.

Missteps by Staff

Some aides to Mr. Bush concede privately that the new White House staff, still learning its job, has taken several missteps, from the slow pace in filling jobs to its inability to control the legislative and political agendas as Mr. Reagan did in his first 100 days. At the same time, they acknowledged that the protracted battle for the confirmation of John G. Tower, Mr. Bush's choice for Defense Secretary, has drained resources and attention.

Rejecting such criticism, Mr. Bush told reporters, "I think we're on track."

Mr. Bush came to the news confer-

ence armed with sheets of paper that summarized efforts by his Administration thus far. Reading from one, he contended that President Reagan had made 55 appointments in his first term by March 6, 1981, compared with some 67 appointments made by Mr. Bush by Monday.

"So, it's not bad," Mr. Bush said. "We're a little bit ahead in terms of announced names."

Situations Not Parallel

But Mr. Bush conceded that such a comparison was difficult, because Mr. Reagan had formally nominated the 55, while Mr. Bush had only indicated his intention to nominate the 67, pending the completion of paperwork.

"But in terms of who we want in place, we're moving along all right," he said. "I'd like to see it faster, of course, but that's one of the allegations, disarray."

Administration officials have said that the delays have been especially troublesome in several departments, such as State, where several major policy jobs still must be filled, and Defense. Appointments there have been slow as the Administration has focused on the confirmation of Mr. Tower.

Mr. Bush was at times almost defiant in his declarations that he was pleased with his staff and the progress of his new Administration. At one point, he challenged a questioner to indicate two Democratic and Republican critics. When the reporter named Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, as one, Mr. Bush shot back, "Enough said."

The President said, while he had seen such criticism, "I just disagree with the facts."

Jousting With Journalists

"So keep on doing your job," he told the reporters at the news conference. "That's my answer."

In defending his Administration, Mr. Bush said it has already addressed a "serious national problem," insolvent savings and loan institutions.

Reciting a list of other early initiatives, Mr. Bush cited his recent trip to Asia, new proposals on the environment, drug enforcement, new policies on ethics, greater attention to volunteer efforts and more attention to meeting child care needs.

Some critics have blamed the slow start on his White House staff, headed by a former New Hampshire Governor, John H. Sununu, a Washington outsider who is chief of staff. But Mr. Bush sharply rejected that view.

"First, I have great confidence in my staff, and every chief of staff goes through this drill where he gets saluted for his brilliance and a month later, he gets attacked for his something else," Mr. Bush said. "And I have total confidence in John Sununu. He knows the way this town works. He has a respect level that comes from being a Gover-



Associated Press

President Bush at his news conference at the White House.

nor. And so, we're all used to this. Hey, this is light compared to what it was like about a year ago in my case, so that's why I still feel relaxed."

Asked if there is a danger that the perception of drift will become a reality, Mr. Bush said: "I think people are fair. They are not making up their minds on perceptions."

Mr. Bush said that what is being perceived as slowness was caused by his approach, which he called "prudent."

Bush's gentle pitch is just what's needed

By JEFF GREENFIELD

There's a line from John Kennedy's inaugural address that has begun to haunt me lately. It's not the famous "Ask not what you can do" peroration, but a less familiar phrase: "Civility is not a sign of weakness."

How quaint that simple statement sounds; how utterly out of phase it is with today's standards of behavior.

On the floor of the U.S. Senate, Democrat John Glenn plucks nasty adjectives from an FBI report on John Tower. Republican Minority Leader Bob Dole warns Glenn that the penalty for revealing such confidential material is expulsion from the Senate.

In sunny Florida, New York Mets star Darryl Strawberry, in the middle of a contract dispute, reacts to criticism

from teammate Keith Hernandez by attacking him physically, just as every sports photographer in the region is preparing to take the team photo. Strawberry then walks out of training camp.

Across Florida, in the Yankees' spring training camp, Rickey Henderson and teammates exchange angry words about alleged excessive drinking.

In media matters, *Today* show host Bryant Gumbel is embarrassed by the leaking of a memo he wrote containing sharply critical words about his on-the-air colleagues. This follows unusually harsh profiles of the *Today* show star, suggesting, among other things, that Gumbel treats his mother with less than filial piety.

And this dust-up, however, is a tea party compared with the on-air confrontations that produced a broken nose for Geraldo Rivera and lawsuits for Morton Downey Jr.

Noting the high ratings that accompany such spontaneous "incidents," television producers at a recent convention offered scheduled mayhem for sale, in the form of such shows as *American Gladiator* and *Roller Games*, where violence is guaranteed.

You no doubt can summon your own examples, from the continuing popularity of "shock radio," to the national fascination with the domestic travails of Tyson and Givens and Sean Penn and

Madonna, to the raucous celebrations outside the prison where Ted Bundy was electrocuted.

Now there is nothing particularly puzzling about the human impulse toward mean-spiritedness, or the human appetite to witness it. Mobs used to attend beheadings in Paris and hangings in London for sport.

What makes today's streak of incivility so puzzling is that it reflects a kind of national schizophrenia: At times it seems as if we are almost ashamed of our impulses toward a more charitable view of our fellow man.

For example, when George Bush declared last year that he

wanted a "kinder, gentler nation," that phrase became something of a national cliché, the stuff of which a late-night comedian's punchline is made.

Yet it also clearly resonated

among voters. Even given the harsh tone of the campaign, it established Bush as a nice guy; and it is that essential decency that lies behind his high approval ratings in the face of some early presidential missteps.

The enormous affection for TV personalities such as Willard Scott and Charles Kuralt lies in the fact that they both radiate that same essential decency. Kuralt's portrayals of quiet, anonymous Americans, and Scott's celebrations of 100th birthdays, county fairs and charity drives, evoke a pastoral, caring spirit.

How, then, can these impulses exist side by side with our undeniable hunger for the crueler, coarser behavior now on display everywhere?

Maybe it's precisely that coarsening of our national life that makes the less abrasive symbols even that much more attractive.

Maybe it's that, in an odd way, it requires more courage right now to speak in quiet tones than to offer shouts and clenched fists.

For my part, I hope George Bush keeps appealing to "the better angels of our nature." The day he threatens to "kick a little" Democratic *glutei maximi*, we'll know all is lost.

Jeff Greenfield is a newspaper columnist and network television commentator.

There's mean-mindedness about in the nation.

President Wins Kudos From Public, But Mixed Reviews in Washington

By Charlotte Saikowski

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE American people are giving George Bush high approval ratings for his first weeks in office, according to current polls. But inside the Capital Beltway the President is getting mixed reviews.

On the whole, Mr. Bush is performing well, political observers say. Inasmuch as he was not elected to launch bold changes or initiatives, Bush is essentially carrying out his mandate of providing continuity of government with the "kinder, gentler" face that American voters seem to want.

But the traditional honeymoon period may be nearing an end as the President confronts some gathering problems and as economic storm clouds begin to appear on the horizon.

- Despite early appeals for bipartisanship with Congress, Bush faces a major political contest with the legislature over the confirmation of John Tower to be secretary of defense. Even if the President wins, the confrontation could leave a sour climate for the new secretary of defense.

- Bush has had a rocky start on promoting the issue of ethics. The snarls over potential conflict-of-interest holdings by some of his appointees appear to be resolved.

But it has been awkward to have some of his top aides come under public scrutiny, including Secretary of State James Baker III and C. Boyden Gray, the President's ethics czar.

- Bush has sought to show the



BUSH: Political observers say that on the whole he is performing well.

United States flag and to build up his public prestige with his whirlwind five-day journey to the Far East. But he has yet to come to grips with a host of foreign policy issues, from Central America to the Middle East. The fact that many sub-Cabinet appointments are yet to be made adds to a sense that policies are in a state of limbo.

- The President presented an artful budget that showed him favoring more money for such popular social causes as education, child care, and the environment. But hidden from public view are the cuts in domestic spending which will be required to meet the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction targets, a calculated omission that has drawn some fire on Capitol Hill.

Bush insiders defend the President's decision both to nominate Mr. Tower and to fight this week

for Senate confirmation of his nominee.

In political terms, they say, it is better for Bush not to be seen giving up at the first challenge by Congress.

"I'd rather see him fight and lose than give up the ship," one Bush intimate says. "Sam Nunn [Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee] is not going to run the Defense Department."

"The Democrats threw the first stone, and it puts him in an extraordinary position if he wins," says James Lake, a former Bush campaign adviser.

The political stakes on the Tower issue are high. A victory on confirmation (the Senate is expected to vote Thursday) would signal that Bush can contain a Democratic Congress, many observers agree.

Conversely, a defeat would weaken the President as he negotiates with lawmakers on other matters.

"If he loses this, you can expect Congress will be more difficult to deal with on every front," says John Sears III, a Republican consultant. "This is a test case of his popularity. It's not that people will laugh at him, but they will realize he cannot marshal support in the country. Then Congress would have no direct reason to fear him."

Other analysts suggest that the President did himself a disservice by nominating Tower and creating a partisan issue. "His whole pitch to Congress has been to go an extra mile, to be non-confrontational and try to consult," says Stephen Wayne, a presidential scholar at George Washington University.

"Why fight a major battle on

something which is not a critical issue for the administration – a personnel matter?” Professor Wayne asks.

Even if Bush wins in the Senate, Wayne says, the President will have needlessly fueled partisanship. Moreover, Tower's credibility will have been undermined. It will be difficult for him to work with Senator Nunn and, given the controversy over his nomination, he will be operating in a “fishbowl,” the constant object of news media attention.

Except for the brouhaha over Tower, political observers say, the President is doing reasonably well. The ethics issue is subsiding, they believe, as high aides have either divested themselves of stock holdings, put assets in blind trusts, or recused themselves (withdrawn) from matters where they might have a conflict of interest. The public, moreover, is paying no attention in the ab-

sence of any allegation of wrongdoing.

As for the budget, White House insiders expect the bargaining with Congress to lead to agreement on the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction goals without too much strain, despite the irritation of many Democrats over what they say is the President's “smoke and mirrors” proposal.

In this connection, the White House is annoyed that Edward Rollins, who recently signed on with the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, has stated publicly that he would go after Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and other key Democrats in the 1990 election; also, that he would use any tax increase that the Democrats agreed to against them in the 1990 congressional contests.

Mr. Rollins's comments elicited a sharp response from Senate majority leader George Mitchell of Maine, who suggested last

week that such an aggressive stance does not comport with the President's professed desire for bipartisan cooperation on the budget.

Now that Bush and his secretary of state are back from Asia,

‘Why fight a major battle on something which is not a critical issue for the administration – a personnel matter?’

– Stephen Wayne

the appointment process is picking up steam. Administration officials at the State Department, the Pentagon, and other departments voice frustration that substantive policies cannot be shaped in the absence of permanent high-level staff.

“Symbolically we're out ahead

after the Bush and Baker trips,” one well-placed administration official says. “Now we have to get down to the hard problems of recasting or reaffirming policy.”

In the important area of foreign policy, the administration also faces problems in the confirmation process, however.

Sen. Jesse Helms (R) of North Carolina promises to challenge a number of diplomatic appointments, including that of Lawrence Eagleburger as deputy secretary of state and of Democrat Bernard Aronson as assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

“What did Eagleburger do for his many clients when he was president of Kissinger Associates and since?” a Helms aide asks. “It's a question of conflict of interest. . . . That will be extensively explored at our hearings.”

It is on the economic front that the President may face his most serious challenge to date, some analysts suggest. Inflation is kick-

ing up again, and Bush and his economic aides appear to be at odds with Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who has raised interest rates to try to curb it. This is not happy news for the administration, for higher interest rates will increase the cost of borrowing to bail out the savings-and-loan industry and of financing the budget deficit.

Some economic analysts charge that Bush is not conveying a sufficient sense of urgency about bringing down the budget deficit, in effect letting the Federal Reserve carry the anti-inflationary burden.

“He's basically stepped away from the process, leaving it to [budget director Richard] Darman,” says Stuart Eizenstat, who was President Carter's domestic policy adviser. “He should stand with Greenspan and also show more urgency about reducing the deficit so as to reassure the markets.”

JEFF GREENFIELD ^{1/91}

First the media loathe Bush, then love him, then back to loathing—what gives?

Now, let me see if I can navigate the twists and turns of the continuing daytime drama we call "George and the Hill" — the show that asks: How many completely contradictory stories can the Washington establishment come up with about the new President's relationship with Congress?

As you'll remember, our story began last October, when candidate George Bush was winning the White House by cheerfully bashing Michael Dukakis about the head and shoulders with the ever-popular "Harvard-boutique-liberal, soft-on-crime, weak-on-defense" bastinado.

That, said the insiders, was going to make it impossible for Bush to work well with the Congress. "No honeymoon! No honeymoon!" went the cries of early November — until it seemed as if the new President would be spending his time taking cold showers.

And then, as romantic music began to swell, it all changed. Suddenly, Washington began to grow all soft and mushy as it gazed fondly on the newly chosen leader.

It turned out that the "no honeymoon" line was all wrong. Bush was, after all, a classic

*New presidents do well
when they come to
Congress with a
constituency in the country
that has endorsed their
leadership and a specific
sense of direction,
e.g., Ronald Reagan.*

Washingtonian at heart, "One of us! One of us!"

Unlike the departing Ronald Reagan, Bush actually liked to read memos and budgets; he knew the names of congressional committee chairmen; he was a leader drawn to consultation, compromise, cooperation.

As the transition went on, and bluebirds of happiness twittered in the cherry trees, the

Congress murmured to the new President, "Why, why, George — you're remarkably attractive, remarkably attractive, with your glasses off."

So now we had the story straight at last: The President who cheerfully called out the names of old Capitol Hill friends as he strode to the inaugural platform was going to work wonders with Capitol Hill.

But what's this? The President's first budget had scarcely arrived at the Capitol when congressional Democrats began to furrow their brows and shake their fingers.

"You haven't told us what you are going to cut! You, you tricked us into believing this was a generous, compassionate document, but in fact, it is nothing but an empty shell!"

And what's this? The Senate Armed Services Committee, in a purely party-line vote, gave the back of its hand to John Tower just days after Mr. Bush assured the nation that the FBI report had ended all questions about the nominee's fitness.

Moreover, the vote came even as Mr. Bush embarked on his first key international mission. The Armed Services Committee was burying Tower even as Mr. Bush was helping

to bury Emperor Hirohito. Honeymoon indeed — the Congress appeared to be throwing the new President a blanket and a pillow, and telling him to sleep on the couch.

Will the President and Congress kiss and make up? Will the crockery start flying up and down Pennsylvania Avenue? Will Bush pack his bags and go home to mother?

More seriously, will the weather-vane analyses ever stop long enough to acknowledge one simple fact that always seems to be forgotten? New presidents do not deal with Congress on the basis of personal warmth or their familiarity with the players in the corridors of power.

They do well when they come to Congress with a constituency in the country that has endorsed their leadership and a specific sense of direction.

No one knew Congress better than Lyndon Johnson. And as long as he was fulfilling the promises of John Kennedy, or carrying out the Great Society program he laid out in the 1964 campaign, he could do almost nothing wrong.

But once Johnson lost the trust of the country — over Vietnam and domestic dis-

cord — his magic with Congress faded.

No one had more affection for the Congress than Gerald Ford, the one-time minority leader of the House. "I don't want a honeymoon — I want a good marriage," he told a joint session in 1974.

But when it became clear that Ford had neither a mandate nor an overarching sense of purpose, he became impotent in the face of congressional resistance.

And no one was less familiar with Congress than was Ronald Reagan in 1981. He never served a day in that body; he knew nothing of Washington rules and customs.

What he did have was a clear political direction, validated by an eight-million-vote victory over an incumbent president. Congress got that message very clearly.

What's the point? If a new president wants a long-lasting honeymoon with Congress, kind hearts and coronets are not enough. He had better bring a dowry in the form of an unmistakable mandate given him by the people beyond the Beltway.

Syndicated columnist Jeff Greenfield is based in New York.

PRESIDENT IS GIVEN HIGH MARKS IN POLL

Even Strong Critics of Reagan
Say Bush Deserves Chance

193/4

By MAUREEN DOWD

In Washington, President Bush may be tangled in problems with appointments and ethics. But beyond the capital, a majority of Americans say they like the way he is doing his job, according to the New York Times/CBS News Poll, and only a small minority say they disapprove.

Mr. Bush received a 61 percent approval rating for his first month in office, higher than the 55 percent President Reagan won in the Gallup Poll for his Presidential debut. Only 9 percent of those surveyed said they disapproved of the fledgling Bush Administration, half as many as said that of Mr. Reagan after his first month in office.

Negative opinions of Mr. Bush were also much lower than those recorded for Mr. Reagan as he left office last month. At that time 26 percent disapproved of Mr. Reagan and 68 percent approved. Both polls had margins of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Those groups that expressed the highest levels of dissatisfaction with Mr. Reagan when he left office — women, blacks, the elderly, Democrats and the poor — do not regard Mr. Bush as unfavorably. Instead, as the Feb. 18-19 poll of 1,233 adults and later follow-up interviews showed, they seem to be reserving judgment until they see if he acts on his promises to help the disadvantaged and the disfranchised and to work for bipartisan progress.

For example, while 52 percent of

blacks disapproved of Mr. Reagan last month and 40 percent approved, only 16 percent disapproved of Mr. Bush in the new poll, while 47 percent approved. "He's a wait-and-see thing," said Jesse White, a 35-year-old nurse in Kissimmee, Fla. As a black, Ms. White said she was "shocked" to hear Mr. Bush's pledge to fight bigotry.

"As Vice President he was a mouse, I didn't like him at all," she said. "But then he began talking and he doesn't seem like a mouthpiece, like Reagan. When Reagan came on TV, my TV instantly went off. I watch Bush. I don't think he can ever eradicate prejudice — that's in people's hearts — but I think maybe he can stop a lot of railing of people."

'Well Rid of Tower'

The poll was completed before the Senate Armed Services Committee voted Thursday against the nomination of John G. Tower to be Secretary of Defense, and included no questions about him.

But the unsystematic, follow-up interviews suggested that the Tower issue made little difference yet about opinions of Mr. Bush.

Many of those who were telephoned expressed great relief at the committee vote but added that they did not think Mr. Bush would be deeply wounded by his support for the former Senator from Texas.

"I think he'd be well rid of Tower, it would hurt him more if Tower got in there," said Alice Lammers, 52, a secretary for the county government in Omaha. "The Democrats are really helping Bush out."

Put behind the
present ratings is
a feeling of 'wait
and see.'

Many said they were pleasantly surprised that Mr. Bush seemed very different from his incarnations as a silent Vice President and a slashing Presidential candidate. "He's just stepped in and taken it by the horns," said Ken Pecka, 30, a director of recruiting at a college in Spokane, Wash.

Interviews with poll respondents from McDonald, Ohio, to Romney, W. Va., and Bristol, Tenn., gave the President high grades for compassion, engagement, informality and for his bustling style and long work hours. "Oh, gee," said Ruth Hatta, a 50-year-old housewife from Elgin, Ill., "he's trying to make an effort."

But there was an underlying caution in the optimistic appraisals about whether Mr. Bush's current image is the real and final one.

"It makes you wonder how did he bottle up all this energy we're seeing?" mused Mr. Pecka, a Republican who voted for Mr. Bush. "I guess not rocking the boat is how he got to where he is today."

Some of those who disapprove of Mr. Bush's performance said he "shoots from the hip" too much, and they cited his problems with the dispute over a savings and loan deposit fee and his support of the pay increase for Congress.

How the Survey Was Conducted

The New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Feb. 18 and 19 with 1,233 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen to make sure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted telephone numbers. The numbers were then screened to limit calls to residences.

The results have been weighted to take into account household size and the number of residential telephone lines and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, race, sex, age and education.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all American adults.

The percentages reported are the results most likely to match the result that would be obtained by seeking out all adult Americans. Conversely, other possible percentages are progressively less likely to match that result the more they differ from the reported percentages.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For instance for whites it is plus or minus three percentage points, while for blacks it is plus or minus 11 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any public opinion survey may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Bush: Following a Tough Act

"He's not thinking too much before he acts, he's not gauging what the public reaction will be until it's too late," said Clinton Thomas, 33, a maintenance superintendent from West Warwick, R.I., who voted for Mr. Bush's opponent, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts.

And even those who approve of the President and accept his bulldog sense of loyalty say the Tower morass deepened doubts about Mr. Bush's judgment on selecting top advisers, doubts initially sowed by his choice of Dan Quayle as his running mate.

"A lot of resources are available when he makes decisions, and I'm not sure he is listening to all of it," Mr. Pecka said. "He has demonstrated that he makes his decisions and then maybe they aren't the best ones, but he's very reluctant to admit he made a wrong decision."

Many of those in both parties said they remained deeply nervous about Vice President Quayle's ability to run the country.

"If anything were to happen to Bush," said Leonard Sefcik, a 60-year-old carpenter from McDonald, Ohio, "we'll get a little kid up there."

Barbara Bush, by contrast, was widely praised as prodding her husband's social conscience and for her natural Yankee style, described by Neal Gray of Franklin, Pa., as "conservative savoir-faire."

"If you're country, you're country," said David Cameron, an upholsterer from Morristown, Tenn., "If you're rich, you're rich; if you're poor, you're poor. And Barbara is just Barbara, ain't she?"

Even Harold Hoehner of Salt Lake City, a 60-year-old Democrat who thinks Mr. Bush "hasn't done a darned thing," had something good to say about the First Lady: "I think Mrs. Bush could probably do a better job than her husband."

Mr. Bush's hopes to spend more on domestic programs and less on the military attracted enthusiastic support, but many felt he was stretching himself perilously thin with his promises to a wide array of constituencies.

"He's trying to do everything for everyone, and it's not supposed to cost us anything," said John Scott, 35, a hospital worker and business student from Austin, Tex. "Is he pulling money out of a tree someplace? I don't see how he can accomplish his overall goals."

Some who disapprove of Mr. Bush maintained in follow-up interviews that the affluent President favors the rich, calling his plan to cut the capital gains tax a move to help the upper crust.

"When people like us are having a hard time making ends meet, to give a tax break to the rich is really ridicu-

	BUSH (Feb. '89)		REAGAN (Jan. '89)	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
TOTAL	61	9	68	26
Men	64	10	72	24
Women	58	8	65	27
Whites	64	8	72	22
Blacks	47	16	40	52
Republicans	75	4	90	7
Democrats	52	12	45	46
Independents	58	10	73	22
Family income:				
Under \$12,500	52	17	50	40
\$12,500-35,000	56	9	70	24
Over \$35,000	73	6	72	23
Northeast	57	9	70	22
North Central	61	10	64	30
South	67	7	72	22
West	54	12	62	31

Based on telephone interviews with 1,233 adults conducted February 18-19, and with 1,533 adults conducted January 12-15, 1989. Those with no opinion are not shown.

lous," said Don Dennis, a 28-year-old builder who lives in Remus, Mich., with his wife and three small children.

But more now say Mr. Bush is not going to favor the wealthy, and they note that he is no longer plagued by jokes about his upper-class background and "Ivy speak" vocabulary.

"He comes across fairly casually and not so formal," said Mr. Scott, the student. "If I caught him on the street, I'd walk up and talk to him, as a person to a person, not as a subject to a President."

Mary Miller, a 29-year-old Democrat who is disabled and lives with her parents in Brenton, W. Va., said she has been surprised by Mr. Bush. "He seems to care about the middle class and poor more than I thought he would. He had a meeting with our Senators and seemed to want to get the highway system through the Appalachian area. When he visits a battleship, he eats with the enlisted men. It's the little things."

Although Washington pundits sometimes criticize Mr. Bush for a boring speaking style and tedious speeches, no one interviewed after the poll seemed to mind his lack of dash. Indeed, Ronald Blanchet, 36, a slow-talking high school teacher from Warner, Okla., said, "I kind of like the part where he's not as polished a speaker. I kind of relate to him a little bit more."

The poll showed that President Bush did especially well with college graduates and higher-income groups. He

scored high in all geographic areas and with all age groups, including young people and the baby boom generation; his marks were lower in the over-65 group, which came of age in the New Deal era and tends to be more Democratic.

Thirty percent of poll respondents said they still do not know enough about the new President to pass judgment, and the later interviews showed that even those who expressed opinions say they are only now beginning to get a real sense of him.

By contrast, Mr. Reagan's image, shaped by a conservative ideology that tended to be more polarizing, was much more fully formed by the time he took office. He elicited strong responses, for good and for bad, in polls throughout his two terms.

Polls have shown that, historically, Americans start out generously, giving their Presidents the benefit of the doubt as they begin an arduous new job. But quickly, beset by myriad problems at home and around the world, the Presidents tend to lose ground.

Roxie Williams, 74, of Fort Myers, Fla., represents all five of the categories that are reserving judgment about the new President. She is a woman, she is black, she is elderly, she is a Democrat and she is poor. Ms. Williams advocated giving Mr. Bush a chance while he "gets things organized."

"I think we all should try to go along with the President right now," she said. "Then, if he don't do a good job, we'll vote him out of there."

Conservatives Like Bush, but They're Watching Him

1/205
By E. J. DIONNE Jr.

WASHINGTON
WITH President Bush trafficking liberally in liberal oratory about the good things government can do, one might wonder whether conservatives are feeling a bit uneasy. Certainly Mr. Bush sometimes seems to mix his signals. While Vice President Quayle reassured the faithful this weekend that Reagan-era policies were being carried forward, advocates for the homeless, for example, were being promised a change from the last eight years.

But despite occasional confusion, conservatives are, on balance, feeling satisfied with Mr. Bush. At the least, they have players at the table, many of their ideas tucked away in the Bush program and a sense that when the crunch comes on many issues they care about, the President is likely to be on their side. Many on the right, far from criticizing him for being slow to respond to Soviet diplomatic initiatives, are pleased that he has not allowed Moscow to push him into premature concessions.

Still, those who gathered in Washington this weekend for the 16th annual Conservative Political Action Conference were described by one of their leaders as being "in a period of

adjustment." Many, said David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union, still cannot get accustomed to "a new Administration without Ronald Reagan." Sensitive to such concerns, Vice President Quayle assured the group in a speech Friday night that Mr. Bush would "continue the work of President Reagan." That seemed unlikely to sway delegates like the group of young Americans for Freedom from California who declared that Mr. Bush had "walked away from his conservative campaign promises."

But in some ways, Mr. Bush has proved more sympathetic to the conservative agenda than they would ever have dreamed a few years ago. His stance may prove to be less that of an ideologue than that of the ultimate pragmatist: Mr. Bush's conservative tilt is an acknowledgment that the nation and, even more, the Republican Party has shifted to the right over the last decade.

The surest sign of this is that once moderate Republicans like Attorney General Dick Thornburgh are proving solicitous of the conservative agenda. In Mr. Thornburgh's case, a brief he filed with the Supreme Court challenging the Roe v. Wade decision legalizing abortion told conservatives that they had another unexpected friend in high places.

But many conservatives remained leery of Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, whose nomination as Secretary of Health and Human Services was approved by a Senate panel last week. Dr. Sullivan, who had been quoted as saying he supported a woman's right to an abortion, apologized for having "misspoken" on the issue and said he opposed abortion in most cases.

Mr. Bush himself has allayed some conservative doubts by proving himself adept at picking issues that may mean a great deal to conservatives. The Democrats, for example, may howl at Mr. Bush's claim that cutting the capital gains tax will raise revenue. But the

is at the heart of supply-side economics, which holds that tax cuts can increase economic activity and thus increase Government revenue. Conservatives appreciate that Mr. Bush is the first President to use supply-side concepts aggressively as a normal part of forming a budget.

Other points in Mr. Bush's favor with the right are his opposition to new taxes and his calls to expand parental choice in education and in day care. But the right is not monolithic, and its reactions to Mr. Bush on such issues as his appointments and his budget are diverse.

John G. Tower's troubles in getting

confirmed as Secretary of Defense have been compounded by the lack of unified support from the right. While most conservatives back him, he has been hurt by opposition from the religious right and from advocates of the Strategic Defense Initiative, of which he has become a less than ardent supporter.

Then there is Mr. Bush's nomination of Bernard Aronson, a Democrat, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the job previously held by Elliott Abrams. One group of conservatives, led by Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, promoted Mr. Aronson as

the man best suited to win Democrats in Congress over to the Administration's Central American policy. But others, notably Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, are uneasy with a man who was once an aide to Vice President Walter F. Mondale.

The diversity of views on appointments is paralleled by disagreements over Mr. Bush's strategy in dealing with Congress. Some on the right worry about his use of liberal oratory. But others say it is a means to a conservative end. Michael Novak, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, said that Mr. Reagan's approach to social spending was to go to Congress and say no very loudly, and then take a grudging step or two with small spending increases. Mr. Bush is saying yes up front, disarming his foes, and then saying, "But there's no more money." Mr. Novak adds that if this approach holds down spending, conservatives will be happy.

On another front, most conservatives welcome Mr. Bush's effort to reach out to blacks and see Jack F. Kemp, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, as the right person to lead the effort. But some wonder how much Mr. Kemp's bold talk about doing more for the poor might cost. Still, as Roger Stone, a Republican consultant, put it, "Who's going to accuse Jack Kemp of being a liberal?"

What uneasiness there is among conservatives may have less to do with Mr. Bush than with their own sense of having entered unfamiliar terrain. Mr. Stone noted that such increasingly prominent issues as the environment and education are not questions on which there is "a distinctive left-right fissure."

Then, too, conservatives may be realizing that their ardor must give way to the disciplines imposed by the power for an extended time. The target, probably, than most of them ever expected.

Poll: President Rated Highly Among Blacks

*Small Sampling Ranks
Bush Above Reagan*

193/1

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Polls of small samples of black Americans suggest that President Bush begins his presidency with far more support among blacks than did Ronald Reagan.

In the latest Washington Post-ABC News Poll completed Tuesday, 61 percent of all blacks interviewed said they approved of the way Bush was handling his job as president. Eight years ago, a Post-ABC News survey found that only 29 percent of blacks held a similarly positive view of Reagan's early job performance.

The Post-ABC results are generally similar to the findings of other recent national surveys. The Gallup Organization reported two weeks ago that 51 percent of blacks and 52 percent of whites interviewed in late January had a positive view of Bush.

Gallup found in January 1981 that just 24 percent of all blacks interviewed had a favorable view of Reagan.

Individually, the findings are suggestive but necessarily inconclusive, since each survey sample contains only about 100 blacks. But the overall consistency of these results indicate that Bush, who received only about 10 percent of the black vote last November, begins his term with an advantage among blacks that Reagan did not enjoy.

These early attitudes could quickly change: 43 percent of all blacks said they only somewhat approved of Bush in the Post-ABC poll, while 18 percent expressed strong approval for his leadership.

Largely because of his showing among black Americans, Bush enjoys a higher overall favorable rating than Reagan did during the early stage of his presidency, according to the survey.

The Post-ABC survey found that 76 percent of those interviewed had a favorable impression of Bush, compared to 68 percent for Reagan eight years ago.

Historically, presidents generally receive high approval ratings during the early stages of their first terms, but these feelings are lightly held and change in response to a president's policies and performance.

On other issues, the survey found:

- Nearly half—47 percent—of respondents said they disapproved of Bush's nomination of former Texas senator John G. Tower to be secretary of defense. Forty percent approved of the Tower nomination while the rest were undecided.
- Barely half of those interviewed—53 percent—said they approved of the way Congress is doing its job. In the wake of public outcry that scuttled a controversial pay-raise plan for Congress, 44 percent held an unfavorable opinion.
- Seven out of 10 respondents said they expect Bush to raise taxes, despite his campaign promises and the budget plans he outlined to Congress last week. And about half said new taxes likely will be needed to reduce the budget deficit.
- Seven out of 10 also said they agreed with Bush's proposals to cap military spending and expand some social programs.

Rhetorical Questions

Building Bush, Dismantling Reagan

1/22
By Charles Paul Freund
Washington Post Staff Writer

The outstanding characteristic of the ongoing Bush lovefest in Washington is that it is simultaneously a divorce from Ronald Reagan. Every word of praise offered Bush—his “governmental expertise,” his “experience,” even his reported “spontaneity”—suggests an equivalent term of opprobrium for his, by implication, detached and lackadaisical predecessor. Washington is suddenly engaging in its own peculiar dialect of political revisionism and rebuff.

This is, in large part, a cyclical phenomenon. The city often dismisses outgoing presidents, at least when they exit the White House while still breathing, as tired old men who ran out of fresh ideas years before their terms of office mercifully expired. Incoming presidents, on the other hand, are vigorous men with a fresh appreciation of power and its effective exercise, at least for a couple of weeks. Even the incoming Richard Nixon enjoyed such a honeymoon, though few people in Washington liked him very much even then. Even the outgoing Dwight Eisenhower, the last man before Reagan to emerge from the presidency with most of his dignity intact, had developed a kind of old fogey persona at the end of his second term; he seemed a man who'd rather be golfing than president.

Nonetheless, there is something deliciously ghoulish about the process this time, both in its suddenness and its nakedness. Reagan left office a popular and much-praised man. The Washington Post's Lou Cannon, for example, who repeatedly pointed out Reagan's apparent befuddlement, saluted Reagan last Christmas Day as “among the sanest presidents of modern times.” Reagan's high popularity ratings were repeatedly cited as presidential milestones, and even the goodbyes from critics implied a

grudging acknowledgment that Reagan was emerging from office unscathed. U.S. News & World Report bid Reagan farewell by picturing him on a white horse. Reagan felt confident enough about his legacy during a televised farewell to warn the country against the erosion of his “revolution.”

Reagan undoubtedly remains immensely popular with a great many people. But he lacks one thing today that he still had 10 days ago: power. The result is that his reputation here is being dismantled, through a revealing rhetorical process, faster than are the inaugural parade reviewing stands for his successor.



THE WASHINGTON POST

Let's call this process “Damning with tainted praise.” George Bush is its beneficiary, Reagan its target. The point is to praise one person, almost always one who has assumed power, at the implied expense of another person, almost always one who has recently relinquished it, though without necessarily incurring a cost for the attack.

An example of this process occurred last Friday, after President Bush held a news conference. Accounts of it in such papers as The Post, The Baltimore Sun and by the wire services, and reactions to it on the weekend public affairs TV shows, noted approvingly that Bush addressed

questions without recourse to note cards, remained at the podium for 45 minutes, used reporters' nicknames and invited impromptu suggestions about how to handle follow-up questions. Nothing in this list addresses anything substantive; it's all form, and it's all contrary to Reagan's form. (Though, as a sitting president, it cost Reagan little to limit himself to a few, often awkward press conferences.)

Similarly, Bush was praised following his pre-inaugural meeting with black leaders: He was perceived as “reaching out” to them. In fact, the only discernible significance of this event was that it was not Reagan-like. (Though it cost Reagan little to ignore the same black leaders, and nothing at all to impugn unidentified black leaders—just this month on “60 Minutes”—as making a good living off the civil rights movement.)

R.W. Apple, in a New York Times article Sunday contrasting some Reagan and Bush policies, suggested that Bush could declare his political independence precisely because of Reagan's sudden deflation. Here is how former Democratic chairman Robert Strauss described Bush's impressive qualities to The Times: Bush is a “President who seems to know something about government, who's alert, who's not afraid to have people see him close up. [People] find that refreshing.”

Even Bush's people are not shrinking from exploiting this process. White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu appeared on “This Week with David Brinkley” over the weekend, and noted that Bush “feels comfortable with the issues himself,” and that the White House wants to avoid “what happened in the previous administration with some of the shouted questions”

“The previous administration” used to be known as the most popular presidency in modern times, but that was 10 days ago.

Bush's 1st week one of images

By Owen Ullmann
and Ellen Warren
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — It was the kind of week that would make even the master of political images — Ronald Reagan — turn green with envy.

There was the new President of the United States leading a tour of the White House for visitors off the street, tossing a football around with his family and mugging it up as a hip rhythm-and-bluesman, a white electric guitar emblazoned "The Prez" hanging around his neck.

There he was again, putting in a 12-hour day at the office, picking up the phone to chat with Mikhail S. Gorbachev and a batch of other foreign leaders, extending a hand of friendship to Congress and holding an impromptu news conference.

And when he sneaked out of the White House one afternoon to jog at a nearby military base, he insisted that his motorcade stop for red lights so as not to disrupt traffic. Now, that's considerate.

George Bush was a busy man during his first week as President. He used symbolic events to establish in the public's mind a sense of his presidential personality and his values — two facets of the Bush persona that were not widely known in the eight years he spent working in Reagan's shadow.

During his short time in the White House, Bush has shown a preference for spontaneity over the tightly scheduled events Reagan liked, a casual style rather than the staged pomp and formality of his predecessor and a teenage-like enthusiasm for his new job. Despite eight years as part of the White House team, "there's still the wonder of it all" in being commander in chief, Bush confided.

But Bush has not yet wielded the powers of the presidency. He has not laid out his spe-

Bush and his advisers have shunned substance because they want the public to focus first on "the Man."

cific plans for reducing the budget deficit and has not revealed what his top legislative proposals will be. And he has declined to outline his foreign policy priorities, particularly concerning U.S. relations with the Soviet Union.

Although the lack of substantive actions during his first week revived complaints from the fall campaign that Bush lacks a vision and agenda for running the country, the President and his advisers insist that his substance-free schedule thus far is quite intentional because they consciously want the public to focus first on Bush "the Man."

"If we just sat around and did nothing except be pleasant to people on the Hill or something, why, I could expect that would grow a little old for you all," Bush explained at a news conference Friday when asked when he was going to actually do something.

"But we've set a certain tone and a certain outreach, and then [we will] go forward" with specific proposals on issues ranging from education to drugs to foreign policy, he said. "There will be plenty of time for controversy and plenty of time for lively debate on substance. But I would simply say that will follow and follow pretty soon."

The tone and style Bush is trying to set are that of an unpretentious, kind, congenial, ethical and hard-working man eager to main-

tain harmony with Congress and the media.

Congressional leaders who met with Bush on Tuesday applauded him for expressing an earnest desire to work in a spirit of bipartisanship. And White House reporters, who rarely had an opportunity to grill Reagan, were pleasantly surprised when Bush made an impromptu appearance in the press room Friday morning and answered questions for 43 minutes, even though he was suffering a head cold.

The ethical tone came through a carefully choreographed set of speeches and actions designed to make the notion of high-minded government service the theme of Bush's first week.

In one of his few official actions, Bush named a commission to propose legislation setting higher ethical standards for government officials. The emphasis on ethics was clearly intended to counter criticism about ethical lapses by Reagan administration officials, a pattern Democrats gleefully dubbed "the sleaze factor."

Having set the tone, Bush will concentrate in the next two weeks on setting the agenda. His senior advisers said he will spell out his domestic and foreign policy programs on Feb. 9, when he is to address a joint session of Congress to fulfill the Constitution's requirement for an annual State of the Union mes-

sage.

The President, fond of trying to keep the media in the dark so he can surprise them, has issued strict orders of secrecy concerning the details of his speech.

But using his campaign promises as clues, Bush is sure to propose a budget plan that reduces the deficit without tax increases but finds extra money for aiding education, cleaning up the environment and providing tax breaks for child care, college savings and home purchases.

Bush's foreign policy plans are less predictable because he has been silent on his intentions, pending a thorough review of current policy, and he has acknowledged he is taking his time because he wants to be "prudent."

The new President seems to be in a rush, however, to meet with foreign leaders around the world, even though they are mostly courtesy calls.

On Feb. 10, Bush will fly to Ottawa to meet with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Two weeks later, he leaves for the Far East, first to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito in Tokyo and then to visit China and South Korea. In the spring, Bush will make his first European visit to attend a 40th anniversary meeting of NATO. He will return in the summer to attend the annual economic summit in France.

Bush's attempt to get his presidency off to a "kinder and gentler" start has been aided by a minimum of crises facing him now.

But as an old Washington hand, he knows the good will that he and the country are exchanging will not last long. But for the moment, he is savoring the positive atmosphere that has enveloped the capital.

"I think people, when a new president comes in, do root for him regardless of partisan politics. That comes tomorrow," he said. "But for today, why, I think there's a good mood out there."

William Raspberry 302/1/122

Good Signs From Bush

Eight years ago, at the beginning of the Reagan era, the best you could get out of black America was: maybe Reagan won't be as bad as we fear.

His successor begins his term with a more hopeful, though still tentative, reaction: could George Bush possibly be as good as he sounds?

The difference, which white America must find incomprehensible, is that Bush is more likeable.

The new president lacks the easy grace, the unself-consciousness, the utter self-assurance of his predecessor—traits that endeared him to whites. He's not the sort of guy you'd stop off for drinks with, or hang an endearing nickname on, or swap stories with. He is almost a black man's caricature of whites: overeducated, stiff and sure to clap on the wrong beat.

So what is there about him that leads blacks, if not to like him, at least to suspend judgment on him?

I think it is as simple as this: Bush seems to understand the extent to which even economically successful blacks see themselves (or imagine that they are seen) as outsiders, our hunger for racial justice, the degree to which we rely on symbols.

The symbols have not all been positive. Blacks particularly remember Bush's campaign use of Willie Horton

"He is almost a black man's caricature of whites: overeducated, stiff and sure to clap on the wrong beat."

as a symbol of his opposition to liberal ideas of criminal justice. But he also promised during the campaign that he would be "personally involved" in protecting civil rights.

Lately the signals have been more reassuring: not just the "new breeze" of the inaugural speech but also his praise of Martin Luther King Jr. as God's gift to America and his pledge to fulfill King's dream. "Bigotry and indifference to disadvantage," he said, "will find no safe harbor on our shores, in our public life, in our neighborhoods or in our homes."

Already he has met with Coretta Scott King, Jesse Jackson and Benjamin Hooks.

Contrast all that with Reagan's defamations of King, his once-in-eight-years meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus and his turn-back-the-clock embrace of efforts to grant tax exemptions to Bob Jones University and to overturn settled consent decrees designed to promote employment opportunity for blacks.

Blacks, virtually alone among Americans, saw Reagan not as an easy-going nice guy but as someone who was racially insensitive, if not outright bigotted.

The kindest reading of the Reagan's attitudes over the past eight years is that he just didn't understand. The most benign interpretation of his actions—his administration's assaults on "reverse discrimination," for instance, or his recent insistence that black leaders are deliberately "keeping alive the feeling that they're victims of prejudice"—is that he believed racial justice already had been achieved.

Bush, who knows better, has been reaching out to blacks, declaring his presidency to be "the age of the offered hand," and blacks are at least tentatively encouraged.

They don't want to make too much of the early signals. After all, signals are not the same as policies and programs, and given the deficit-induced constraints on the federal budget, it is likely that there won't be the kinds of

programs that could transform the signals into concrete advances.

But signals are important, too.

Reagan, whether personally bigotted or not, sent signals that opposition to black aspirations was legitimate. That's why he is blamed for the resurgence of overt racism—on college campuses, in Howard Beach and in Forsyth County, Ga. Who can doubt that black attitudes, even toward a conservative administration, might have been different if Reagan had sent different signals?

That is what Bush is doing. In part, it is an effort to break the Democratic lock on black voters—an effort Bush undertook, with indifferent results, when he was chairman of the Republican National Committee.

But it seems also to be a recognition that, for all the racial progress since the days of the civil rights movement, racial justice remains for blacks a distant dream.

We didn't stand and cheer when he spoke of his concern for the homeless, the "lost and roaming" children and teenage mothers, and declared that "we have work to do."

But we heard him, and dared to hope that maybe—just maybe—things will be different this time around.

Signals matter.

OBSERVER
Russell Baker

So Grand At the Game

As President Bush's glowing reviews prove again, the press follows the election returns even more closely than the Supreme Court does.

Last year's "wimp" who turned into the beast of October is enjoying his third metamorphosis in less than a year and now appears in the press as a veray parfit gentle knight, precisely the kind of leader we need at this hour.

These three remarkably different Bushes are not entirely press creations, to be sure. His fellow Republicans created the notion of Bush as "wimp," a nasty sounding word of recent origin. "Wimp" expressed their fear that the party couldn't stop him from being nominated and that his white-shoe and blue-blood background assured a party defeat.

The press latched onto the idea with such gusto that the political reporter or columnist who hadn't dilated publicly on Bush's "wimp problem" scarcely dared show his face at the Press Club.

Press contempt for Bush in this phase produced some very hard prose indeed, including the observation that the Vice President was nothing more than President Reagan's lap dog.

The "wimp" was expunged by the Bush campaign against Dukakis, and in its place appeared a ruthless demagogic warrior who took no prisoners.

The press could hardly fail to notice that this was a Bush remarkably different from any Bush hitherto seen by anybody anywhere. Indeed, Bush's campaign directors would have been crushed if the press had failed to take notice.

What was the point of the exercise, after all, if the barkers were not going to urge the crowd to step right up and see the new, fierce, battling Bush wrestle giant pythons and destroy small A.C.L.U. card carriers from Taxachusetts?

Thus the creation of Big Bad George, twice as ruthless as Bobby Kennedy, as slippery with truth as old Joe McCarthy and as dangerous in political battle as Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. All of which was fairly obvious baloney.

What was truly interesting at this stage was Bush's putting himself into the care of technicians skilled at manipulating the public for political gain. The technicians created Big Bad George and Bush went along agreeably wearing the face and fist and scowl they fitted onto him.

The press bought Big Bad George. The evidence appeared in the inevitable public opinion polls which, as the campaign went on, reported public revulsion against "negative" campaigning. All these polls meant, most likely, was that a lot of people had heard or read a great deal of media material about nastiness in the Bush campaign and were mildly embarrassed to admit they had been sold by it.

Far more interesting about Bush's campaign was his willingness to let his technicians create a persona for him. What should have been worrisome was not that he might be a ruthless, slippery and dangerous President, but that he might be a President willing to let technicians make his most important decisions for him.

In the press hoo-hah about the

The press has turned Bush from wimp to beast to gentle knight.

meanness of the Bush campaign, little attention was paid to the possibility that the candidate might be neither "wimpish" nor monstrous, but simply empty.

Day after election, lo and what do you know! the press discovers a Bush they never knew existed. The reclusive candidate who refused to answer questions becomes Accessible George, ready to respond graciously wherever reporters find him. Yes, there will be plenty of press conferences, folks.

How charming he is with his patrician, New England, prep school, Ivy League good manners and quiet good humor. What wisdom he shows by surrounding himself with experienced Washington veterans of the old Republican school.

What good taste in shying away from vulgar Southern Californian glitz and choosing a plain business-suit Inauguration. How marvelous his wife with her down-to-earth, no-nonsense, grandmotherly openness.

So different from what has gone before, just as this new Bush, Affable George, is so different from what has gone before. But let us mention no names. There will be ample time for the press to reassess the eight years that have gone before. It was not a heroic era for the press. It will not be surprising if the press takes a bit of vengeance later for the eight years that made it look so... so... wimpish.

For now, though, all energy is consumed in publicizing this new phenomenon in Washington, this remarkable new President. Sometimes it seems it's the press that is the lap dog of Presidents. □

WILLIAM RUSHER 290/1

Under clear skies, dawn for the Bush era

How long has it been since you heard anybody call George Bush a "wimp"? At least five months, I'll bet. That poisonous little piece of propaganda, based on a widespread but wholly inaccurate perception of the man, disappeared from journalistic radar screens around the time of the Republican convention in New Orleans last August and hasn't been seen since.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Bush's transformation, in less than half a year, from a widely perceived wimp into a relaxed, sure-of-himself national leader is one of the most striking political developments of recent times.

In the Reagan White House, Mr. Bush, as vice president, inevitably took on some of the aspects of a fifth wheel—an ancient problem that has now assumed its new roost on the shoulder of Vice President Dan Quayle. But nobody ever emerged into the sunshine of selfhood more quickly or more confidently than Mr. Bush did after he was nominated in New Orleans.

What's more, the process has actually accelerated since the election. In the wake of Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis' defeat, the media were in a surly mood, and the congressional Democrats could hardly wait to shove those words "no new taxes" down the incoming president's throat. It began to appear that George Bush's "honeymoon" would be one of the shortest on record.

But Mr. Bush kept his cool and his sense of humor, refused either to panic or retract, and began naming to his Cabinet a series of old Washington hands who were widely known and respected, both among the media and on Capitol Hill.

Slowly it began to dawn on observers that the Bush administration was going to be a class act in its own right, and not merely a lame follow-on to the Ronald Reagan Show.

As a matter of fact, it has been a little amusing to note the Washington press corps' open relief that so many of Mr. Bush's top appointees

"live inside the Beltway" or have already spent years in government service. This merely testifies to the human fear of the unknown. There are plenty of able men and women outside the Beltway, as both Jimmy Carter and Mr. Reagan demonstrated by naming a number of them to high posts in their administrations. But then the media, and the all-but-permanent grandees up on the Hill, must go to the trouble of getting to know them, setting up lines of communication, exchanging favors, etc. At least Mr. Bush has, in most cases, spared them that trouble.

As a result, it is fair to say that George Bush assumes the presidency under skies about as clear as, in the nature of things, political skies ever get. He is the successor and legatee of the most popular president of modern times. He has surrounded himself with men and women whom he knows well and who, collectively, are the possessors of formidable expertise in the arcane arts of politics and government.

Domestically, the nation is entering an unprecedented seventh year of prosperity, with the federal budget deficit declining, both in absolute terms and (far more significant) as a proportion of the gross national product.

Internationally, it is slowly becoming apparent that the Free World, after 40 years of grim persistence, has in fact won the Cold War—and (even more important, if possible) that the Soviet Union and the rest of the world know it. This is certainly no time for the West to let down its guard, but it seems possible at least to hope for a time of relative peace.

One would have to be churlish indeed not to wish President Bush well as his administration begins. But, beyond that, there seems sounder reason than many supposed, even a year ago, to believe that this good-natured and essentially kindly man is up to the job.

There seems sounder reason than many supposed to believe that this good-natured man is up to the job.

William A. Rusher is a nationally syndicated columnist.

He's a New Man Now, Thanks to the Press

11/91
By MICHAEL ORESKES

WASHINGTON
AMERICANS depend on newspapers and television for an image of their President. But their impression of George Bush depends substantially on whether they remember what they read and heard about him before he was elected President or since.

First the press portrayed him as a wimp, a preppy, a tinny-voiced lap dog who stood for nothing in the Reagan White House and could never win an election on his own. Then he was a pit bull who would do anything, say anything on the campaign trail to become President. Now he is the buoyant winner, the sportsman, the regular guy going to the White House.

"So many people's view of you has changed," Barbara Walters could say in all sincerity to him as he prepared for his Inauguration. "It's as if Clark Kent became Superman."

In understanding this reversal, Clark Kent's knowledge of great metropolitan dailies might be more valuable than Superman's X-ray vision. To be sure, some changes are real. But the gyrating images of George Bush are also an illustration of the flaws in the way the press works.

For some, the way newspapers, magazines and television have embraced Mr. Bush since Election Day is proof of how journalists, like most everyone else in this city, cozy up to power. Others, who have known Mr. Bush for some time, suggest that the journalists are much closer to the real Mr. Bush now; their mistake was that they failed to see through the facades he put on for the Reagan Administration and the campaign. Either way, something is amiss.

The campaign that brought Mr. Bush to office was supposed to have been the one in which journalists would focus on character. Issues were transitory and the important thing was to get a true measure of the man who would be President. This attitude had a profound impact, as Gary Hart and Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. found out early on in the election season. But in the end the attention to character never produced a real fix on Mr. Bush.

"We in the media bear some considerable responsibility for the fact we're now finding 'a new George Bush,'" said Brit Hume, the new White House correspondent for ABC News. He argued that many reporters knew well that the Bush they were portraying as a subservient Vice President and a mean candidate was more complicated than that.

"In our business we think it's our duty to change the public's perception of a politician who is coming off better than we think he is," Mr. Hume said. "We feel no comparable responsibility to a politician who is coming off worse than we know him to be."

In this line of reasoning, the earlier George Bushes were products of political necessity: his need to stand loyally with Ronald Reagan and the need to demolish Michael S. Dukakis. Since Election Day, the need has been different.

A President's relationship with the press is no sideshow, even when the shouting, the shoving and the acrobatics may make it look like a circus. Indeed, former Presidents Ford and Carter got together last week at Columbia University to talk not about foreign policy or Congressional relations but about what Mr. Carter said was one of a President's "pre-eminent" concerns, the give-and-take between the press and the White House.

Courting the Corps

"For his program to be successful," Mr. Ford said of Mr. Bush, "he has to establish a receptiveness with the Congress on the one hand and the American people on the other. He needs their support. Between now and sometime next week he has to build through the press a momentum for whatever he's going to propose in his speech when he goes up to Capitol Hill [on Feb. 9]. If he doesn't have that background and that support he can't do well when the chips are down."

Since Election Day Mr. Bush has been assiduously courting the press corps he held at arm's length through the campaign. Reporters have accompanied Mr. Bush to some of the country's ritzier vacation spots; back in Washington last

week Mr. and Mrs. Bush dropped in on a dinner party honoring Robert Healey of The Boston Globe, who is retiring after covering Washington for three decades.

"Bush during the campaign showed every promise of being the sort of fumbling recluse the press could feel superior to," wrote Henry Allen, a reporter for The Washington Post. But now, Mr. Allen said, "he has held more press conferences since the election than Reagan held in the previous two years, and has proved much more amiable and spontaneous."

Mr. Bush has gone swimming with reporters, drunk with them and, most important, spoken to them. "I came down here to go fishing, not to have another news conference," Mr. Bush told reporters during a fishing excursion in the Florida Keys. "I don't want to overburden you with access. I just had a news conference."

"But you're so good at it," a reporter replied.

"Go ahead then," Mr. Bush said, opening up for questions. "Flattery will get you everywhere."

This impression of openness and vigor is doing much to shore up Mr. Bush, who was elected in a mean-spirited campaign that did much damage to the winner's public image. The photographs of Mr. Bush hunting and fishing are everywhere. But athletic photos alone cannot explain the change.

Sixteen months ago, Newsweek used a picture of Mr. Bush at the helm of his power boat to illustrate a story titled "Fighting the 'Wimp factor.'" Two weeks ago in the magazine, a picture of Mr.

Bush fishing from the back of a motor boat illustrated "The 'Liberation' of George Bush."

"Let's face it, the Washington press in particular goes with the power," said Joseph Laitin, who has been a reporter, a press officer in five Administrations and the ombudsman at The Washington Post, and is now a public relations consultant. "This is not a very nice commentary. But I'm afraid it's true. If a man is in a powerful position the press tends to go along to the point of being subservient. But if you break your leg, the press will pounce on you."

Some journalists express a slightly different view. The problem, said Albert R. Hunt, Washington bureau chief of The Wall Street Journal, is that the press overreacts. "When things are good we say things are really great and when things are not so great we say things are really terrible," he said.

Other journalists note that some of the very traits that seemed to indicate weakness in Mr. Bush as a candidate are now signs of strength. His often mentioned skill as a listener, for example, seemed a passive trait for a man seeking power, but for a man at its pinnacle it suggests calm and control.

Mr. Bush well knows that his current glowing coverage may be just a fleeting honeymoon. By being more accessible and thus appearing more involved, he runs the risk of having to take more of the blame when things go wrong.

Neither has sniping over policy started to wear away at this moment of good feeling. "That'll change, too," Mr. Bush told Ms. Walters. "Wait till the budget goes in."

Sizing Up President Bush: Effective, Not a Daredevil

By RAYMOND PRICE

1

President Bush will not be a clone of President Reagan. But how different will he be, and in what ways?

The short answer to the first question is very, and to the second, most. Not different in the basic objectives that he seeks, but different in the ways in which he pursues them.

Ronald Reagan touched a certain mystic chord in the nation's heart. A Bush presidency will be more prose and less poetry. Reagan kept his eye on the goal. Bush will focus more on the means of reaching it. Reagan had an unparalleled ability to reach out and touch millions of Americans at once through television. Bush will reach out and touch many more people individually, and will track more closely the inner workings of his own Administration.

George Bush has always had an adventurous spirit, but has followed it in a measured way. In World War II he became the Navy's youngest pilot, and a good one—he won the Distinguished Flying Cross and three Air Medals—but being a good combat pilot means being effective, not being a daredevil. After college he set out on his own for the oil fields of Texas, but carefully kept his ties to the banking world of the Northeast. He doesn't shrink from risks, but he prefers prudent risks.

One of the strongest influences on his life was his father, U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush, who was also a managing partner of the elite New York investment-banking firm of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.

As a senator Pres Bush didn't make large waves. That wasn't his style. But he did win high respect from his Senate colleagues. He had a firm sense of right and wrong, and held himself to rigorous standards of personal conduct. An ardent internationalist, he helped persuade Dwight Eisenhower to get into the 1952 presidential race. He was courteous, sometimes even courtly, with a conservative's instinctive distrust of government panaceas but also a firm belief that government exists to serve the public, not vice versa.

Call it social conscience or a patrician sense of noblesse oblige, but the whole Bush family was imbued with a deeply rooted sense of public duty. To the Bush clan, public service is not someone else's responsibility. It's theirs.

George Bush is not a theoretician. He does not have an intellectual turn of mind. He habitually deals with the concrete, not the abstract. He does have a keenly honed sense of how the world works. As U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, head of the U.S. mission to China and director of the CIA, he saw the real world beyond the U.S. borders. And there is a down-home quality about his thought processes that creates real empathy with people on an individual basis while leaving his view of the bad guys and how they operate in the world remarkably unclouded.

Because of this down-home quality and his own familiarity with Washington, the snake-oil salesmen who so heavily populate the Beltway area won't find him to be an easy sell. He has heard their pitches before. He knows the words—and also the music.

It's no coincidence that for years his closest political confidant and collaborator has been Secretary of State-designate James A. Baker III. Baker is called a pragmatist. To the rigid ideologue a pragmatist is a person without principle. In the real world a pragmatist is often one who maneuvers to get as much of what his principles dictate as he can, then moves on to the next battle. Ideologues make better copy because they make livelier drama. But mixing in some pragmatism makes better policy.

Soon, of course, the "inconsistencies" game will begin. Analysts not capable of holding two thoughts in their heads at the same time will point to separate Bush initiatives and declare them inconsistent with one another. Already the game has begun. To 90% of the Beltway crowd, *kinder and gentler* means one thing: fatter federal social programs funded by higher taxes. Bush doesn't believe that taxes are necessarily kind and gentle.

But if people read his lips correctly, the new President should not be a font of major surprises. By and large, he is the sort who says what he means and means what he says and who doesn't feel that he has to raise his voice to make his point. By listening more closely, those who at first find his actions puzzling may in time find them less so.

Raymond Price writes a syndicated column in New York.

THE 41ST PRESIDENT

What US Expects of Bush

*Americans look for
the steady hand of
competence at helm,
not dramatic change*

By Charlotte Saikowski

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

EIGHT years ago the American people, disappointed and dispirited, longed for a leader to restore their confidence in the presidency and get the country moving economically.

Today, as George Bush is sworn in as the 41st President of the United States, the mood is more optimistic and hopeful, despite an underlying current of economic concern. Americans say their expectations are not for dramatic change, but for a steady hand of competence and good judgment to address nagging problems at home and help steer the nation as it adjusts to swift changes abroad.

"People are not expecting great things," says Andrew Kohut, president of the Gallup Organization. "They are looking for evidence of Bush's competence, and that looking will be focused on the budget deficit, which has become a symbol of the questions people have about the future."

Bush supporters assess the public mood similarly. "There's no expectant hope of change in direction," says James Lake, a former Bush campaign adviser. "What people want is to continue the progress — the expansion of jobs and economic growth and the 'peace through strength' built by Reagan. But what they also want is a touching-up of the system and the process — to do something for the homeless, provide educational opportunities, and succeed with that 'kinder, gentler' approach. . . ."

It is competence more than vision and creativity that most political analysts expect President Bush to exhibit. In terms of Washington experience, few American presidents have assumed the mantle of leadership so

well prepared. A former congressman, diplomatic envoy in Peking, UN ambassador, CIA director, and vice-president, Bush brings to his task an uncommon knowledge of the workings of government and a web of close connections with Washington's power wielders.

From his background and record, there are no clues that he will be a bold innovator, charging out front with radical new initiatives. But during the transition period Bush impressed Washington observers with his growing self-assurance and independence. All indications are that he will be a much more active and engaged executive than his predecessor — not going as far as Jimmy Carter in immersing himself in detail, but staying in charge of issues and making many more decisions.

Reflecting his own persona, Bush has picked a Cabinet of competent, pragmatic individuals, many of whom are hold-overs from the Reagan administration. They are viewed as suitable for the times, when huge budget deficits inhibit a major expansion of domestic spending and a collegial approach is needed to policy-making and fiscal management.

"The one thing we don't have is money, so he has picked a Cabinet long on experience and short on bold new ideas," says Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution. "They are experienced administrators who are not afraid of the bureaucracy, know how to work with Congress, and are practical people."

Domestically, Bush will have many issues on his agenda, but

none more urgent than the deficit. Financial markets, world leaders, and the American people await his prescription for bringing the annual deficits under control. The public's expectations on this score, Mr. Kohut says, are moderate.

"That's the problem by which he will be judged," the public opinion expert says. "But progress on the deficit will be a perception game — how well he's seen in Washington and on television doing something — and not necessarily the effect."

In the domestic arena, Bush faces a new Democratic Congress eager to flex its own muscles. Some observers say that, given the financial constraints, the new President will be more reactive than assertive, as lawmakers generate most of the new initiatives.

"There are things to be done — on savings and loans institutions, nuclear weapons plants, child care, minimum wage, clean air," says Norman Ornstein, a specialist on Congress at the American Enterprise Institute. "But on most of these things Bush will react to outside pressures or congressional pressures. So he'll have to be a good counterpuncher."

Still, during the campaign Bush made much of wanting a "kinder, gentler" America, and it would not be surprising if he turned out to be an activist on social policy, despite the limitations of money. This is an area, political observers say, where Bush can distance himself from the Reagan presidency, which was perceived as indifferent to problems of the poor, the environment, and other social needs.

Moreover, unlike his predecessor,

sor, Mr. Bush does not have a disdain for government and may prove to be vigorous in using it effectively to help alleviate such needs.

It is in the foreign policy arena, however, where Bush is expected to expend most of his energies. His own interests lie in the diplomatic field. He enjoys it, and this is the most visible area of leadership where he can quickly bolster his political stock. Already he has three foreign trips on his

'We needed . . . reassurance that not everything was falling apart and Reagan provided that.'

— Hugh Heclo

agenda — the funeral of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito in late February, a possible summit meeting marking the 40th anniversary of NATO, and the annual economic summit of leaders of the industrialized nations.

Bush assumes power in a period of major change and opportunity in the world, when super-power relations, arms control, the

Middle East, and the coming economic integration of Western Europe will demand strategic policies. An early presidential task will be to organize the internal foreign affairs establishment to develop an overall plan and the resources for pursuing these policies.

One group of issues relates to security policy — defense strategy, US-Soviet relations, arms control, dealings with the allies, and a broad range of issues such as terrorism, drugs, and security aid abroad.

"That's where the whole ball of wax has to be looked at and related to budget issues," a senior US official says. "Addressing the budget and related security issues and organizing the government so that not only the fiscal game plan is under control but your Cabinet supports the plan and does not end up fighting — that's the paradigm."

A second group of issues relates to the international economy, and here, too, Bush will have to work out a plan that embraces such issues as the trade deficit and world debt. American officials expect a large measure of continuity in this area, with the US moving ahead on trade negotiations, pressing other govern-

ments to open up markets, and implementing the new US-Canada trade agreement.

In terms of specific issues, Soviet-American relations are viewed as providing the paramount opportunity for the Bush administration, as they affect third-world as well as East-West questions. Diplomatic experts urge Bush to move as quickly as possible, while Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is in power, to seek a fundamental change in the nature of the relationship in which a determination to sit down and work out mutual concerns — instead of arming to fight each other — becomes the irreversible norm.

In the meantime, as Bush steps into the Oval Office, there is an air of hope that the Reagan era of "feel good" rhetoric will give way to more realism and candor in public discourse.

"We needed a period of reassurance that not everything was falling apart and Reagan provided that," says presidential scholar Hugh Heclo. "But he did not help teach people about realities, and to pull themselves together to deal with the root of their concern and anxieties. So we still don't feel prepared to face up to what has to be done."

Optimistic Mood Greet 41st President

But Public Doubts Success on Deficit and Drug Issues

11193

By ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19 — Americans begin the Bush Administration in a buoyant mood, optimistic about the country and the new President and especially satisfied with their own lives, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

Their expectations for George Bush as the 41st President are not unqualified. Indeed, they say he is unlikely to solve the two problems now at the top of the public agenda: drugs and the Federal deficit.

But that does not dim their overall contentment. When asked to rate "the way things are going in the United States," they gave it a rating that matched the highest recorded since the Times/CBS News Poll began measuring that attitude 10 years ago. And their outlook on the future is nearly as rosy as that recorded four years ago when Ronald Reagan began his second term, a high-spirited time captured by the popular President's campaign theme of "Morning in America."

Bush Image Softened

The poll of 1,533 adults conducted Jan. 12 through Jan. 15 indicated that Mr. Bush has succeeded in softening and improving his image since the end of a long Presidential campaign marked by harsh attacks on his Democratic opponent, Michael S. Dukakis.

For example, in September 53 percent of registered voters said they thought "George Bush cares about the needs and problems" of people like themselves; now 64 percent do. Among Dukakis supporters the increase was even steeper, from 22 percent in September to 45 percent now. The poll's margin of sampling error was plus or minus three percentage points.

The telephone poll also showed a striking shift in public anxiety over the

last four years. In the era of Mikhail S. Gorbachev and warmer relations with the Soviet Union, the fear of nuclear war has been supplanted by worries over the Federal deficit, drugs and the homeless.

The prevailing mood was measured by a series of questions in national telephone polls asking people to rate the present state of national affairs on a scale of 1 to 10, and to do the same for the country five years ago and five years hence. The survey found the public gave the present a rating of 6.05, better than the rating they gave to five years ago, which they rated at 5.62, but not as good as they expect the future to be, which they rated at 6.19.

Men tended to be more satisfied with the current state of affairs than were women, and whites were considerably more satisfied than blacks. Whites, for example, rated the present at 6.16, while blacks gave it a 5.43. Still, that was a more contented mood among blacks than was registered in polls in

1981, 1983, 1985 or 1988.

But, as other surveys have found, Americans are even more satisfied with their own lives, giving them a rating of 7.41, a markedly more contented mood than a year ago. Sixty-seven percent gave their own situation a higher rating than the nation's. The highest rating came from those with family incomes of more than \$50,000. Their average rating was 7.93.

The survey indicates Mr. Bush is reaping results from the last two months of conciliatory gestures and humanizing trips. Nearly a fifth of those surveyed said they thought of Mr. Bush as "nicer and more likeable" than they did before Election Day. And 68 percent say they are optimistic about the next four years under Mr. Bush.

They seem willing to excuse Mr. Bush for an old political liability: the Iran-contra affair. About half of those surveyed still said they believed Mr. Bush was hiding something about the Iran-contra affair that the public ought to know. But most of those people felt that every administration hides something like that.

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

Expectations for the Bush Years

The Mood Is Generally Optimistic

Are you generally optimistic or pessimistic about the next four years with George Bush as President?

68% Optimistic 23% Pessimistic

People Don't Anticipate Success In All Areas

Here are some things George Bush says he wants to do as President. Do you think he will, or will not, be able to do them?

Improve relations with the Soviet Union?

69% Will Will not 21%

Significantly improve education in this country?

62% Will Will not 30%

Significantly improve the environment in this country?

49% Will Will not 44%

Significantly reduce the problem of homelessness?

37% Will Will not 55%

Significantly reduce the drug problem in this country?

35% Will Will not 56%

Balance the Federal budget in the next four years?

17% Will Will not 75%

Higher Taxes Are Foreseen

Do you think George Bush will ask Congress to increase taxes in the next four years?

73% Will ask for new taxes Will not 22%

Based on telephone interviews with 1,533 people nationwide, conducted Jan. 12-15. Those with no opinion are not shown.

How the Poll Was Conducted

This New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Jan. 12 through Jan. 15 with 1,533 adults across the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen so as to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. The numbers were then screened to limit calls to residences.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of household telephone lines, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, race, sex, age and education.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all Amer-

ican adults. The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, for men it is plus or minus four percentage points, while for women it is plus or minus three percentage points.

On the question that asked respondents to rate on a scale of 1 to 10 the way things are going in the United States at the present time, the margin of sampling error was plus or minus 0.09; that is, in 19 cases out of 20, a mean rating of 6.05 would be no lower than 5.96 and no higher than 6.14. For means based on smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error is larger.

The findings reported are the particular results most likely to match what would be obtained by seeking out all adult Americans. Other possible findings are progressively less likely the more they differ from the reported results.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

The honeymoon attitude is pervasive. Despite campaign complaints that he offered little direction for the nation, 80 percent now said that Mr. Bush has a vision on where to lead the country. Americans are taking one of his campaign promises particularly seriously: 53 percent said they thought Mr. Bush would, indeed, make this a "kinder, gentler nation."

Skepticism Among Blacks

But the survey shows that Mr. Bush, after running a campaign criticized by many blacks as racially polarizing, still faces widespread skepticism among blacks. Fifty percent of the blacks, as against 33 percent of the whites, said they did not believe Mr. Bush would create a more compassionate nation. And just 50 percent of the blacks, as against 66 percent of the whites, said they thought Mr. Bush cared for people like them.

Most Americans do not believe Mr. Bush's most persistent pledge in the campaign: "Read my lips. No new taxes." Seventy-three percent said they thought Mr. Bush would ask Congress to raise taxes in the next four years. Even 63 percent of the Republicans thought a Bush tax rise was on the way.

That reflects, perhaps, the growing concern about the Federal deficit, now at about \$155 billion per year and a subject of intensive news coverage in recent weeks. When asked to name the most important problem facing the nation, 17 percent cited the deficit, making it the most frequently cited problem, followed closely by drugs, which was mentioned by 15 percent.

College graduates were particularly concerned about the deficit; 30 percent of them named it as the No. 1 problem. Men cited it twice as often as women and whites cited it nearly three times as often as blacks.

Then, when the respondents were given a list of five problem areas — the deficit, drugs, homelessness, education and the environment — 35 percent picked drugs as the No. 1 problem, and 22 percent picked the deficit.

Shift in Public's Concerns

The survey found that the public's concerns have shifted considerably in recent years. For example, four years ago, when Mr. Reagan began his second term, nuclear war was the most frequently mentioned problem. The deficit was ranked fourth on the list and drugs barely registered at all.

The problems now uppermost in people's minds are also considered the most intractable. For example, just 35 percent say that Mr. Bush will be able to significantly reduce the drug problem over the next four years; just 17 percent predict he will balance the budget.

There is more optimism for the Bush administration in other areas: 62 percent say he will be able to significantly improve education and 49 percent expect him to improve the environment. But the greatest expectations are in foreign affairs: 69 percent said they thought Mr. Bush would improve rela-

tions with the Soviet Union, an especially optimistic view considering their satisfaction with how relations with the Kremlin are going now.

Expectations are more temperate on the economy: At the end of Mr. Bush's term in office, most people expect the economy to be about the same as it is today; 22 percent think it will be better, and 12 percent think it will be worse.

The survey showed that 58 percent think Federal spending on the military and defense programs should stay about the same, while 24 percent would like to see it decreased and 14 percent think it should go up.

A strong majority of 65 percent think the Federal Government should spend more on the homeless. Forty-nine percent of the respondents said they would even be willing to pay \$100 a year more in taxes to accomplish it.

Similarly, 69 percent said they thought the Federal government should spend more on fighting the drug problem, while 24 percent thought Federal spending should stay the same and 4 percent wanted it decreased.

Fifty-one percent of those surveyed said they were willing to pay \$100 a year more in Federal taxes to help with the anti-drug effort.

While Mr. Bush is clearly enjoying a honeymoon, his Vice President still has work to do in building public esteem, the survey showed. Vice President-elect Dan Quayle has made some progress since the election; those who rate him unfavorably dropped from 31 percent in November to 23 percent this month. But just 19 percent are willing to give him a favorable rating, a figure hardly changed from the 22 percent who viewed him favorably in November.

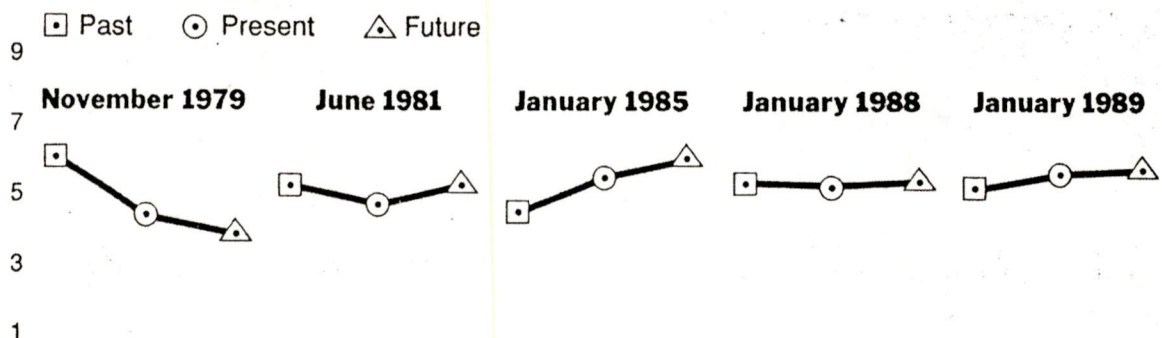
Nancy Reagan, like her husband, is leaving the White House in an glow of good feeling, with 56 percent saying they looked upon the First Lady favorably and 18 percent taking an un-

favorable view. By comparison, Barbara Bush is still largely unknown, although she begins her term as First Lady with a generally positive image. Thirty-four percent rated Mrs. Bush favorably, while a minuscule 3 percent rated her unfavorably. But 47 percent said they had not heard enough about Mrs. Bush to form an opinion, while 16 percent said they were undecided.

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

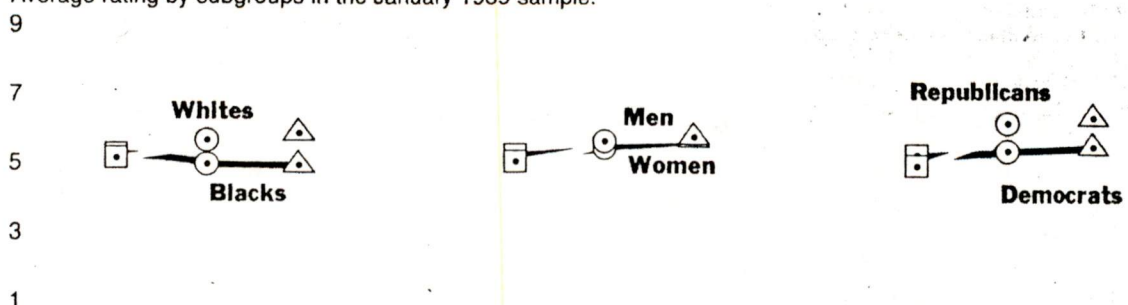
A Bit More Optimism About the Way Things Are

On a scale of 1 to 10, respondents rated "the way things are going in the United States" at the time of each poll, how things were five years before and how things would be five years hence.



But the Mood Isn't Shared Equally by All Groups in 1989

Average rating by subgroups in the January 1989 sample.



January 1989 poll based on telephone interviews with 1,533 people nationwide, conducted Jan. 12-15.

Bush's Metamorphosis

From Loyal Subordinate to Self-Assured Leader

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

On the morning after the Nov. 8 presidential election, a tired George Bush worked alone in his suite at the Houstonian Hotel on the draft of his first statement to the nation and the world. He asked no one for help that morning, neither speech writers nor aides who had been at his elbow so long.

He had been the pit bull of the campaign, ripping away at Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis as an "irrational" liberal who gave convicted murderers a weekend pass and a "ticket to Club Med."

But with the election over, Bush set about creating a new persona. As he wrote his first words as president-elect, he recast himself as a statesman far removed from the fray of the campaign that had consumed him only days before. He had the "greatest respect" for his defeated rival, he said. He praised the press corps he had shunned, and he promised to "heal" wounds with the Congress he had attacked.

Over the next 10 weeks, he sustained and embellished this new George Bush, as he soothed his defeated foes and assembled a Cabinet, all with confidence and a grace that startled many of those who had

witnessed his campaign ferocity. Bush seemed to understand, and to tailor himself to satisfy, the traditional longing for conciliation that follows a tumultuous campaign.

Such has been the metamorphosis of a public man. As Bush takes the oath of office today as the nation's 41st president, he brings to the White House a lifetime of adaptability. It has been one of his most enduring characteristics, one that has proven a source of both frustration and strength for him, has made him a target of ridicule but has also been one reason for his success.

Even as his roles have changed—as he transformed himself from loyal subordinate to aggressive campaigner to self-confident leader—there has been one constant. Bush devotes his attention solely to the job at hand, then moves on to the next, seemingly with no regrets for what has gone before.

"Do your best and don't look back," he wrote in his autobiography, about his feelings at the 1980 Republican National Convention in Detroit, when he thought at first that Ronald Reagan had passed over him to be his running mate. "No regrets, no apologizing, either."

Bush today passes another milestone on this road, and according to many friends and associates, it may mark the beginning of the most revealing period of his life. For the first time in eight years, he is a free man. He has been bursting with zeal for his new role. When he bids farewell to Reagan this morning, Bush will finally be burying his persona as Reagan's loyal lieutenant.

Two years ago, asked by a reporter whether he would consent to an interview about which policies of the Reagan era he had influenced, Bush flatly refused, insisting that he endorsed everything in Reagan's policy book. But last year he started to break away, first incrementally, then with a steady acceleration in the fall campaign and now full speed ahead. Without actually declaring himself

liberated, Bush has veered from Reagan's policies on environmental protection, civil rights and education, and he has pledged to chart a somewhat new direction in social policy and superpower relations.

The contrast was starkly evident this week, when Bush hailed slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. as a "hero" and promised his administration will not tolerate racial discrimination, while Reagan left office questioning the motives of civil rights leaders.

Bush's oldest friends and supporters have embraced the latest Bush persona as the genuine article. "I think what you have in George Bush is a man who has been a very, very disciplined understudy in numerous contexts throughout his career," said Rich Bond, a longtime Bush political strategist and Republican consultant. "All people are really seeing is the true Bush who was always there, but it was never his time. Now it's his time."

Bond recalled a dinner eight years ago, when Bush announced to a few aides that "I've decided how to be vice president." He said he had consulted former president Richard M. Nixon, former vice president Walter F. Mondale and



BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Bush gives the University of Texas' "hook 'em horns" sign at the D.C. Armory.

others. He said he would define the role by quietly building a discreet, loyal relationship with Reagan.

Last summer, in the months when Bush seemed hopelessly tied to Reagan's problems and was slipping further behind in the polls, Bond was among the political advisers who went to him with a plea to discard this old definition and emerge as his own person.

Bush firmly refused, despite the political risks. "The right time to step forward is at the convention," he said, according to Bond. "I am not going to be stampeded into doing it sooner."

Other Bush watchers are less convinced that the latest Bush persona is the definitive model. According to John R. Kessel, a political scientist at Ohio State University, "this is not the first time we've had a metamorphosis of George Bush. He was first a Goldwater Republican and then a Nixon Republican and then a Ford Republican and then a Bush 1980 Republican and then a Reagan Republican. He has moved back and forth across the ideological spectrum with some ease. There have been previous transformations. These make it difficult to say who the real George Bush is."

But, he added, "Bush appears to be more at ease with governing than with campaigning. Consequently, once he got the nomination he was somewhat more relaxed. And since the election he has been enormously more relaxed."

Former representative Thomas W. (Lud) Ashley (D-Ohio), a friend of Bush since their Yale days, said Bush is more at home with jobs that are "operational."

"During the campaign, that wasn't operational. That was goofy time. Package and sell. He was glad to get out of that. He's much more comfortable in an operational role, where he's in control," Ashley said.

The transformations, Ashley added, "can only be explained in that Bush is a broader and somewhat more complex person than most realize. Left to his own devices, he is that kind of private persona—witty, gracious and interested in the other person." But the vice presidency, Ashley said, "produced a different dimension to the man. And there what we saw was, especially in the early part of the campaign, a person who was uncomfortable, not with the mission, but his ability to handle this broad, impersonal public role that he thrust on himself."

Still imprisoned by the vice presidency, Bush spent the early part of his presidential campaign struggling to rid himself of the image of weakness and to find a distinct message for voters. His acceptance speech at the convention kick-started another transformation. Bush then did what he had to do to win, including the slashing attacks that seemed so out of character to some of his friends. But there was no hint that Bush disliked the role; on the contrary, he often showed signs of relishing it. At the end he insisted he had no regrets about the way he ran.

Asked about the campaign this week by Barbara Walters of ABC News, Bush, now transformed, brushed it off. "That's history," he said. "That doesn't mean anything any more."

FROM THE HEARTLAND

*Kansans are optimistic about Bush
but say he's no Dwight Eisenhower*

40/22
By DENNIS FARNEY

ABILENE, Kansas—Charlotte Wilson, a grand old lady of 75, still bales hay amid the din and the dust of her John Deere tractor. Out in the wind and the weather—out, she says determinedly, “where I can hear what’s going on.”

A four-decade Republican activist and 1984 national convention alternate, the redoubtable Mrs. Wilson has baled up great swaths of political impressions as well. Here is her bottom-line assessment of George Bush:

“A kindly grandfather.”

Kindly grandfather. The words might seem to better fit an earlier Republican president, Abilene’s own Dwight D. Eisenhower. Not so, says Mrs. Wilson, who draws a careful distinction between the two men.

Dwight Eisenhower, she says, was “The General”: a man of capital letters, a bit intimidating. George Bush seems more human-scale: lower-case, warmer. The General strode into the White House fully formed as a leader in the crucible of World War II; there was iron behind the famous grin. George Bush, in contrast, seems still in the act of defining himself. Only events will reveal the iron in this man.

Abilene likes George Bush. This bred-in-the-bone Republican town, crouched down on the prairie beneath its great white grain elevators, voted two-to-one for him. Abilene is optimistic about George Bush. But Abilene isn’t awed by George Bush. Not yet.

Visit, for example, the lively fifth-grade class of teacher Scott Reynolds. Suppose these kids were limited to one-word descriptions of George Bush. Which words would they choose?

“Dweeb,” says Stephen Leyerzapf, an imp in the back of the room.

“Shy,” volunteers Christina Houlton.

“Likeable,” says Kaysie Whitworth.

And so the returns come in: Four say “shy,” three “dweeb” (a nerd we are told), two “strong,” one “weak” and one “smart,” among other adjectives. Then, by a vote of 19 to 5, these fifth graders predict George Bush will be a lesser president than Ronald Reagan.

Or join Abilene’s Rotarians as they take lunch beside a sun-splashed country-club golf course. They are optimists, these Rotarians. They believe, 30 to 4, that the country will avoid a serious recession in the next four years.

But not giddy optimists. Not a single Rotarian believes President Bush can honor his no-tax-increase pledge. And five of six think he will be operating in a harsher political and economic environment than President Eisenhower.

“The ‘50s were stability,” says attorney Robert “Hank” Royer, an influential Republican whose grandfather once worked with young Dwight Eisenhower at a local creamery. “We just have much bigger problems now—overwhelming, almost.”

Abilene still seems a stable place, a town of muffled silence punctuated by the whistles of passing trains. Gone nearly 120 years is cowtown Abilene—the raucous, dusty, brawling Abilene of saloons, marshal Wild Bill Hickok and the Chisholm

Trail. Its only traces are a reconstructed cowtown and a certain discontinuity in the streetscape where the prim, Victorian homes of north Abilene fray away to a less stately part of town—originally the holding area for milling herds of Texas Longhorns.

But even Abilene has been jostled by a global economy in upheaval. Since the Eisenhower days, consolidations have reduced local auto dealerships to two from six. Abilene merchants now battle distant malls filled with made-in-Asia merchandise. Over coffee at the Texan Cafe, sitting at the northern terminus of the old Chisholm Trail, townsfolk gripe about foreign trade barriers to U.S. beef. Curiously, the most dynamic piece of Abilene’s economy is the big business of breeding purebred greyhounds for national racing tracks.

The post-Eisenhower era, a transition from national complacency to national uncertainty, has seen a transformation in the very nature of the presidency—and of what citizens here expect a president to be.

The truest measure of the Eisenhower presidency may lie in the things Mr. Eisenhower *didn’t* do. “He was a man of strong will,” wrote campaign speechwriter Emmet John Hughes, “...who reserved his greatest force for keeping unwanted things from being done.” Observed historian Theodore H. White: “Eisenhower’s history lesson was quite simple: The Chief Executive, he felt, should do absolutely nothing new unless something new was absolutely incapable. Then he did it quickly and very well.” Even Ike himself described a government on autopilot after his 1955 heart attack: “For five weeks I was not allowed to see a newspaper or listen to the radio. . . . I found it something of a relief.”

The test of the Bush presidency, though, will be the problems he can’t escape—and how he confronts them.

“Four years from now, people will be be tickled to death with Bush’s foreign policy,” predicts Ralph Hilton, a Republican and owner of a local printing plant. “But I’m not so sure about domestic policy. If things don’t get any *worse* in this part of the country, people will think he’s been pretty successful.”

Trading in Ronald Reagan for George Bush strikes Abilene rather like trading a sports car for a station wagon. You can hardly get excited—but it will be easier to haul home the groceries now. And wasn’t it time to slow down a little anyway?

This town senses a presidency in transition from ideology to management. It finds that reassuring. “Bush will be an on-hands president,” predicts Frank Jordan, a retired veterinarian and the current Republican county chairman. “You and I both know that Reagan wasn’t.”

Nadine Griffin, a former Democratic county chairman—a lonely post indeed in these parts—hopes Mr. Bush “is more in touch with reality. I’m not sure Reagan ever knew the question, let alone the answer.”

But ultimately, what Abilene would like from its new president is the same thing it actually got from Dwight Eisenhower: a sense of control. The ‘50s, as seen from here, now seem less an era of American drift than an era of American mastery. And The General, for all his mangled syntax, was a reassuring figure who kept the lid on—someone who succeeded in governing according to the motto on his desk: “Gently in manner, strong in deed.”

George Bush, an accommodating man taking office in a much more difficult time, should have little problem with the first half of that motto. It’s the last half that will take the measure of the man and his presidency. ■

First Hurrah

President Bush Gets Respect for Abilities But Low Expectations

Poll Shows Americans Doubt He Will Keep Promises On Taxes and the Deficit
1/19/83
Foreign Policy Opportunities

By GERALD F. SEIB
And MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—As George Bush becomes the nation's 41st president today, Americans greatly respect his abilities but don't believe he can deliver on many of his goals.

The voters who gave him a sound electoral victory in November believe Mr. Bush is in many ways the equal of, or in some cases even the better of, Ronald Reagan, who is leaving office riding a wave of approval unmatched by any president in recent history. But they also view Mr. Bush more as a symbol of continuity than an agent of great change for the better. Large majorities of those contacted in a new nationwide Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll doubt he will either keep his basic campaign promise of no new taxes or produce a plan with Congress to cut the budget deficit.

The Journal/NBC poll shows the nation's high expectations for Mr. Bush personally. While an image of strong leadership has been a hallmark of the Reagan presidency, 43% of the respondents think Mr. Bush will be stronger, while 39% think he won't be as strong.



George Bush

Mr. Reagan has been known as "the Great Communicator," but Americans are evenly divided on the proposition that Mr. Bush will be an even better communicator. By 2-to-1 majorities, respondents also think Mr. Bush will be better informed and better at dealing with Congress. (Only at handling the Soviet Union do people think Mr. Bush won't be better, by a margin of 43% to 36%.)

Paradoxically, though, expectations are sharply lower when people are asked about the major policy issues that Mr. Bush faces. A large majority, 71%, doubt that the new president will keep his no-new-taxes promise. An even larger majority, 75%, think the country is in for higher interest rates. And only 30% think Mr. Bush and Congress will agree on a plan in the coming year to cut the \$150 billion federal budget deficit.

Those modest expectations also are borne out in the feelings of people like Brian Sarault, mayor of Pawtucket, R.I. He is visiting Washington this week for a national mayors' meeting, and says he came in part to seek help with an expensive sewage problem confronting his small city (population 75,000). But fiscal realities were soon impressed upon him.

"As I listened to the budget briefing I sank lower and lower in my chair," Mr. Sarault says. "They made it quite clear

WILL George Bush be better than Ronald Reagan or not as good at...

■ Better

■ Not as good

Keeping informed

54% 26%

Dealing with Congress

54% 27%

Being a strong leader

43% 39%

Communicating ideas and goals

42% 42%

Dealing with the Soviets

36% 43%

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

that maintaining these programs is second to cutting the deficit." He thinks the Bush administration is in a "catch-up-ball situation. The housing situation, the deficit, many of the big items have been ignored. Consequently the time has come to pay the bill."

'Modest Changes' Seen

In official Washington, expectations are similar. The deficit will make it hard for Mr. Bush to fulfill even his short list of promises—particularly after a campaign that didn't produce any clear plan of action or give the Republican Party control of either house of Congress.

"I don't think people expect dramatic progress on the deficit and on the economic problems, nor do they expect dramatic progress on the foreign side," says Democratic Rep. Lee Hamilton, who represents a district in southern Indiana. "I think they have a good feeling about the Reagan administration, and they want to see continuity with modest changes. I think that's the approach the Bush administration is taking."

Clearly, Mr. Bush has managed to smooth some of the ruffled feathers and public disquiet left by the harsh and nega-

tive presidential campaign. In the Journal/NBC poll, 40% said their opinion of Mr. Bush has improved since the election, while just 11% said their view of him has gotten worse. And 61% said they are pleased with the appointments he has made to his administration.

"I didn't like [the campaign] at all," says Rep. John Lewis, a black Democrat from Georgia. "I thought it was a very mean-spirited campaign that was beneath our country. But by reaching out to the Congress, reaching out to the black leadership, I think we have seen some hopeful signs."

Mr. Lewis says he still isn't sure that Mr. Bush will provide the inspirational leadership he considers necessary to make the hard choices forced by the deficit; he calls himself more "hopeful than optimistic." Still, his mood today contrasts sharply with his "very down and disappointed" feelings eight years ago when Mr. Reagan was elected.

As a candidate, the new president sometimes had trouble convincing voters of his concern for the common man. But here, too, the Journal/NBC poll shows he has made significant gains. Asked whether Mr. Bush "really cares about people like you," 56% of those surveyed said yes; by contrast, only 39% answered yes just before November's presidential election.

If there is one important sign of disquiet behind the generally cheery response to Mr. Bush's style as president-elect, it is a lingering concern about how his policies will affect average Americans. By 48% to 36%, those people polled don't think Mr. Bush's policies will benefit their own personal financial situations.

The low expectations of concrete progress and benefit seem to stem from a public belief that the structural problems Mr. Bush faces are so tough that one man now can't effect the kinds of sweeping changes Mr. Reagan made when he came to power.

Because of the federal deficit, "voters know there's a collision course that's been set in place by the Reagan administration," says Lance Tarrance, a Republican pollster from Houston. "How Bush and Congress handle the issue will be the test in the next couple of years."

Certainly Americans had higher expectations that Mr. Reagan would be able to effect broad changes in America when he

took over. An NBC poll taken eight years ago indicated that 44% of Americans thought Mr. Reagan would be able to control inflation and 42% thought he would balance the budget—considerably larger percentages than now think Mr. Bush can tackle his basic economic goals.

In that same eight-year-old poll, strong majorities of Americans felt that the then-new President Reagan would be able to meet even more sweeping goals; 76% said he would be able to restore respect to the U.S. throughout the world, and 66% said he could restore basic American values.

The public perception that Mr. Reagan did a good job delivering on such promises, while not a problem for Mr. Bush right now, could yet return to haunt him. The wave of sentimental popularity on which Mr. Reagan is departing means the new president may well be compared unfavorably to his exceptionally popular predecessor when problems arise.

Some observers suggest that Mr. Bush may conclude that the best way to avoid such unflattering comparisons will be to make an early mark on foreign-affairs issues. He may well find openings there. President Reagan cleared much of the path toward a big strategic-arms reduction treaty with the Soviets, and touched off a flurry of diplomatic activity in the Mideast by opening contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Among Mideast leaders, "there really are, I think, great expectations," says Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican who just returned from a tour of the region. "In foreign policy I think there are a lot of opportunities, both in arms control and in spots like Central America and the Middle East."

Mr. Bush's personal experiences as ambassador to the United Nations, envoy to China and director of central intelligence help fuel a feeling abroad that he is knowledgeable enough to make diplomatic inroads. To foreign leaders, Mr. Bush's national-security experience stands in stark contrast to the inexperience—and, some thought, naivete—of Presidents Reagan and Carter when they came into office.

"People really believe that here is a man, for the first time, who knows the problems, who is aware, who has very good relations with the leaders," says Abdel Raouf el Reedy, Egypt's ambassador to the U.S. "People expect a lot of him."

Yet once again, the public's expectation of major foreign-policy progress seems modest. Despite widespread talk in recent months of how close the superpowers are to closing a deal to halve strategic nuclear arsenals, the Journal/NBC poll finds that the public is nearly evenly divided on the likelihood of a new arms-control pact this year, with 46% considering one likely and 43% considering it unlikely.

Some Democrats contend that the relatively low public expectations of Mr. Bush can be traced back to the new president himself. The public, they say, has looked at the general guideposts Mr. Bush has laid out and concluded that his goals can't all be reached under current conditions.

"So far Mr. Bush has promised to square the circle," says Democratic Rep. John Dingell of Michigan, by promising to "spend more on defense, clean the environment and reduce taxes for the well-to-do." Rep. Dingell, the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, adds that "I assume he has some blueprint for accomplishing this miracle. But the last guy that wrought miracles of this order wound up nailed to the cross."

How Poll Was Conducted

The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll was based on nationwide telephone interviews conducted Saturday through Tuesday with 2,025 adults aged 18 years or older.

The sample was drawn from a complete list of telephone exchanges in the country, chosen so that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. Households were selected by a method that gave all telephone numbers, listed and unlisted, a proportionate chance of being included. The results of the survey were weighted to adjust for variations in the sample relating to education, age, race, sex and region.

Chances are 19 of 20 that if all adults in the U.S. had been surveyed using the same questionnaire, the findings would differ from these poll results by no more than three percentage points in either direction. The margin of error for subgroups may be larger.

Bush Must Beat The Odds to Make His Tenure Work

310
Washington's long underestimation of George Bush has given way to inaugural deference, but this week's ritual good will is a phony peace. Soon enough the capital will revert to its habit of devouring presidents.

Though he takes office with pomp and media flourish, Mr. Bush today becomes the leader of the weakest of the three branches. The presidency, most scholars and witnesses agree, is striking mainly for what it cannot do (get its budget enacted, for example). To avoid joining the list of broken presidents, Mr. Bush will have to call upon the quality that Hamilton called "energy" in the executive.

If all this casts me as the skunk at the inaugural ball, consider the 20th-century record. Going back to Truman, only Eisenhower and now Ronald Reagan can be said to have ended their presidencies in success. Going back even further, three of the previous five presidents—Hoover, Harding and Wilson—were pilloried in office.

Even John Kennedy, who began with so much rhetorical ambition, was grumbling by 1963 about the limits of his power. Ken-

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

nedy proposed that one scholar dedicate his book on the presidency with this exchange from Shakespeare:

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man. But will they come when you do call for them?

Ronald Reagan, by leaving on a surge of good will, paradoxically leaves Mr. Bush a harder act to follow. He has shown a president can succeed, but he has bequeathed Mr. Bush fewer tools to ensure his own success. Mr. Reagan continued the trend, begun under Presidents Nixon and Carter, of accommodating congressional poaching on the presidency.

This is not mere partisan cant. A Democratic Congress helped to break Jimmy Carter, as it led attacks on Georgians Bert Lance and Hamilton Jordan. A permanent government—the "Washington colony," as Mr. Reagan put it—of special prosecutors, lobbyists, reporters and bureaucrats is delighted to join a permanent Congress to diminish any president who shows weakness. A book released yesterday by the American Enterprise Institute, "The Fettered Presidency," highlights this congressional ascendancy.

Duke scholar Donald Horowitz, writing in *The Public Interest*, notes that the Founders have been turned on their heads. The House of Representatives, intended to be the branch most responsive to the public, has through lack of electoral competition become the least. But the presidency, whose direct election was rejected in 1787, is now the branch most at the mercy of popular will.

The vulnerability is enhanced by television. The media focus their daily attention on the White House, heightening expectations and exaggerating mistakes. "The presidency is an office idealized," Mr. Horowitz says. "The president is an occupant disappointing."

One result, he adds, is that "Presidents carry polls in their pockets." Richard Wirthlin, Ronald Reagan's pollster, boasted this week that for every televised White House speech of the past four years he assembled a "focus group." Its members registered their votes on "people meters." If they disliked a phrase, Mr. Reagan didn't repeat it.

This can be enervating—becoming leadership by Nielsen ratings—as it was for much of Mr. Reagan's second term. But it also suggests a president's greatest asset really is the bully pulpit. He can use it, as Mr. Reagan did in his first term, to go over Washington's head and defeat Congress, increasingly a pulpit for bullies. To move modern Washington, a president must now be a television populist.

A current cliché is that Mr. Bush will be an "activist" president, but this is not the same as energetic. To many in Washington, activist means holding more press conferences and mastering more details.

But energy to Hamilton meant "decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch." Much later, Woodrow Wilson described it as "action that makes for enlightenment" of the public. This implies vetoes, dropping 1,000-page budgets on a table and saying *no mas*, fighting harder for appointees, punishing disloyalty (no tolerance of David Stockman-like heresy), and projecting American power in the national interest.

Will Mr. Bush be energetic in this sense? I admit to being as uncertain as the rest of Washington. There are signs both hopeful and not.

His cabinet has the establishment tint of Ford II, but at the center of domestic policy will be two men who like to play offense, Jack Kemp and William Bennett. Secretary of State James Baker and Budget Director Richard Darman are indeed "pragmatists," but at Treasury they used their wiles to extend "voodoo economics." Mr. Bush speaks of accommodating Congress, but his White House counsel, Boyden Gray, understands a president's prerogatives as well as anyone. Mr. Bush doesn't project Ronald Reagan's ideological conviction, but perhaps his own conviction is of an instinctive, emotional kind that attaches more to people and institutions than to ideas.

History would suggest that Mr. Bush's odds of success are something less than 50-50. But then George Bush has been underestimated before.



George Bush