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VOL. III No. 9

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The Weekly News Summary

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Date:

Wednesday, March 11, 1992

Editor:

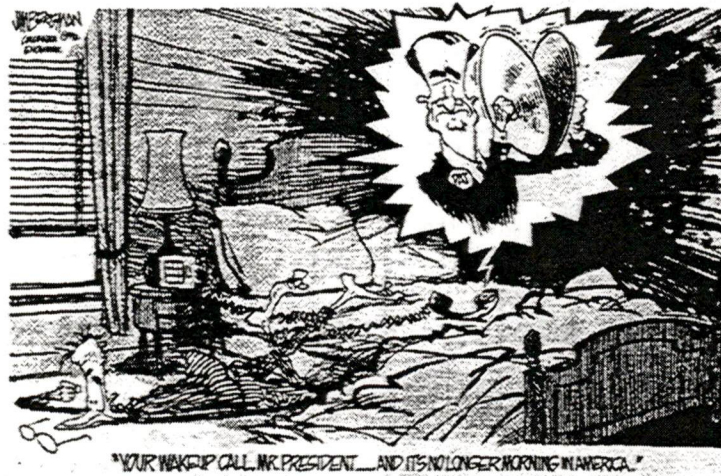
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THE WAKEUP CALL

Smith Day Brookins Borgman



WAKE-UP CALL

gan supporters in our party who never liked George Bush to begin with," says one senior GOP adviser.

The biggest success the pugnacious Buchanan has had so far is in pushing Bush into a state of high pander. The President offered an astonishing *mea culpa* on Mar. 3, saying that his 1990 tax-raising budget deal with Democrats was "a mistake." That admission was only the latest in a lengthening string of Bush flip-flops and political miscues.

LACK OF PRINCIPLE. Indeed, as the President tries to recapture GOP conservatives, Administration policy decisions seem more and more to be driven by political panic. On Mar. 4, as the campaign shifted to Texas, Bush suddenly endorsed a proposed tax break for independent oil and gas producers. Such ad hoc swings could well backfire, as both Buchanan and the Democrats charge that the President lacks principles. "Bush doesn't stand for anything," says a senior Reagan White House aide. "That's coming across to people."

You would think the GOP chaos would have Democrats honing their axes for the fall slaughter. But the contest for the Democratic nomination has become a curiously joyless slugfest. True, the increasingly marginal Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska may soon bow out, and Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa may follow close behind. But former California Governor Jerry Brown's surprise victory in Colorado means he'll be able to stay in the race.

Super Tuesday offers Clinton the chance to break out far ahead. The contests in seven Southern and border states will choose 633 delegates, almost one-third of the total needed for the nomination. With 254 delegates in hand, and buoyed by a bigger-than-anticipated 57%-24% Georgia victory over Tsongas, Clinton is now coming on as the Southern Superman. He is sharpening his attacks on Tsongas and redefining himself as a populist, while painting his rival as a trickle-down Republican in disguise.

Tsongas, with 119 delegates, could still surprise Clinton in Florida. He appeals to transplanted Northerners and upscale suburbanites, while Clinton courts blacks, labor, and the elderly. Says Mason-Dixon Research Inc. pollster J. Bradford Coker: "Florida will come down to class warfare between Clinton and Tsongas."

That's a battle Democrats usually wage against Republicans. It will take two more weeks for Democrats to sort out the field. But with George Bush looking more and more like Gerald Ford, a Democratic governor with a Southern accent may have a certain appeal.

By Douglas Harbrecht and Paula Dwyer in Washington, with Gail DeGeorge in Miami and Richard S. Dunham in San Antonio

DEFENSE

CRYING 'JOBS' TO SELL WEAPONS ABROAD

McDonnell says a Saudi F-15 deal would keep 40,000 working

McDonnell Douglas Corp. once took a "What, me worry?" attitude about what would happen after the Air Force's last F-15 fighter rolled off the St. Louis assembly line in 1994. By then, planners figured, the plant would be busy building new A-12 attack planes for the Navy. But when the Pentagon canceled the A-12 a year ago because of cost overruns, McDonnell suddenly needed new business fast. Saudi Arabia's request to buy 72 F-15s seemed like the answer. But jitters in Washington about massive arms sales to the Middle East kept the deal on hold. Now, McDonnell is mounting a vigor-

ous lobbying effort for the Saudi sale. The \$5 billion order would keep production humming into 1997. Without it, about 3,000 of the company's 7,000 F-15 employees will run out of work this year. Besides, McDonnell needs the business. Despite cost-cutting that averted a debt crisis and spawned 1991 record earnings of \$423 million on sales of \$18.4 billion, most of the company's military aircraft programs are winding down. And with Taiwan balking at a pending \$2 billion investment in McDonnell's commercial business, the company needs cash for a planned MD-12 widebody.

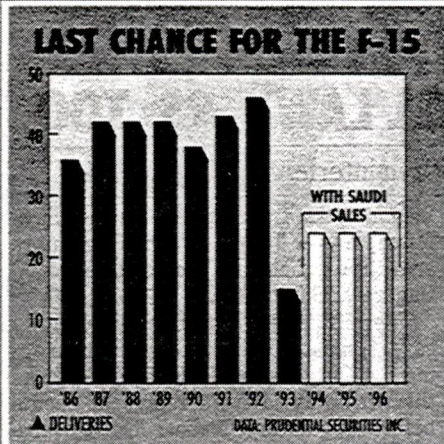
MAJOR BATTLE. Many on the Hill are unimpressed by these arguments. They're worried that the Saudis want to buy 48 F-15Es, an advanced ground-attack version of the plane that the U.S. has never sold abroad. "The threat doesn't warrant the kind of sale," being contemplated, says Representative Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.). If the Israeli loan guarantee talks collapse, says a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer, "the Administration will face a major battle with Congress over the sale."

Advocates also argue that the ripples of an F-15 sale to Saudi Arabia could affect aerospace deals for years. Riyadh will soon need to replace 100 aging F-5 fighters, and it is shopping for commercial airliners. A likely U.S. successor to the F-5 would be General Dynamics Corp.'s F-16 fighter or McDonnell's F/A-18. Boeing Co., which made 40 of the 69 airliners in the Saudi fleet, also wants more business.

But if the Bush Administration makes the Saudis wait too long for F-15s, McDonnell warns, Riyadh may buy European instead. In 1985, after Washington turned down an earlier request for F-15s under Israeli pressure, Saudi Arabia signed an \$8.7 billion deal with Britain that included 72 Tornado fighters and 30 Hawk jet trainers. Now, Britain is offering to sell Riyadh 48 more Tornados.

But McDonnell likely will prevail. With the economy in an election-year slump, "the jobs issue will be decisive" with many members, says Representative Lee A. Hamilton (D-Ind.). And if the sale goes through, watch for more arms makers to use jobs as a weapon to beat down foreign policy concerns over sales.

By Amy Borrus in Washington, with James E. Ellis in Chicago



FOREIGN PUSH. McDonnell's plight underscores the pressure on U.S. defense contractors to sell abroad. Squeezed by budget cuts, the Pentagon is canceling orders for a slew of current-generation tanks, planes—even vaunted Patriot missiles. To keep production lines rolling and workers employed, U.S. manufacturers are pushing foreign sales more aggressively than ever.

The Pentagon would like to help out

Top of the News

THE PRESIDENCY



★ CLINTON: PICKING UP STEAM IN THE SOUTH



★ BUSH IN GEORGIA: THE VICTORY WAS FAR FROM SWEET

A BLOODIED BUSH VS. A SOUTHERN STRONGMAN?

The Republican race seems over—and Clinton may clinch by Mar. 17



At first glance, the race for the Presidency looks like a monstrous muddle after the first three weeks of primaries. Republican guerrilla Patrick J. Buchanan looks sure to sap a third of the vote in every contest from a more and more hapless George Bush. And the seven states that held Democratic caucuses and primaries on Mar. 3 produced four different winners.

But things are clearer than they seem. As the race heads toward the Southern battlegrounds where the crucial contests of "Super Tuesday" on Mar. 10 will be fought, the Republican contest is over. Buchanan may leave Bush with wounds that will bleed all the way to November, but he can't stop the President's renomination. Meanwhile, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has emerged as the clear Democratic front-runner, even though former Massachusetts Senator Paul E. Tsongas' Maryland victory made him the first hopeful to win a primary outside his home region.

The outcome of contests in the industrial heartland of Michigan and Illinois on Mar. 17 could well clinch the nomination for Clinton.

That's not to say that there won't be bumps along the way. Clinton seems to have put allegations of extramarital affairs and draft-dodging behind him. But the scandals have left him doubly vulnerable: Any fresh revelations would blow him out of the race.

Still, Mar. 10 is when Clinton's meticulously organized campaign finally pays off. The Arkansas governor is heavily

favored in Texas and five other Southern states. He should come away from Super Tuesday with a rich haul of delegates—and tremendous momentum as the campaign moves north. "Tsongas' campaign depends on momentum, and he won't get it" in the South, says University of South Carolina political scientist Earl Black.

MAGNOLIA LINE. On the Republican side, the "Junior Tuesday" victories were far from sweet for Bush. Buchanan stole 36% of the vote in the Georgia primary and scored a respectable 30% showing in Colorado and Maryland, states where he hardly campaigned. But he has won only 20 delegates to Bush's 340 because of the winner-take-all rules of many GOP primaries. Now, his campaign heads into Bush country—the President's adopted home state of Texas, and a "magnolia line" of Deep South states that gave Bush strong support in 1988.

If Buchanan is to turn his candidacy into more than a right-wing temper tantrum, he needs an outright win—and fast. Party operatives will soon turn up the heat on Buchanan to quit the race or risk ceding the White House to the Democrats. So far, Buchanan seems unimpressed. On Mar. 4, he called on Bush to drop out of the race.

Even if Buchanan were to quit soon, he has already done the President grave harm. Privately, Bush political advisers now concede they vastly underestimated voter alienation. "Buchanan has seized that 36% core of Ronald Rea-

THE CRUCIAL CONTESTS COMING UP

State	Date	Democratic delegates*	GOP delegates**
TEXAS	MAR. 10	196	121
Super Tuesday's grand prize. Like Georgia, Texas is Clinton's to win or lose. Bush counts on winning big in one of his home states			
FLORIDA	MAR. 10	148	97
A key test for Democrats. Upscale Floridians like Tsongas, blacks and the elderly like Clinton. Bush should hold his own			
MICHIGAN	MAR. 17	131	72
Sick economy makes Michigan worth watching. Buchanan angling for another Bush-whack			
ILLINOIS	MAR. 17	164	85

Clinton is well-organized, but Tsongas is coming on. And look out, Mr. President: Buchanan may capture blue-collar Chicagoans

*Needed to nominate: 2,142

**Needed to nominate: 1,104

DATA: BW

GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO/Reported by Wendy Cole

BRING ON THE GROWNUPS

Asked last week why Bill Clinton has done so much better than he among minority voters, **PAUL TSONGAS** gave a surprisingly blunt answer: "I don't like the composition of our staff." He'd just blasted Dennis Kanin, his campaign manager, he said, for not hiring enough women, blacks and Hispanics. Said the candidate: "I don't want any more white males." Tsongas was grateful for the true believers—the college boys and eager young operatives—when he was running on empty in New Hampshire, with no money and no political heavyweights eager to sign on. But he knows that now his rapidly expanding staff must reflect the diversity of Democratic voters. Not to mention the talent and experience of the competition.



Tsongas wants everyone to participate

SPOOKIER THAN WE THOUGHT

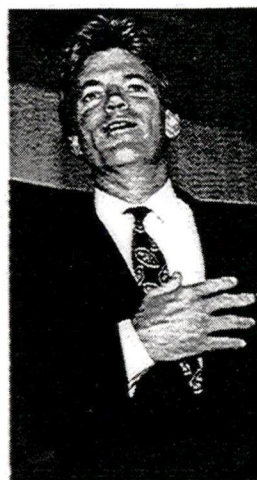
The army of investigators probing the corrupt Bank of Credit & Commerce has known for months that the CIA kept some accounts in First American Bank, B.C.C.I.'s Washington arm. It turns out that the CIA and First American were a lot closer than that. Government investigators now have proof that First American had long been the CIA's principal banker. Some of the more than 50 agency accounts uncovered at the bank date back to the 1950s. B.C.C.I. owned the CIA's bank for a decade. But since Reagan CIA Director William Casey ran a vast back-door operation during the 1980s, the full extent of B.C.C.I.'s relationship with the intelligence agency may never be known.

MAYBE HE'S NOT SO BAD AFTER ALL

DAVID DUKE fought Republican Party officials all the way to the Supreme Court last month, finally failing to win a place on their primary ballot in Georgia. But that was then, and this is now. This week Bush Central is secretly rooting for Duke, who is on the ballot in seven of the eight Super Tuesday primaries. Says an insider: "Every vote for Duke is a vote that Buchanan doesn't get."

SEAT-OF-THE-PANTS POLITICS

Talk about the weight of history. Visiting Kazakhstan last month, Michael Miklaucic of the International Law Institute, a Washington think tank, dropped in on a top parliament official involved in the drafting of the republic's new constitution. He found himself on the spot when his host took a call during their meeting. "So, Mr. Michael," said his host, suddenly placing his hand over the mouthpiece, "who should be commander-in-chief of armed forces? The President? Or Speaker of the parliament?" "I... I... I can tell you how it works in the U.S.," said Miklaucic. "But please, don't decide based on what I say. I think you should get a second opinion on this."



Duke: friends at the top

FORWARD SPIN

WOMEN'S WORK Contributions are pouring in to groups that support female candidates. A new Republican organization, *wish List* (the acronym spells its purpose: Women in the Senate and House), has raised \$100,000 in six weeks. Next: the 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue List.

MR. MOM BLUES Publishers have discovered a new market—how-to books for men coping with household tasks. Joining volumes on how to cook and how to fold and clean clothes is the new *First Men's Guide to Ironing*. What's next? *How to Pick Up Your Socks*?

CAMPAIGN CALENDAR Super Tuesday marks the 116th anniversary of another election-year event: on March 10, 1876, Alexander Graham Bell made the first telephone call. It's a good day to send a message.

ON-LINE, OFF-PLANET When he isn't fielding calls to his 800 line, Jerry Brown communicates with potential voters on-line, thanks to his new CompuServe computer link. Hmm... are the Michelangelo and Friday the 13th viruses political plots?

MODERN ROMANCE When video dating leads to the altar, hip friends give the happy pair *Fighting to Save Your Marriage*, a two-part video series that depicts couples battling. Maybe it's better to fight than switch. If not, try Judge Wapner.

TITLE FATIGUE Hollywood is stuck on sentences as movie titles. *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids* and *Don't Tell Mom the Babysitter's Dead* have given way to *This Is My Life*, *I Don't Buy Kisses Anymore* and *Stop! Or My Mom Will Shoot*. Coming soon: *We're Back* and *Death Becomes Her*. Expect overburdened multiplex marquees to resort to alphabet-soup abbreviations.

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

VOICE of America staffers said to have sabotaged gulf war news

SENATORS charge Russians continue germ-warfare program

BUSH and the bumblebee: A bug in the Oval Office

■ **Broadcast views.** During the gulf war, several Iraqi-born employees of the Voice of America deliberately twisted Arabic-language broadcasts beamed to the Middle East so that the programs were slanted to favor Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi point of view. Sources who have read a classified 40-page report of an investigation by the inspector general of the U.S. Information Agency say that it accuses staffers who were supposed only to translate English-language scripts into Arabic of inserting their own phrases into the programs. Some of the subsequent broadcasts had such a pro-Iraqi tone that astonished U.S. diplomats stationed in the Middle East filed protests to Washington. A VOA spokesman says "mistakes were made, but there was no systematic slant in the broadcasts. And nobody has been disciplined or fired." At least not yet. The classified report is now being read by lawmakers on Capitol Hill.

■ **Still cheating.** Conservative Republican senators have written to George Bush complaining about the continuing presence in Eastern Europe of nuclear warheads controlled by the former Soviet military. They say that Russian generals are ignoring orders from President Boris Yeltsin to dismantle the weapons and have also violated arms-control agreements in at least six instances. These range from continuing their biological weapons program to failing to notify the United States in advance of ballistic missile launches. Intelligence sources say Yeltsin is wooing his wayward military back into line by making sure they are well fed and receive regular paychecks.

■ **Getting Bush's goat.** Friends of George Bush say that what bothers him the most about Patrick Buchan-



King George as seen by Pat Buchanan
Getting under the presidential skin

an is his "vulgarity," especially his use of photos of gay dancers in a television ad. Bush—born to wealth and power—is also said to detest the way he feels Buchanan is trying to stir up class divisions. The president resents his challenger's personal assaults, especially his ridicule of him as "King George." Meanwhile, according to pro-Bush sources, former President Richard Nixon tells intimates that his former speechwriter is a good idea guy but that as a presidential candidate, he can't be taken seriously.

■ **Chilling effect.** Congressional incumbents facing primary challenges were chilled by the results of last week's Maryland primary. Not only did Democratic voters oust seven-term Rep. Beverly Byron, heir to a dynastic seat that had been held by her husband and his parents for most of the last half century, but two of the state's other lawmakers—thrown into the

same district in a redrawing of the congressional map—won only about 50 percent each against divided opposition. Insiders say that at least two lawmakers running for re-election in next week's Illinois primary are going to be defeated, and five others, including Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, face serious opposition. A tough primary day for Illinois incumbents could trigger panic on Capitol Hill—pushing more members to consider voluntary retirement.

■ **The next power couple.** If Bill Clinton wins the White House, Washington's next power couple could turn out to be Mickey Kantor, a Los Angeles lawyer who often chairs the strategy sessions for the Arkansas governor, and his wife, Heidi Schulman, a former NBC television correspondent who has been serving as a campaign adviser on TV strategy. Their connection to the governor comes through Hillary Clinton. She had served with Kantor on the board of the Legal Services Corp. in the mid-1970s.

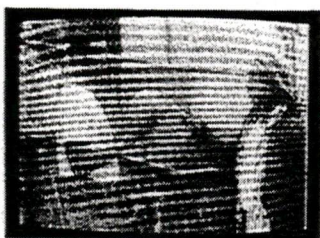
■ **Toys 'R' Him.** George Bush, it turns out, has a thing about toys. The president keeps a variety of children's playthings everywhere: in the drawers of his big desk in the Oval Office, in a nearby cabinet, in his adjacent private study and in other hiding places around the White House. When children visit, especially the handicapped, Bush reaches into one of his secret caches and offers them stuffed animals or some of the other toys that are always being presented to the president as souvenirs. He also delights in playing with some of the gadgets himself. For months, he regaled guests with a talking crystal ball that responded to random questions with random recorded replies. But that is now a toy of the past. The new First Toy: a mechanical bumblebee. Visitors to the Oval Office report seeing the president suddenly reach down and place the battery-powered toy insect on the floor, where it whirs around until he whacks it on the head with a plastic mallet. Then, as the leader of the free world smiles, the contraption emits a shriek and buzzes off.

EDITED BY CHARLES FENYVESI

HOMELESS

Video Vérité

It may not win any awards, but a new video called "The Fine Art of Dumpster Dining" aims to save lives. Produced by Project Dignity, an Orange County, Calif., activist group, the video provides health and safety advice for the homeless who must forage for food. Among the tips: stay away from meat and milk, which may be contaminated by bacteria; look for fruit and vegetables with thick, unbroken skin; watch out for the broken glass and bleach many restaurants pour on discarded food to discourage scavengers. "It's an art to stay well and continue the activity," says project director Linda Dunlap.



Dumpster dining: The video

MONEY

The Rich Get...

Congressional studies show that the richest 1 percent of American taxpayers—about 660,000 families—pulled down 60 percent of all after-tax income gains in the 1980s. But despite a lot of populist rhetoric, congressional Democrats lack the guts to tax away much of the largesse: the families had a total of \$506 billion of income in 1989 but a bill in the House Ways and Means Committee would raise only about \$7 billion in additional taxes from the group, and a Senate bill would raise even less. "In the present political climate," says a senior congressional aide, "there just isn't the stomach to do more. To get big money to reduce our \$200 billion structural deficits you've got to tax you, me and people we hang around with."



A high-stakes game: Wreckage of an Iraqi Scud in Riyadh

EXCLUSIVE

A New Missile Crisis

The United States and North Korea are engaged in a high-stakes cat-and-mouse game over two North Korean ships loaded with Scud-C missiles and equipment bound for Syria, perhaps via Iran. The Bush administration considered boarding the ships if they entered waters shared by Iran and Iraq—using the U.N. embargo against Iraq to justify the move. But U.S. officials conceded that unless they found evidence the cargo was headed for Iraq, they had no authority to divert the ships. By the

weekend, NEWSWEEK has learned, Bush's men were trying to persuade Syria not to accept the shipment—with little hope of success.

For now, the ships are under surveillance by navy subs and reconnaissance planes. Intelligence officials say the Koreans are using decoy vessels to confuse the U.S. trackers and sneak the Scuds into Syria. The officials fear the shipment includes material for two secret underground plants Damascus is building to make its own Scuds.

CAMPAIGN FAX

Dirty Trick?

When Pat Buchanan attacked George Bush recently in a campaign ad for funding "obscene" art, he picked a bad example. The spot features a segment of "Tongues Untied," a documentary film about gay black men that was partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. The money was given to the filmmaker in 1988, when Ronald Reagan—not Bush—was president. A Buchanan spokesman acknowledged that the film was funded during the Reagan years, but said an NEA grant to broadcast and promote it was made under Bush. "Our case against Mr. Bush doesn't rest on 'Tongues Untied' alone," said the spokesman.

OVERKILL

Nickels and Dimes

Maybe Italy's fiscal police are being a bit overzealous in their war on tax evasion. Too many stores, they say, aren't ringing up sales—and, in turn, aren't giving receipts to customers. So cops recently ticketed one Salvatore Pantone, 7, after he purchased a bag of cheese puffs. His crime: leaving his pennies on the coffee-shop counter without getting a receipt—a transgression that cost him \$30 and the store \$300. The Italian finance minister scolded the cops for ticketing a post-toddler. But days later, a woman was fined for leaving a nickel on the counter after her tot clutched a piece of candy.



CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

'92 Campaign Edition

As a public service, the CW once again tries to help the Super Tuesday spin doctors figure out who did Better Than Expected (BTE) and Worse Than Expected (WTE).

CANDIDATES Conventional Wisdom

Bush	BTE: Holds Buchanan under 15% everywhere. WTE: Loses Louisiana outright.
Buchanan	BTE: Bush spooked, kisses Rush Limbaugh. WTE: Loses to David Duke.
Clinton	BTE: Wins big in Fla. Close in Rhode Island. WTE: Loses big in Fla. Almost blows Texas.
Tsongas	BTE: Wins big in Fla. Close in Tenn., Miss., La. WTE: Finishes second in hometown Lowell, Ma.
Brown	BTE: Wins any state without mountains. WTE: Finishes third in college towns.
Harkin	BTE: Gets out later. WTE: Gets out sooner.

Tsongas energy plan doesn't add up

WASHINGTON—Far be it from me to question Paul Tsongas' honesty. But when the Democratic candidate for president tried to back away from his stand on nuclear power the other day, let's just say he took temporary leave of his customary candor.

During the presidential debate in Denver, Tsongas exploded in indignation when rival Bill Clinton said the former Massachusetts senator would build hundreds of nuclear power plants around the country if he were elected president.

"That's a lie, that's a lie," he shouted several times. This exchange wound up with Clinton's petulantly taunting Tsongas as being "so perfect." That drew St. Paul's reply: "I may not be perfect, but I'm honest."

After the debate, Tsongas said Clinton was implying that he would build nuclear power plants "willy-nilly" if he were elected and called that a "purposeful misrepresentation."

Well, I do not know what qualifies as a "willy-nilly" rate of construction of nuclear power plants. All I know is what I read in the position papers of the candidates. And what that tells me in Tsongas' case is that he would launch a fairly massive building program of smaller nuclear plants in America.

With the help of taxpayer funds too.

In his 86-page "A Call to Economic Arms," the former senator paints nuclear power as a bridge from reliance on polluting fossil fuels to the Nirvana of non-polluting renewable energy.

He said there will not be any more of the huge, 1,200-megawatt nuclear power plants that raised safety concerns and added that "the future is in the 300- to 500-megawatt range. What about cost? They will be expensive, but the case for nuclear is not its costs. It is preserving fossil fuels, lessening the hazards of oil independence, reducing the trade deficit and minimizing carbon dioxide output."

To emphasize the enormity and urgency of building these smaller plants, Tsongas said the government would have to invest in developing two or three prototypes of 300- to 500-megawatt plants in concert with industry. "There must be a sharing of the financial risk in order to move rapidly," he said.

Tsongas has never specifically said he would favor building hundreds of such plants, but it's clear that Clinton was not out of line to suggest this, considering the lofty goal that Tsongas set for his nuclear policy in his campaign document.

Tsongas said a key goal of his nuclear plan would be cutting oil imports, noting that the 112 nuclear power plants operating in the U.S. today save 740,000 barrels of oil a day. The nation imports 10 times that much oil. Clinton adviser Rob Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute said Tsongas' policy might require the

William Neikirk *C1 gth*

building of more than a thousand nuclear plants if this arithmetic is used.

Roger Sant, president of the AES Corp., a firm that operates several plants, said a 500-megawatt plant would serve only about 500,000 people. It would take six such plants to serve Chicago's energy needs.

Tsongas' math simply doesn't hold together. Building nuclear plants won't guarantee energy independence, unless the nation suddenly invents a nuclear-powered automobile. Roughly 90 percent of our oil imports go for transportation. Less than 5 percent of electricity generation comes from burning oil.

Nicholas Lenssen, a nuclear expert and research associate for the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington-based think tank, said that nearly 60 percent of the power plants in the U.S. are fired by coal, another 20 percent are nuclear and the remainder are hydroelectric, oil- or gas-fired.

Lenssen said that, contrary to expectations of the past, nuclear plants have proved more expensive to build and operate than coal plants. The equipment is more expensive and wears out faster—costs that get pushed on to consumers.

Although costs are difficult to estimate, building plants of the size envisioned by Tsongas would cost anywhere from \$500 million to \$2.5 billion each. Utilities aren't building such large plants these days. Typically, Lenssen said, they're putting up 30- to 100-megawatt plants fired by natural gas or surplus electricity via cogeneration. Environmentally, they're sounder, and they operate more efficiently than larger plants.

It's difficult to tell from Tsongas' campaign booklet whether he would subsidize the building and operation of all nuclear power plants, or just the few prototypes. I'd suspect that if he is as serious about his plan as he appears to be, it would mean massive taxpayer subsidies for many such plants if he wants them built.

Clinton and the other candidates have been trying to pin the nuclear button on Tsongas, but not unfairly so. Every time he's challenged on the issue, he retreats into anger. He loses that sense of calm assurance that so many people have found attractive in him.

Maybe that's because the policy falls apart under close scrutiny and should be rethought, if not abandoned. Defending it is going to be increasingly difficult.

Bush needs to win over the Reagan Democrats

It is painful to say, but President Bush best get out among 'em — and quickly.

Up and at 'em, Mr. Prez, wake up and smell the conservative coffee.

Leave those silk-stocking Republicans at the Marriott Marquis today and grab some lunch and an earful on the square in Marietta. Get over to Nick's package store off Interstate 85 on Norcross-Tucker Road and talk to Nick and George Dodys. They've got some ideas.

A Democratic gunslinger, James Carville, put it best.

"What's really going to haunt George Bush is that he doesn't have a rationale for re-election," said Mr. Carville, adviser to Gov. Zell Miller and the Democratic version of the Flying Wallendas, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

Patrick J. Buchanan won't beat the president Tuesday in Georgia, but his issue-driven campaign has stirred the voters. Business as usual won't get it.

Put simply, the end of the Cold War has put the Reagan Democrats in play. The biggest reason for a Southerner to abandon the Democrats is gone. Tuesday's intramural GOP skirmish just might be proof that the president isn't ready to fight even weakened Democrats.

At the risk of being presumptuous to the leader of the New World Order, some free advice.

With the Democrats and Pat Buchanan championing change and a new domestic order, it's time for Mr. Bush to start arguing what he is for, what he wants to do, what he intends to do.

He might start first by apologizing for breaking the "read my lips, no new taxes" pledge. That was a mistake, he can say. Ronald Reagan made it in 1982 and spending cuts never materialized. Mr. Bush's decision to cut a deal in 1990 has led to the biggest explosion ever in domestic peacetime spending.

The president knows that for every new dollar in taxes raised, \$4 in domestic spending is planned. Enough.



Send Richard Darman, the deal-maker, autographed retirement cuff links.

To rectify the mega-mistake, Mr. Bush might claim some powers several respected experts believe he has.

A nice time to do it might be in a nationally televised address March 20, the deadline set by the president for action on his economic plans.

First, he can order the indexation of capital gains, removing the tax on profits through simple inflation. Homeowners and small businessmen would benefit mightily.

Rather quickly, the president should start hammering for an increased dependent-child deduction or tax credit.

The Wall Street Journal argues that the president has the power to claim the line-item veto. Try it.

Strike the Lawrence Welk birthhome from the federal budget. Delete those studies on the sex life of iguanas. Take a machete to the National Endowment for the Arts, leaving only those appropriations that leverage private sector dollars.

Implement the federal "no quotas" policy proposed by White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray. The Constitution is color-blind and forbids racial preferences.

And, of course, there's a bigger world out there. Saddam Hussein, Moammar Gadhafi and Fidel Castro still live in it. Should they?

President Buchanan would understand it. But making the case is up to George Bush, the man who can again be president. □

Mr. Williams is a Journal editorial columnist.

DOERS PROFILE

Sally Atwater

Vitae

Widow of Lee Atwater,
mother of Sara Lee, Ashley
and Sally T

Birthday

April 29, 1951

Hometown

Union, S.C.



Self-Portrait

Optimistic, flexible, committed, adventurous
with a sense of humor

Motto

Live life to the fullest; life is truly a gift, as are
family and friends, so enjoy each and share your
enjoyment with others

Walter Mitty fantasy

No fantasy — deal only with what is "real"

Inspiration

Lee during his battle with cancer

Greatest feat

It will be to raise our daughters as I know Lee
would want me to

Bad habits

Eating junk food and loving it

Pet peeves

People who cannot empathize with others

Hobbies

Spending time with family and friends, reading,
observing people, exercising

Luxury defined

To have 10 minutes alone each day to think

Favorite restaurant

Red, Hot and Blue

Vacation spot

High Knob, Front Royal, Va.; South Carolina
beaches

Books at bedside

Motivational, spiritual, biographies and, of
course, children's books

Last Words

"I tried."

3-6-92

EDITORIAL

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

NATION
3-16-92

He's smart, he's honest. He has a plan for resurrecting the economy. He keeps his promises. He's running against Washington. He may well be a she. And he's the strongest candidate in the race.

Who is this paragon? His name is None of the Above, although he goes by other appellations as well. Sometimes he's a Republican, sometimes a Democrat. NOTA showed strength in opinion polls even before the first primary. Under the sobriquet "Unnamed Democrat" he ran better against George Bush than Clinton, Kerrey et al. In his first test, New Hampshire, NOTA ran as a write-in for Ralph Nader, getting 2 percent overall; and also as Pat Buchanan, garnering 37 percent of the G.O.P. vote. Running as "Undecided" in South Dakota, NOTA drew 31 percent of the tally.

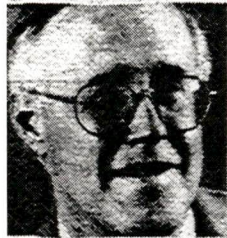
On the Democratic side NOTA is a more pro-*tean* figure; some call him Jerry Brown, others Mario Cuomo or Larry Agran. But he's also had a greater, though more amorphous, impact. Nationally he's been a spoiler, denying any single candidate a clear front-runnership. So far, Democratic voters are still in "Undecided's" column.

Although he's waging a strong campaign, NOTA, like many outsiders, lacks money, organization, name recognition—the whole bag. His name doesn't appear on the ballot. His most pressing need is for a spin doctor, someone to proclaim victory and stoke the momentum.

Until NOTA gets his act together, we'll have to take over that role. O.K., media, listen up! Our guy is the candidate of the disfranchised, the left out, the turned off, the politically aware, the principled. Voters agree with his message: Bush's economic program is a phony, ditto Clinton/Tsongas's; Kerrey isn't putting money where his mouth is on health care; Harkin can't hack it, etc., etc. Above all, NOTA's the only candidate the voters trust. So climb on the bandwagon, folks! Don't waste your vote on that old party hack, Lesser Evil.

Is Buchanan a danger to GOP?

2-26-92
DMN



**WILLIAM
MURCHISON**

In 1912, ex-President Teddy Roosevelt tried to wrest the Republican presidential nomination from his successor, William Howard Taft. Rebuffed, Teddy ran as the candidate of the Bull Moose Party. The GOP split helped hand the election to Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats.

Sizzling questions arise, 80 years later: (1) Is Pat Buchanan likely to wreak the same mischief Teddy did? (2) Should Pat, as William Buckley recently suggested, bow out in the name of party unity and the Sacred Duty of All Republicans to deny Bill Clinton or Paul Tsongas the White House?

The probable answers: (1) nope and (2) double nope. This is notwithstanding Vice President Dan Quayle's public warning over the weekend that a loss to the liberals in November might shut conservatives "out of power for a generation." Which warning he clinched with dire prophecies. Would you like at Schroeder as defense secretary? he jibed sadiistically. How would you enjoy Jimmy Carter as secretary of state?

Not much. Nor have these prospects much to do with the importance of Mr. Buchanan's challenge to Mr. Quayle's boss and patron, the president. Mr. Buchanan, unless the heavenly radiance enfolds him, and a booming voice from On High intones his name, will sooner or later find the contest unprofitable: whereupon he'll drop out. This could happen as early as March. Mr. Bush will have plenty of time to mend fences provided he shows — not tells, shows — the party's conservatives he knows why they are kicked off at him.

How would he know if Pat Buchanan didn't tell him, in words hard and heavy as a blackjack? The mission of the Buchanan campaign is not to install a democrat in the White House — though some conservatives argue that a few years in the wilderness might benefit their movement. No, Mr. Buchanan's mission is to call the president of the United States to account for things done and left undone. Timorous souls may regard this manner of proceeding as rude,

divisive and dangerous. They should, in honesty, admit how necessary it is. The real risk doesn't lie in doing it but in not doing it.

Mr. Buchanan threatens Mr. Bush's presidency? What an odd way to look at things! The president's approval ratings are down, not just because conservatives are mad at him but because a lot of other people are, too. Whatever the quality of Mr. Bush's leadership during the Persian Gulf war, a widely held impression is that, domestically, he doesn't have a clue. Look at the recession. Look at the come-back of federal regulation and tax increases. Look at the pro-quota civil rights bill he signed.

There are solid reasons for preferring George Bush to Mr. Tsongas or Mr. Clinton, not least the high quality of his judicial appointments. His pro-life stand is another plus. None of this means you have to swallow the nasty, distasteful stuff as well.

Republicans, being mostly middle class, are polite people, concealing displeasure behind stoical faces, seeking excuses for the inexcusable. They forget, you can polite yourself to death.

If civil protest of Mr. Bush's actions had availed, Mr. Buchanan wouldn't have run. It didn't avail. Conservatives — the people most responsible for putting Mr. Bush in office — jumped up and down, and till the president jettisoned conservative position after conservative position.

So Mr. Buchanan runs, and, lo, the president confesses that he has heard and understands the message delivered by an upstart journalist. A few days later, he axes John Frohnmayer as chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. Mr. Frohnmayer's doled out taxpayer money for what is in effect pornography, leading the Rev. Donald Wildmon's American Family Association to demand that Mr. Frohnmayer be fired. Was Mr. Bush, when he fired Mr. Frohnmayer, truckling to the unshaven, unwashed multitudes? Gee, I hope so. Enough time us multitudes, whose tax money supports NEA-sponsored porn, got little recognition. Without Mr. Buchanan, we might not have.

Yes, the Buchanan campaign carries risks. Life is risky, but that doesn't mean to cower in bed all day. You step forward and do what's right — no pun intended — letting the consequences take care of themselves. They always do anyway.

William Murchison's column is distributed by Creators Syndicate.

Doon



2-26

TSONGAS

By Mark Shields

WASHINGTON — Remember when, with characteristic humility, we on the press bus divided the 1992 Democratic presidential field into the "first tier" (comprised of Senators Tom Harkin and Bob Kerrey and Governor Bill Clinton) and the "second tier" to which former Governor Jerry Brown and former Senator Paul Tsongas were consigned? Well, the ungrateful and unpredictable voters ignored our wisdom and picked their own front-runner — from the second tier, of all places.

Clearly Paul Tsongas successfully set himself apart from the rest of the Democratic field. But now more than a few victory-starved Democrats fear Tsongas could set himself apart, as well, from rank-and-file Democratic voters. That concern is rooted in Tsongas' unconventional mix of anti-populist

economics and his unapologetically liberal, even elitist, cultural politics. "The cutting-edge issue for Democrats," Tsongas repeatedly told New Hampshire Democrats, "should be gay rights."

That same opinion might not be shared by those voters whose return to the Democratic fold is deemed indispensable to the election of a Democratic president next November. These are the predominantly working-class voters who most recently have been called Reagan Democrats. Before that many were called Nixon Democrats, after some of them had been called Wallace Democrats.

The lesson for Democrats must be clear by now. They win, as they did last fall in Pennsylvania in Senator Harris Wofford's dramatic upset over former attorney-general Dick Thornburgh, when they talk about what most people talk about every day. Today, people are worried about being able to take care of

their parents and about raising and educating their kids for a future they are fearful will not be as bright as the one they, themselves, inherited.

The difference is between knee-jerk Democratic liberalism and Democratic middle-class populism. The typical liberal will fight with every fiber of his being to guarantee that a "performance artist" who covers herself with little more than candy will be subsidized by the tax dollars of a Rhode Island registered nurse and a Dallas waitress.

Tsongas, however, is absolutely right when he says American voters doubt the Democrats' competence to manage the nation's economy. "Fairness," alone, does not constitute a credible national economic policy.

But disaffected Democrats left the party for important non-economic reasons. On issues of church and state, national Demo-

crats seemed always to be gleefully anti-religion and pro-state. On the agonizing question of abortion, on which the nation's ambivalence can best be described as "pro-choice and anti-abortion," the national Democratic party seems to elevate abortion to a high public good and to go out of its way to make pro-life Democrats feel unwelcome. National polls tell us that three out of four Americans favor either silent meditation or prayer in our schools. Regardless of how they feel, do the national Democrats personally know anyone in that large majority?

Democrats have a long and admirable history of accepting and protecting those often not welcome in the "best circles" or the other party: immigrants, Catholics, Jews, blacks, gays, the dispossessed. It is a record of tolerance of which party members can be justly proud. But when two out of three Americans believe the nation is in a state of per-

manent decline and even more believe that the federal government responds basically to the rich and the powerful, then the cutting-edge issue for the Democrats is not gay rights.



To win, the Democratic nominee must be believable as commander-in-chief and, just as important, must be totally comfortable in the company of traditional American values.

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Saporta: Execs not fired up about presidential candidates

► Continued from C1

But he said, "It's regrettable that the Democrats at this point failed to have their best candidates in the race."

At this stage, Rock-Tenn President **Bradley Currey Jr.** said, "I would support the president, not with enthusiasm."

Developer **Charles Ackerman** thinks the president needs to mend fences. "I think he has ignored the seriousness of the [economic] problem until recently. But without a doubt, he's the most qualified of all the candidates."

Patrick H. Thomas, chairman of First Financial Management Corp., also thinks Mr. Bush is the best qualified.

Some executives applauded the message of conservative commentator **Pat Buchanan** but won't vote for him.

"I'm still a Bush man, but I'm delighted that Pat Buchanan is doing what he's doing," said **Dillard Munford**, founder of Munford Inc. "He'll be a much better president after Buchanan."

Aaron Rents Chairman **R. Charles Loudermilk** said: "The Buchanan vote is really trying to send a message to Bush to be more conservative. If that happens, it will be positive."

The undecided

And then there are the undecided. That camp includes Atlanta Life Insurance Chairman **Jes-**

se Hill Jr., former Days Inn executive **Deen Day Smith**, and developer **C. McKenzie Taylor**, chairman of Taylor & Mathis.

"I cross party lines like people switch lanes on the interstate," Mr. Taylor said. "I'm undecided, even partywise."

Georgia's primary may be one of the nation's most important, but it has failed to excite many executives.

"I think I'll stay home," said **D. Raymond Riddle**, president of Wachovia Bank of Georgia. "All of them leave something to be desired."

Maria Saporta's column appears on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Many Atlanta executives fail to get excited about presidential candidates

It won't be easy for some of Atlanta's top executives to go to the ballot box Tuesday.

In conversations with Atlanta business leaders this week, few are excited about the people running for president.

Many expressed dissatisfaction with the way President Bush has handled the economy. But they haven't found anyone else for whom they could comfortably vote.

"I'm extremely disappointed in George Bush. I believe he made a very serious mistake when he raised taxes last year," said **James R. Hewell Jr.**, chairman of Peachtree Doors. "But it also leaves me in a quandary because I haven't found anyone else I like."

Developer **Don Childress** is "not impressed with any one of them. I'm fairly disenchanted with the whole process."



Maria Saporta

Likes Tsongas, but ...

Both Mr. Hewell and Mr. Childress like the message of former Sen. **Paul Tsongas**. But Mr. Hewell can't get over that he's a liberal Democrat from Massachusetts. And Mr. Childress can't envision him as a leader for the country.

Mr. Tsongas can expect to get the vote from **Scott O. Seydel**, chairman of the International chemical firm Seydel Cos., who claims to be Atlanta's only liberal Democrat executive. "I think if we have a Republican president for another four years, we'll

have a revolution," he joked.

Post Properties Chairman **John A. Williams** said, "Bush made a fatal flaw when he abandoned his 'no tax increase' pledge." While he supported Mr. Bush in 1988, "I wouldn't guarantee him my vote right now."

The Clinton camp

Several Georgia executives are joining the camp of fellow Southerner **Bill Clinton**, the Arkansas governor who has been endorsed by the state's top political leaders.

"I believe we need a change," said former Bush supporter **Virgil R. Williams**, chairman of the Williams Service Group and adviser to Gov. **Zell Miller**. "We need to have a conservative Southern Democrat, and I think he would offer a fresh perspective."

Law Companies Chairman **R.K. Sehgal** voted for Mr. Bush



R.K. SEHGAL
Law
Companies
Clinton
backer.

"[President Bush] fell into that trap of instant glorification by getting more involved in foreign affairs than domestic affairs."

in 1988. "But he's disappointed me. I think he fell into that trap of instant glorification by getting more involved in foreign affairs than domestic affairs. His priorities are screwed up, when you have this much pain at home." While he's leaning toward Mr. Clinton, he also likes Sen. **Bob Kerrey** of Nebraska.

Real estate investor **S. Stephen Selig III** is backing Mr. Clinton, as is conglomerate maker **J.B. Fuqua**, both longtime Democrats.

Attorney and former Gov. **Carl Sanders** said he is "not on

anybody's bandwagon so far." But he's leaning toward Mr. Clinton and possibly Mr. Kerrey. Also leaning toward Mr. Clinton is builder **Herman J. Russell**.

Bush loyalists

Several of Atlanta's top corporate leaders, however, are still behind Mr. Bush.

"In spite of the fact that we have an economy that's dragging, George Bush has been an outstanding president for the country," said **Edward L. Addison**, Southern Co. president.

Georgia-Pacific Chairman **T.**



ROBERT STRICKLAND
SunTrust
Bush
supporter

"I believe George Bush is the best qualified of all the candidates. People forget very quickly about the good things he's done."

Marshall Hahn, who expects the Bush campaign to gain focus and strength, thinks it is in the national interest to re-elect Mr. Bush. "I work for him and contribute to his campaign," he said.

"I believe George Bush is the best qualified of all the candidates," said SunTrust Banks executive **Robert Strickland**.

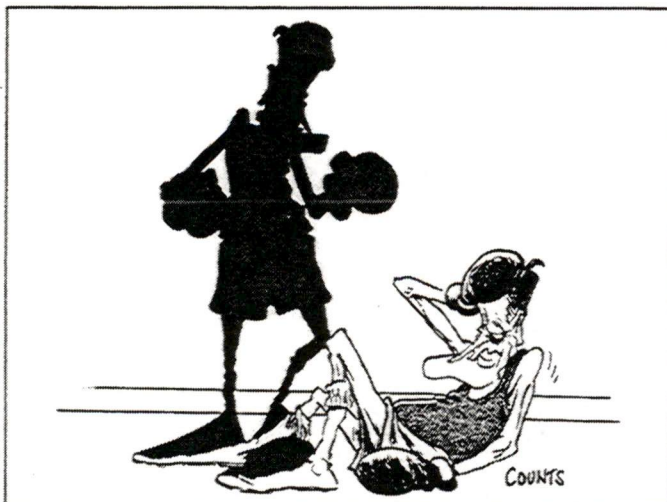
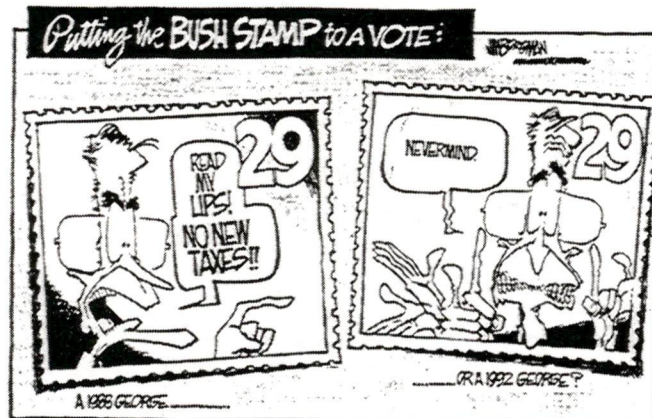
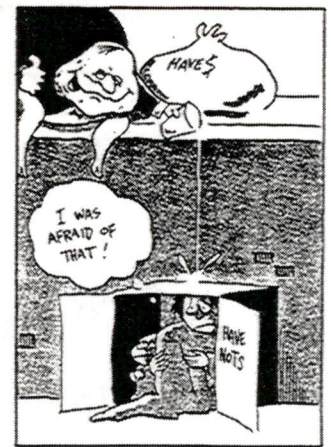
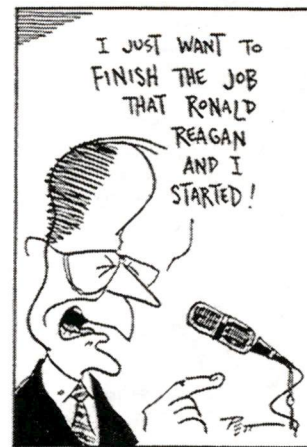
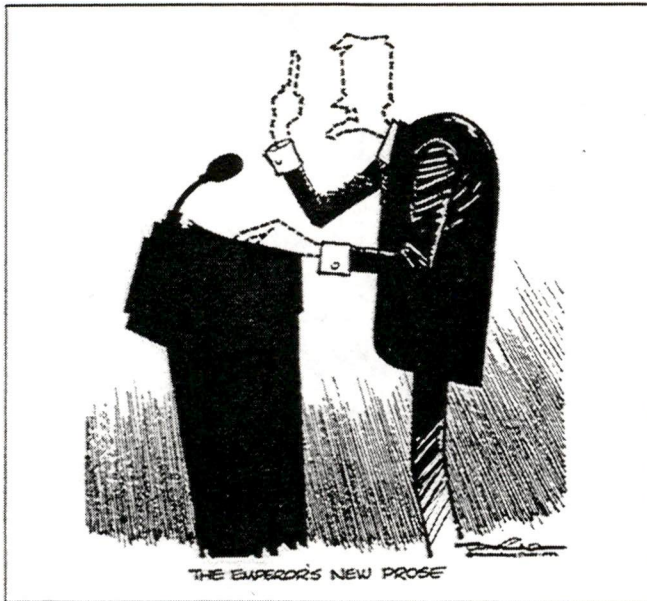
"People forget very quickly about the good things he's done."

Robert L. Redfearn, senior adviser to the Monarch Capital Group, also supports Mr. Bush.

Please see **SAPORTA, C1**

... CAMPAIGN '92

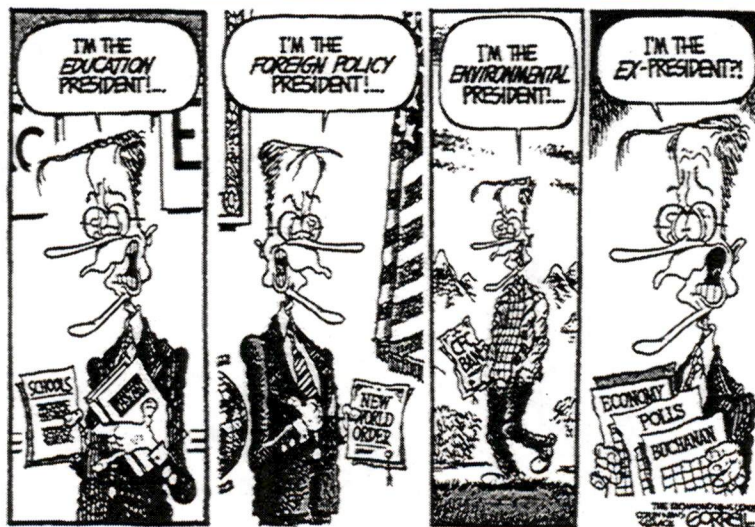
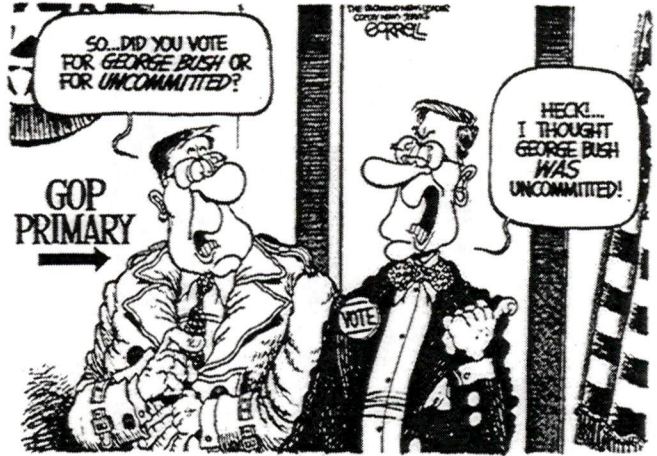
Conrad Pett Borgman Plante Counts



THE BUSH . . .

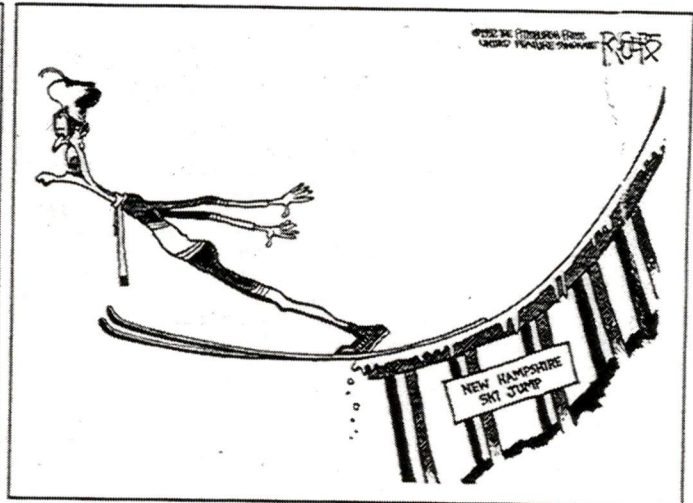
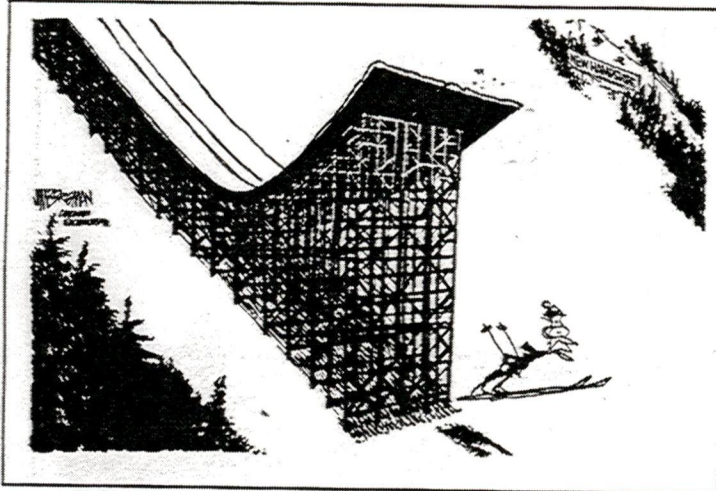
Danziger Gorrell Wright Temp

CELEBRITY SUPPORT LINES UP FOR BUSH



BUSH AND . . .

Herblock Markstein Peters Rogers Borgman



Up-to-the-Minute Guide to the 18 States That Have Not Yet Completed Redistricting

By Susan B. Glasser

Eighteen states containing a total of 208 districts—or 47.8 percent of the House—have yet to complete redistricting for the 1992 elections. And with filing deadlines and primaries approaching in many of these states, we're in the crunch period for completing the remaps.

Listed below is a complete update on each major state where redistricting is still pending, including the size of the state's delegation post-apportionment and any new minority districts.

Alabama

Total: Seven Seats
(including one majority-black district)

A federal court imposed a redistricting plan here that creates a new, 67 percent black district and endangers Democratic Reps. Ben Erdreich and Claude Harris.

But last week, the Democratic legislature passed its own version. Now they'll wait to override GOP Gov. Guy Hunt's likely veto. The legislature's version would make Erdreich and Harris run against each other, but in a safe Democratic district.

Arizona

Total: Six Seats
(possibly including one Hispanic-majority district)

The divided legislature is in a special session to deal with redistricting but has taken no action yet. The dispute centers on whether to create two Hispanic districts in the state or simply make freshman Rep. Ed Pastor's (D) district a Latino/Native American seat. Both sides seem to be anticipating a court showdown.

Florida

Total: 23 Seats
(adding two majority-black districts and possibly two Hispanic districts)

Both houses of the legislature have passed remap plans, but the real work here is only starting with a conference committee.

Republicans lost an early bid to get a federal court takeover of the matter last week but the redistricting will almost certainly return to the courts for the final say. Democrats control the legislature and the governorship here.

The number of new minority districts required by the Voting Rights Act is a major point of contention. Final action could take until the early summer.

Georgia

Total: 11 Seats
(adding two new majority-black districts)

Last week the legislature passed a new redistricting version creating a black-majority district stretching from the Atlanta suburbs to South Carolina, and another 50 percent black district in the southwestern area represented currently by Rep. Charles Hatcher (D).

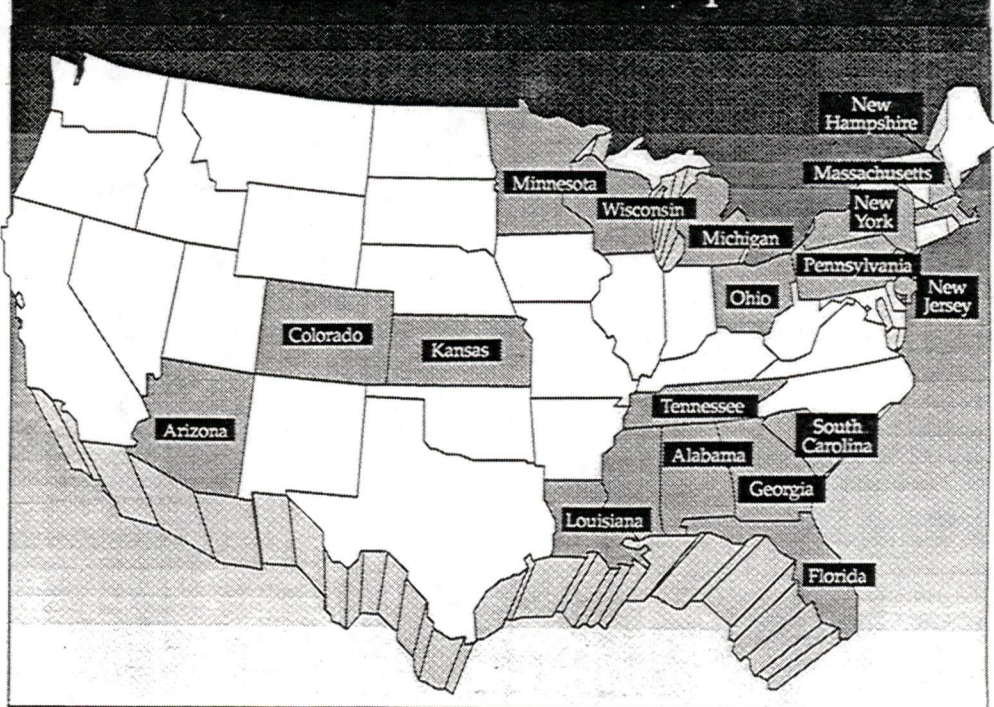
The Justice Department has already rejected Georgia's first plan, and this revision still must be signed by the Democratic governor and pre-cleared by Justice.

Kansas

Total: Four Seats

Since Rep. Dan Glickman (D) announced he would not run for the Senate this year, the fate of freshman Rep. Dick Nichols (R) appears grim. There's been no action yet on redistricting in the legislature; expect it soon.

The 18 Slow-Starting States That Haven't Finished Their Remaps



Louisiana

Total: Seven Seats
(including one new majority-black district)

The legislature made a brief, unsuccessful attempt at redistricting last year. They'll try again, but possibly not until late this month. Already, a plan is circulating that would create a second black district in the state, carve up Rep. Clyde Holloway's (R) district, and possibly pave the way for a race between GOP Reps. Richard Baker and Bob Livingston.

Massachusetts

Total: Ten Seats

The state's victory last month in a case against the reapportionment means that it may have its 11th district returned. The federal court that agreed to reinstate Massachusetts's 11th seat set a March 30 deadline for a new plan to be agreed upon by the Democratic legislature and the GOP governor.

In Michigan, longtime incumbents are vulnerable.

Until two weeks ago, redistricting had been particularly contentious here as the politicians struggled to agree on a ten-seat plan.

Michigan

Total: 16 Seats

A three-judge federal panel has taken over the remap here and will hold a hearing March 9 on the various plans that it has received. A ruling is expected by mid-March. Because the state is losing two seats, longtime incumbents are vulnerable here—including Democratic Reps. Dennis Hertel, Sander Levin, Dave Bonior, Dale Kildee, Bob Carr, and Bob Traxler, and GOP Reps. William Broomfield and Carl Pursell.

nis Hertel, Sander Levin, Dave Bonior, Dale Kildee, Bob Carr, and Bob Traxler, and GOP Reps. William Broomfield and Carl Pursell.

Minnesota

Total: Eight Seats

State and federal courts are competing for jurisdiction here, and the Supreme Court is going to have to sift through the mess. The state court pre-empted an imminent federal ruling last month, producing a Congressional map of its own.

New Jersey

Total: 13 Seats

(possibly adding one Hispanic district)
In their last official action before relinquishing control to the GOP, the legislature's Democrats created a 13-member commission to produce a remap plan and gave it a March 20 deadline. The commission has held a series of public hearings and will now get down to work.

One pair of incumbents will have to run against each other, the independent, 13th member of the commission will probably decide who.

New York

Total: 31 Seats

(possibly including one new Hispanic seat)
The last off the blocks of the big states, New York will have a redistricting fight in ways we can't even think of yet.

The first plans are slated for release today (March 2), and the legislature hopes to have the process completed by the end of April. More likely, it will take until June.

Ohio

Total: 19 Seats

Both houses of the legislature have passed plans, and a ten-member conference

committee is meeting to iron out the vast differences. Two retiring Democratic Members here make the task easier, but the parties have agreed that each will absorb the loss of a seat.

State election officials have said the remap must be done by March 13 in order to keep the May 5 primary on schedule; now, there's talk of pushing back the primary, but there'll be a big push to get it done in the next two weeks.

Pennsylvania

Total: 21 Seats
(including one majority-black district)

The state Supreme Court is likely to approve a plan this week that was endorsed by the state's Commonwealth Court. Last Thursday, a federal court refused to intervene with the state court process.

The likely plan, originally offered by state Senate Democrats, combines GOP Reps. Richard Schulze and Curt Weldon in a district, hurts Republican Rep. Rick Santorum's re-election chances, and creates a 52 percent black district in Rep. Tom Foglietta's (D) Philadelphia seat.

The new filing deadline will likely be March 13.

South Carolina

Total: Six Seats
(including one majority-black district)

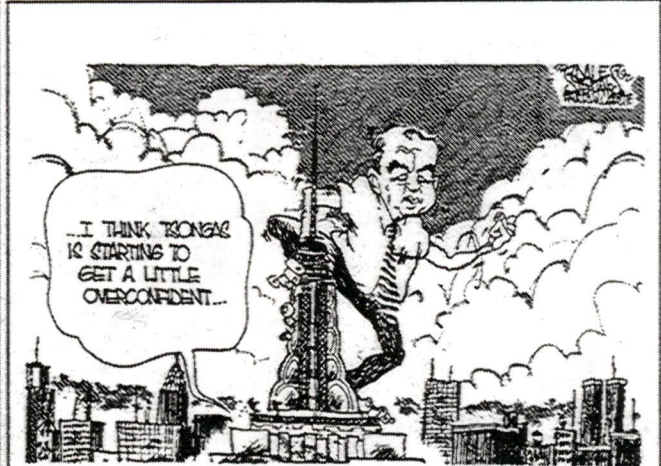
A federal court has taken over after declaring the legislature at an impasse. It is certain to create a new black-majority seat, potentially threatening white Democratic incumbent Reps. Robin Tallon and John Spratt.

Other states that have yet to complete redistricting include Colorado, where Democratic Gov. Roy Romer has twice vetoed remap bills; New Hampshire; Tennessee; and Wisconsin.

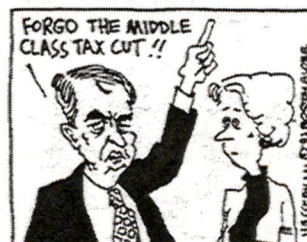
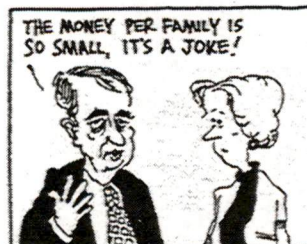
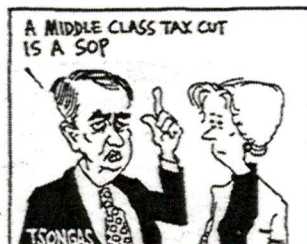
Maine will not redistrict until 1994 under state law.

TSONGAS . . .

Stephanos Wasserman Borgman



TV AMERICA PASSES ITS EVER-NATURE JUDGMENT



Dems Are Charting Dangerous Course Bashing Each Other

The sudden and savage turn that the Democratic presidential nomination fight took last week threatens to derail what has become the best opportunity in a generation for the party to win the presidency.

The party's presidential candidates had been voicing a unified theme, carrying with it the echo from last year's Pennsylvania Senate race, that "it's time to take care of our own." That theme is the reason the elusive "unnamed Democrat" is now beating President Bush in the polls.

Except for Jerry Brown, the Democratic field is united in discussing an agenda of preparing for the future, heavy on specifics about jobs, health care, and education, and this is what voters want to hear.

Conversely, President Bush has had little success articulating a convincing program for addressing those concerns. Or even that he understands them.

As a result, the President now trails that phantom Democratic candidate by 8 points in the just-completed (Feb. 20-23) Times Mirror poll, 48 to 40 percent. In January, Bush was tied with the unnamed Democrat, 42 to 42 percent.

The level of anger, fear, and apprehension about where this country seems to be going is so great that when Gennifer Flowers emerged and the press got off on another one of what University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato calls "feeding frenzies," the public pulled the discourse back to issues.



The unnamed Democrat (above) is beating Bush in the polls, 48 to 40 percent.

In the last week, however, Democrats have gotten off their message, with Bill Clinton, Bob Kerrey, and Paul Tsongas trashing each other to the exclusion of what the voters want to hear. In the end, that hurts all of them right now—and, eventually, the Democratic nominee.

It has become an article of faith in recent years that Republicans have run excellent presidential campaigns while Democrats have run lousy ones. But in the last six months it's almost as if the two teams changed jerseys, with the Democrats doing it right and the Republicans floundering.

Most political pros agree that sooner or later, the White House will figure out that Bush must step back and try to understand the message the public is sending. The

more Democrats get off their message, the more time they give the Bush campaign to find its voice.

But, as one longtime Republican operative noted this week, the Bush campaign still seems to think its problem is Pat Buchanan. He's wrong. "Pat Buchanan can't beat George Bush, but George Bush can beat George Bush, and right now that is what is happening," the seasoned veteran observed. The reason the White House has been unable to find a treatment for the campaign's problem is that it has misdiagnosed the illness.

While Bush flails away, however, the Democrats have begun to travel a dangerous path by hammering each other. As the race heads toward Clinton's stronghold in the South, the candidates are locked in a Catch-22: Kerrey and Tsongas have no choice but to savage Clinton, and Clinton has little choice but to strike back. At stake is the Georgia vote tomorrow, and, potentially, unstoppable Clinton momentum.

In last week's Times Mirror national poll, while Clinton was holding a 5-point edge over Tsongas nationally (32 to 27 percent), he had a whopping 48 to 17 advantage in the South. Kerrey was in the cellar, at 7 percent nationwide and 4 percent support in the South, in both cases running behind Brown.

The most likely scenario has been that Clinton wins big in Georgia, perhaps pulls off an upset in Maryland (both on Tuesday), then rolls up the score on Super Tuesday (March 10), and the rest is history. The alternative scenario is that Clinton wins in the South—but unconvincingly—and ends up with second- or even third-place showings elsewhere. If that's the case,

Tsongas and the others win the balance of the Little and Super Tuesday contests, and the race loses all direction.

If that kind of chaos emerges, watch for the talk of 800-pound gorillas to return. The value of the Democratic nomination is perceived to be so great within the party that someone else will likely get in, either after the final primaries (forcing a brokered convention) or in mid-March, before the filing deadlines pass for the last round of races in late May and early June (California, New Jersey, etc.).

Certainly, the possibility still exists for a wide-open race heading to the convention—assuming the delegates are distributed relatively evenly among the current candidates, with a high number of uncommitted delegates also selected by primaries and caucuses. Then, the 18 percent of Superdelegates who will come from the ranks of the

The more Democrats get off their message, the more time they give the Bush campaign to find its voice.

party activists and elected officials whose primary concerns are electability and strength of the ticket, could decide the nominee.

So the bottom line is that for Clinton, this Tuesday and next Tuesday are do or die—and Kerrey and Tsongas are doing everything in their power to make sure it is the latter.

Political Surveyor

By Charles E. Cook

HAMIL HARRIS ON

Clinton, Jackson, Buchanan and the conspiracy

BILL CLINTON — It was just after this week's Presidential debate in College Park, Md. that I jumped on the campaign trail with Governor Bill Clinton and I got to ask him direct questions about his candidacy and the Black vote. Now after the conversation, I think maybe all of the Blacks who have jumped on the Clinton bandwagon had a point.

At first glance it looked like a police raid on a popular College Park night spot, but then the dark blue mini vans and the secret service were the give-away. It had to be Presidential candidates Clinton or Tsongas, because the boys in blue only protect the top dogs.

Somewhat between the Secret Service agents, a throng of students and California Congresswoman Maxine Waters who was also trying to get with the Governor, I got the one-on-one with Clinton who brought the entire entourage to a screeching halt just for the AFRO.

"I have walked the streets of Baltimore, I walked the streets of L.A. and I

have been in the housing projects in Chicago. I am going to go where the Black voters live and say hey, I want to be your president," Gov. Clinton said.

But Mr. Clinton, a conservative Democrat quickly added, "I just don't want to give you something. I want to give you a chance to empower your own lives and take control of your lives and succeed and that's the urban policy I have and it is a good one."

JESSE JACKSON FLAP — Shortly before a recent televised presidential debate someone told Governor Clinton that the Rev. Jesse Jackson was backing away from supporting him. Although it is still unclear what the arrangement was between Rev. Jackson and the Governor, the latter blasted the civil rights leader calling him "a double crosser."

But if there was a problem with the Governor it wasn't apparent recently when I talked to Clinton as he said all was well. "Two nights ago Rep. Maxine Waters, Rev. Jackson's former chairman,

endorsed me in California Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke has endorsed me. Maynard Jackson (Atlanta) has endorsed me so I think we are going to be fine on that."

Governor Clinton even said, "I have already called him (Rev. Jackson) and we talked twice and we are going to meet as soon as we can."

DIRT FILES — It is hard to believe that the strongest candidate for the Democratic party has always managed to self destruct somewhere between the Democratic National Convention and the White House. In recent years, the early front runner has run into trouble long before the summer rallies so one has to wonder if there is a conspiracy.

Conspiracy is a word which scares many people. We usually think of it in the context of the King or the Kennedy assassinations, but Webster's Dictionary defines a conspiracy as a plan or agreement formulated by two or more persons to commit an unlawful act.

AFRO AM

3-7-92

In 1992 it has been Bill Clinton. In 1988 it was Gary Hart. In 1984 it was Geraldine Ferraro and her husband's alleged dealings. Even before that we can't forget Senator Ted Kennedy and Chappaquiddick in 1980. Only former President Jimmy Carter, who literally was an ordained southern Baptist preacher, survived in 1976.

While there is no excuse for infidelity, one has to wonder how extensive are the files in the vaults of the Republican National Committee because every four years one can expect a revelation to surface and derail the front runner.

PATRICK BUCHANAN — In a time when symbolism is everything, Patrick Buchanan, on a recent campaign trip in Georgia, stopped by to pay his respects at a cemetery which contained Confederate soldiers and although it was located just across the street, he didn't extend the same courtesy to a cemetery which contained Blacks and slaves.

Mr. Buchanan is not for Blacks, but the pitfall is that he is not for the Republican party, Whites or even David Duke and his Klansmen brethren.

The Council of 100, a national organization of Black Republicans, has called upon "all decent Americans, regardless of political affiliation, to denounce the raw and rank political rhetoric and strategy of Patrick J. Buchanan."

Milton Bins, chairman of the Council said in a March 3 fax to the AFRO that, "We patently reject Mr. Buchanan's distortion of traditional values of the Republican Party as a pretext for his politics of racism and intolerance."

Mr. Buchanan is for himself. He might as well change his posters to, "Put Me First," instead of "Put America First," because if he was concerned about this country he would stop playing the race card in his campaign.

Hamil Harris is the Capital Hill reporter for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

Black Republicans Denounce Buchanan

By Staff Writer

Conservative columnist Patrick Buchanan has been denounced by a group of Black Republicans for his "raw and rank" political rhetoric and strategy as he campaigns for the Republican presidential nomination.

In a statement released earlier this week, the Council of 100, a Washington, D.C.-based national organization of Black Republicans, said it was rejecting Buchanan's candidacy because of what the group described as the "distortion of the traditional values of the Republican Party as a pretext for his politics of racism and intolerance."

It is absolutely unconscionable that Mr. Buchanan is sowing the seeds of racial hatred and resentment under the banner of the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass and the abolitionists," said Milton Bins, the council's

chairman.

The council also accused Buchanan, who is running against President George Bush for the nomination, of using code words such as "rebel," "Yankee" and "quotas."

"It is being done to foment racial scapegoating and we find it reprehensible

and clearly not in the best interests of the Republican Party or, indeed, our country," the statement declared.

While characterizing Buchanan's rhetoric as "inflammatory," the Council of 100 also noted that it was expressing its outrage in "memory of our

ancestors who fought and died in defense of the causes of freedom and equality and their very humanity, and who surely are turning in their graves at the specter of their party being usurped for the cause of racial bigotry and intolerance."

WASH INF 3-11-92

thus far to devise an effective countervailing electoral strategy, one which would either emphasize states outside the South to compensate for its Southern losses or reclaim part of the Republicans' Southern base, has left the party poorly situated to recapture the presidency unless the Republicans stumble so egregiously that they throw an election away or are simply overwhelmed by diverse circumstances."

The size of the new Republican base is astonishing. Whereas the Democrats have a base "consisting—in its entirety—of Minnesota and the District of Columbia (2 percent of the 1992 electoral vote," the GOP starts with the South, which this year "will contain 54 percent of the electoral votes needed to elect a president"; when the South's electoral votes are added to those of states elsewhere that generally vote Republican, the GOP "will control almost three-fourths (74 percent) of the nation's electoral vote, a political fact of the utmost practical significance."

That is if anything understatement. The emergence of the Solid Republican South in alliance with the traditionally Republican West means, in effect, that the GOP comes very close to entering each presidential election with victory in the bag; as the Blacks suggest, the presidency may be more for the GOP to lose than for the Democrats to win. No doubt this is a fact of life that sooner or later will be modified or even replaced by another fact of life, but it looks to be a determining fact for the foreseeable future; if the Democrats fail to reckon with it, they will do nothing less than commit qua-

drenial suicide.

Yet though there is some evidence that deep thinkers in the party are aware of this reality, they are hamstrung by the legacy of the 1960s: the "reforms" that largely turned over control of the nominating process to the party primaries. "Southerners who vote in Democratic presidential primaries," the Blacks point out, "are generally moderate to liberal voters, not conservatives." In this they are consistent with voters in Democratic primaries elsewhere; the party is in the hands of the left. This to be sure accurately reflects what is now its core constituency and thus is entirely legitimate, but it also means that its presidential nominating process is out of touch with the dominant mood of American voters.

Can the Democrats regain the White House without losing their soul? Do the Democrats have to outdo the Republicans in subtle appeals to racial fears and prejudices in order to regain a hold on the loyalties of the South? Merle and Earl Black think not. They point approvingly to the example of Jimmy Carter, who in 1976 offered himself as "a centrist Democrat," mixing "progressive positions on some issues (civil rights, for example) with conservative positions on other issues (fiscal responsibility, for example)." Carter, they say, "applied to a *national* campaign a style of politics that many Democrats in the South had successfully developed after blacks had re-entered the Southern electorate." They add:

"What the Democrats need are extraordinarily skilled candidates who generate enthusiasm among the party's two essential groups, blacks and core white Democrats, but who are also attractive to the South's swing whites, the conservative white Democrats and moderate independents. Such candidates would give most emphasis to progressive issues and themes, while hedging their liberalism by making some concessions to more conservative voters. Democratic politicians who are already experienced in devising such a broad-based appeal would have an enormous advantage, in a general election campaign, over Democrats who owe their success mainly to particular narrow segments of the party."

Whether the Democrats will be able to find such a candidate in 1992—whether they even *want* to—is problematical. But if they do, they should have *The Vital South* firmly in hand. Among the several useful and perceptive books about American politics that have of late been published, *The Vital South* stands out not merely for the acuity of its analysis but for the broad statistical evidence upon which that analysis is based. For strategists in both parties and for interested observers on the sidelines, it is essential reading. ■

How the South Was Won

WP Book World 2-8-93

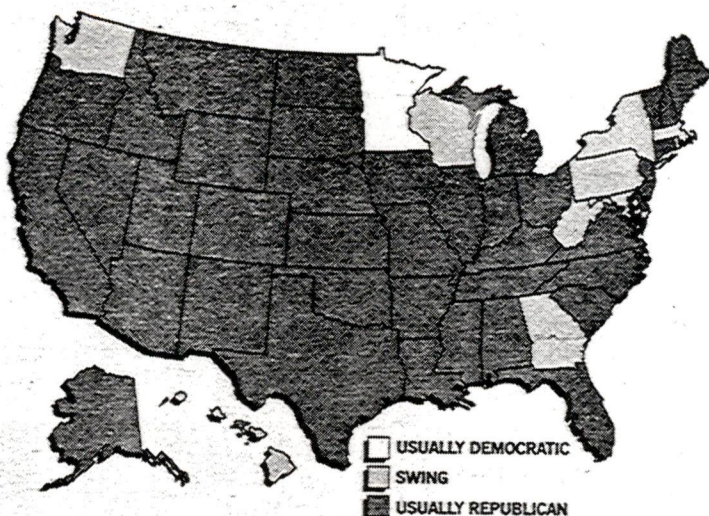
THE VITAL SOUTH
How Presidents Are Elected
 By Earl Black and Merle Black
 Harvard. 400 pp. \$29.95

THE MESSAGE that Earl Black and Merle Black deliver in *The Vital South* will come as no surprise to anyone who pays close attention to American politics, much less to any of the politics wonks who skulk the halls of Washington, but this in no way diminishes the importance or timeliness of their book. The essence of their argument may seem obvious: that the South, once solid for the Democratic Party in presidential elections, is now every bit as solid for the Republicans. But there is far more to *The Vital South* than that; it provides rich documentation of the deep roots the GOP has established in the region, and it leaves no doubt that this is a development the significance of which far transcends regional boundaries.

The authors are political scientists—Earl Black at the University of South Carolina, Merle Black at Emory University—and *The Vital South* suffers from some of the shortcomings of their trade: an excessive fondness for charts and graphs, a tendency toward repetition, a rather lusterless prose style. But in this instance these are petty annoyances rather than serious drawbacks; there is so much else here of value, indeed urgency, that only the extremely fastidious will be troubled by these gestures toward professional convention.

We can be grateful that there is one convention to which the Blacks are faithful: They are scholars, not ideologues. It is easy enough to see that they favor a politics of racial accommodation and economic improvement, but beyond that they stick to the facts. On the whole their analysis will bring joy to Republicans and grief to Democrats, but partisans on both sides should approach their study with this uppermost in mind: The Blacks are concerned with scrutinizing and explicating political reality, not with passing political or ideological judgments.

The changes this reality has undergone since the 1960s are truly breathtaking. A



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST (BASED ON A MAP IN "THE VITAL SOUTH")
 Presidential elections, 1968-1988, with at least 75 percent voting for the same party

quarter-century ago, when as a young journalist I was intensely involved with Southern politics, there was a phrase that constantly recurred in the stories written by all of us thus engaged: "tantamount to victory," as in, "winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to victory." Although a crack or two had begun to appear by then in the solidly Democratic South, it still seemed a rigidly one-party region and, so far as most of us could tell, was destined to remain so until hell, or New Orleans, froze over.

How little we knew. In fact, as the Blacks are at pains to point out, the process of change was already well under way, at least in presidential elections. The initial breakthrough, they show, was made by Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 and '56, which resulted in "the disappearance of the Solid Democratic South in the electoral college, a political event of enormous strategic importance in determining which party controls the White House." This was followed by the nomination of Barry Goldwater in 1964, which "helped the Republican party become more competitive in the South" by bringing conservative white Democrats either directly into the GOP or into regular alliance with it in presidential elections. The net effect was genuinely momentous:

"The South's allegiance in presidential elections is important not simply for the millions who live in the region but also for the much larger number of Americans who live elsewhere. The addition of the South to the Republican Party's presidential base has given the GOP a striking advantage over the Democrats. The Democrats' inability

GEORGE BUSH

There Are Some Advantages

By Helen Thomas

WASHINGTON—President Bush may be whistling in the dark if he thinks Congress is going to meet his March 20 deadline for passage of his economic recovery program.

The word on Capitol Hill is that such a prospect is improbable, and the lawmakers are not taking it too seriously.

Bush can use failure to approve his package with its tax breaks for business to create jobs as a campaign issue, and as a green light to go after Congress with no holds barred.

He already has developed some of the political made words such as "Capitol Hill liberals" to brand the opposition.

Undoubtedly, he would prefer to be able to push through proposals that he claims will promote an upturn in the economy. That would be a feather in his cap, and it could happen according to some economists, although it appears far fetched at the moment.

The president is definitely on the defensive on all fronts, in his own party and from the Democratic opponents.

His formal speeches are delivered mainly before handpicked business groups who support his stimulus package.

Stung by conservative challenger Patrick Buchanan's strong showing in New Hampshire as a result of a protest vote, Bush has tossed a few slurs in that wing of the Republican Party.

Striving to bring the conservatives back in the fold, Bush is using Vice President Dan Quayle, whose conservative credentials are unquestioned, as his point man in the campaign.

He has tried to stay on the high road as far as Buchanan is concerned and to leave the frontal attacks to his surrogates. Much will depend on what happens in Georgia and the next round of primaries on March 3 to determine whether Buchanan decides to call it quits or to go on to the Super Tuesday primaries. Clearly, he is having a ball, rattling the White House, and testing some success with his pugilistic style.

But he has no economic plan and no health plan, the two mandatory programs the hand-strapped voters are looking for.

His only thesis is that voters should come home to the America he knew in the '50s long before civil

rights and other liberal legislation was adopted to mar the horizon of Buchanan's dream world.

So like a Pied Piper, Buchanan is being followed by those who are angry over hard times and who work to send the proverbial message to Bush. But he could lead them on a joy ride to the brink with nowhere else to go.



The Buchanan challenger will not defeat Bush for the nomination, but it could seriously weaken his GOP re-election candidacy with the Democratic opposition using Buchanan barbs against him.

Buchanan says he is "on a roll," so why bow out?

Many who support him would be fearful if he won the big prize.

He does not view himself as a spoiler, but the purist conservative of all, who does not compromise, although there has been some softening of his hard line views since he came in contact with the poor and the homeless in New Hampshire.

As for Bush, he has a marathon schedule in the coming days with everything judged from the prism of politics.

And yet in all of his speeches, the president has said "let's put politics aside" or bemoaned the fact that "this is a political year."

Such complaints don't quite parse with reality. Bush cannot be blamed for wanting it both ways. Last year, it was clear sailing. He had a nearly 90 percent popularity rating and the heavy hitters in the Democratic Party refused to throw their hats in the ring.

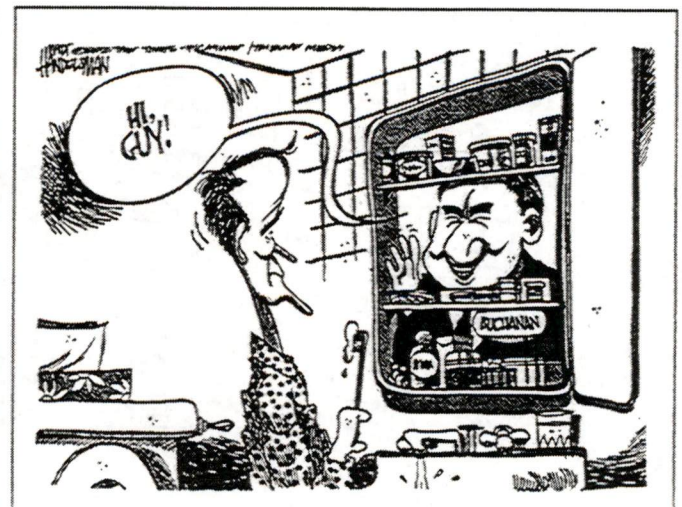
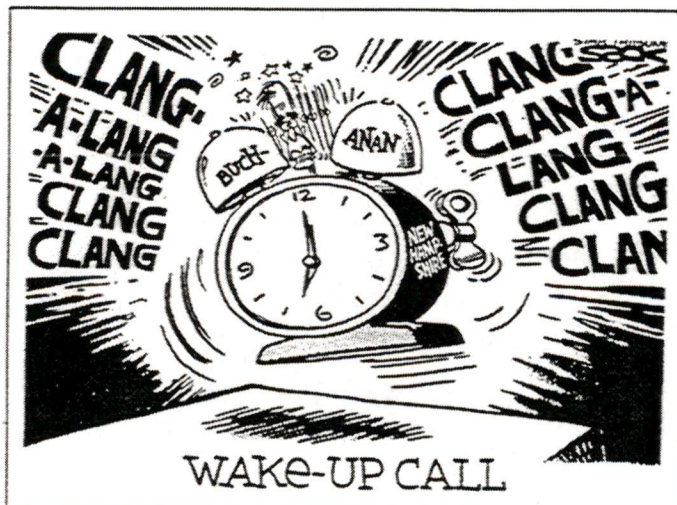
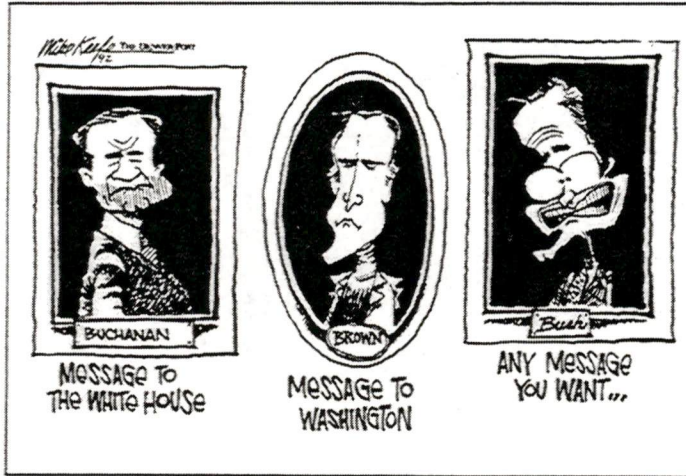
But in a matter of only a few months all that has changed and Bush is finding that he has a fight on his hands in his own party and among the opposition who would like to unhorse him.

Nevertheless, the president still has a lot going for him, the incumbency for one thing. Also, there is a large segment of the Republican Party that may like Buchanan but does not want to back a loser. The president is counting on that.

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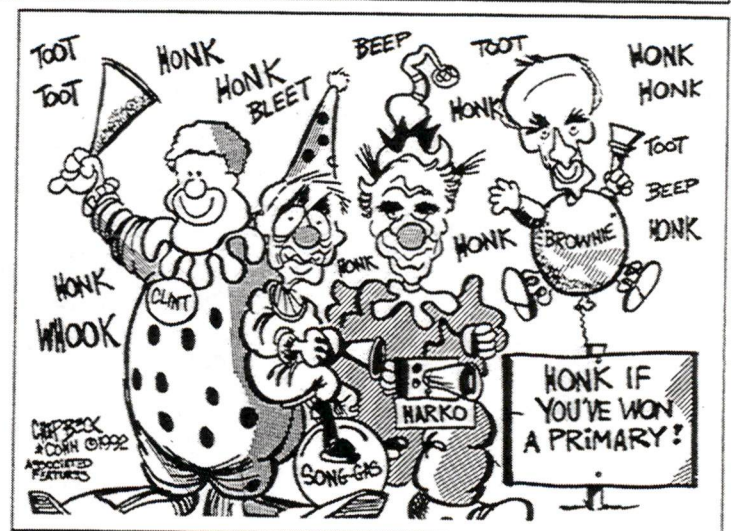
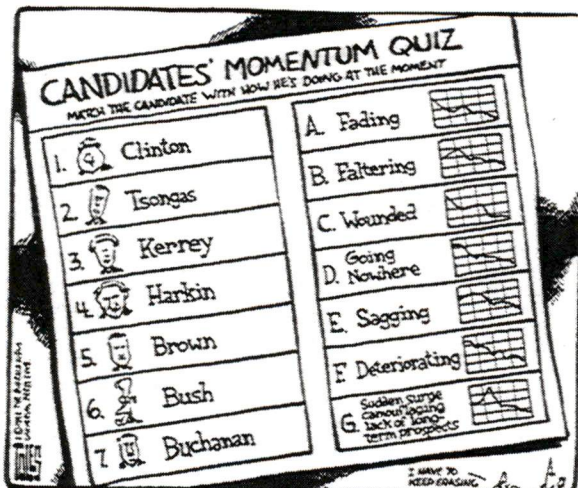
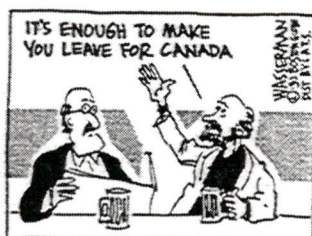
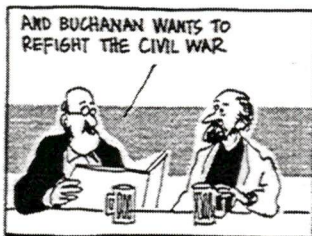
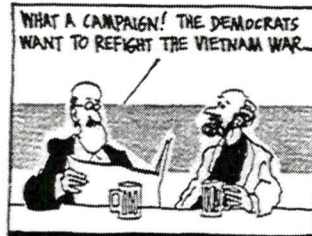
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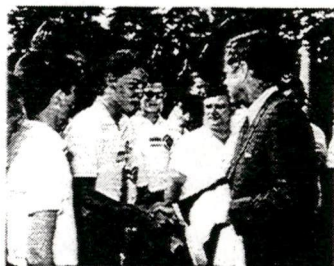
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The New York Times Magazine
MARCH 8, 1992

The Arkansas
Governor has lived
an entire political
lifetime in just
a few short months.
Where will it
all end?

Bill Clinton's Uncertain



By Peter Applebome

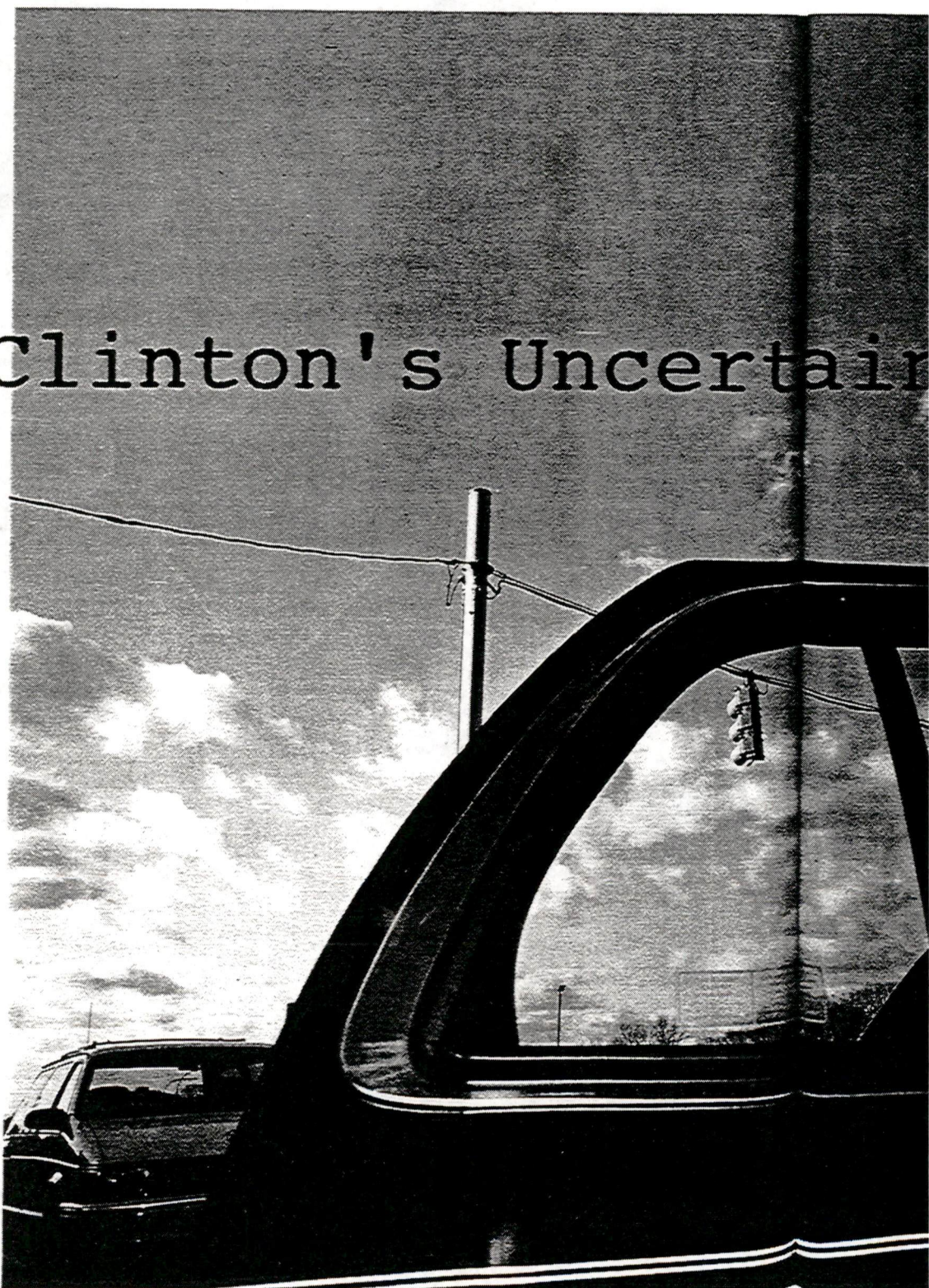
IT'S EARLY DECEMBER, AND AL-though very few voters have any idea who he is, Bill Clinton knows by the early buzz from the press and the party professionals that he's on the verge of becoming the hottest man in America. The rain is beating down on the roof of his limousine speeding along the New Jersey Turnpike, he's losing his voice and the plastic container of food in his lap is filled with cold rubber chicken and cardboard vegetables. But, talking politics in the back seat, Bill Clinton looks like he's exactly where he wants to be.

"Best campaign I ever ran," Clinton says in a hoarse drawl between cellular phone calls to campaign contributors. "Just a lost cause that almost won." He's talking about his first political campaign 18 years ago, when, as a shaggy-haired 28-year-old who had never run for office, he came within a whisker of unseating a popular Republican Congressman in a heavily Republican district.

"I just got in my little car and drove and had a hell of a time," Clinton remembers. "I was still in my 1970 Gremlin, and later I had a little Chevelle truck with Astroturf in the back. It's what I like about politics. You learn something. You hear another life story. It's like being able to peel another layer off an unlimited onion every day."

Since that December night, the layers — real, imagined or projected on him by others — have been peeled off Bill Clin-

Peter Applebome is Atlanta bureau chief of The New York Times.



Clinton never wavered from his pursuit of a political career after meeting President Kennedy^{top left} in 1963 as a de

Hillary Clinton at a fund-raising event in Montpelier, Vt. The Clintons met as law students at Yale.



Below: "Best campaign I ever ran," Clinton says fondly of his almost-successful bid to unseat a popular Republican Congressman in 1974.

Bottom: Clinton's half brother, Roger Jr., was arrested and convicted on drug charges after a sting approved by the Governor.



ton in a harrowing kind of hyper-politics, like a political lifetime compressed into four months. Since the Democratic campaign began to take form in the late fall, Clinton has gone from a little-known Southern Governor to a political phenom virtually anointed the Democratic nominee by the national news media to a left-for-dead victim of feeding frenzies about his sex life and draft history. Now he's like some kind of Robo-candidate, full of bullet holes but still plowing ahead, as he approaches this Tuesday's crucial primaries and caucuses in Texas, Florida and nine other states. Super Tuesday will determine 783 of the 4,287 Democratic convention votes.

To those who have followed his career, it's not entirely surprising that Clinton has found himself in the middle of this whirlwind or that, in the face of it, he is somehow still standing. A blend of contradictions, Clinton's politics are at once deeply personal and shrewdly calculated. The product of a tumultuous upbringing full of love and loss, seemingly running for office since high school, he was elected the nation's youngest Governor at the age of 32 and then came back after a humiliating defeat to win his job back.

At various times, he's been hailed as a cross between L.B.J. and Elvis. But just as often, he's been dismissed as too young to be Governor, too liberal to stay in office, too moderate to please the national Democratic faithful and now perhaps too scarred to become President. "He has run a balancing act all his political career," says Karl Rove, a Republican consultant who has observed Clinton from across the border in Texas. "The problem with a balancing act is that while you may look masterful on the high wire, you're not anchored to anything."

Many people have wondered — given the longstanding rumors of past womanizing he knew would hit his campaign — what made him run? But no one who knows him well wondered for a second. He ran

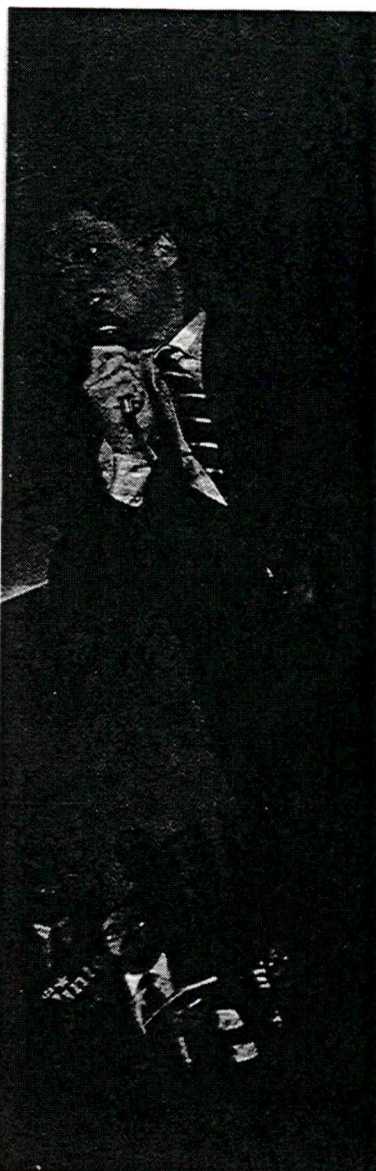
because at every key moment in his life Clinton has charted a course, no matter how risky, and followed it. He ran because he had worked his way through enough mine fields to think he could overcome whatever lay in store. He ran because his whole life has pointed toward this campaign, and he thinks he'd be a better President than anyone else in the race.

But the making and unmaking and possible remaking of Bill Clinton is more than the story of a man on the high wire. Because of Clinton's combination of guts and guile, mission and ambition, there's a perverse logic to the way the news media both built him up and tore him down. But there's also a nightmarish glimpse of what politics has become in the bizarre coronation and demolition derby Clinton has starred in. It's his story in a particularly affecting way because, more than most people in public life, Clinton's politics cut to his soul. But to the degree we're all eager consumers of the news media's baroque choreography of scandal, avidly taking in whatever train wreck becomes the sensation du jour, it's the story of our political process as well.

NOTHING SEEMS SUNNY AT 9 SUNSHINE COURT.

It is eight days before the New Hampshire primary, and Clinton and his wife, Hillary, are sitting in a house in Manchester in what's billed by his campaign as a meeting with a family facing foreclosure. The trouble is, the Ackerman family isn't really about to lose their home, and Clinton, fighting a cold and looking tired and distracted, knows the reporters jamming the house aren't here to listen to his views on banking reform. They're waiting, instead, for the candidate, whose campaign is floundering, to supply them with the sound bite of the day. Finally, Clinton, looking perfectly cool and composed for the cameras, addresses the press, presenting himself as the victim of a "Republican attack machine," promises to "fight like hell" and answers some shouted questions about his draft history. He then heads to another dismal event at a yogurt factory, where he looks even more preoccupied than he was before.

Flying to a fund-raising event in New York that night, he dozes while Hillary



reads a book called "God and Other Famous Liberals." But once in front of a packed banquet hall at the New York Sheraton, Clinton suddenly lights up. "People know if they can make the election about my past or any other politician's past, if they can dump on people and kill their enthusiasm, their feelings and their hope, then the same old crowd gets to stay in power," he says. "No one that covers it will have to give up their cynicism, and nothing can change. If any one of us permits this election to be about anything other than the real big human issues, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves."

It's a strong speech, and he knows it. Back on the campaign plane, some of the old exuberance returns. "Who wants to play cards?" he asks, his voice still hoarse, pulling out six vials of antihistamines and



cold pills. After Hillary brings him some vitamin C and amid bottles of Evian water, Ka-Me Onion Crunch rice crackers and Eagle Cheese Crunch, he launches into a spirited game of three-hand pinocchio, shuffling the cards with the deft wrist flip of a Las Vegas sharpie.

On the ground in New Hampshire after midnight, it's off to a Dunkin' Donuts shop in Keene, where he and Hillary schmooze with the help before sitting down to a chili and bagel dinner. His mood darkens briefly upon spying a New York Post headline: "Gennifer & Bill Romped in Our Apt. Ex-Roomie." But then after talking health care with some customers, the upbeat Clinton is back as he and Hillary head for the motel where they're to spend the night.

The day is a microcosm of the roller-coaster ride Clinton has been on since his

campaign got going in earnest. One moment, he's giving a foreign policy speech at Georgetown University in Washington and people are coming up to his aides and shouting "I'm on," like the bandwagon scene in a bad political movie; the next, Hillary Clinton is making a face like a schoolgirl given a frog to dissect as she's offered a faxed copy of the supermarket tabloid story that kicked the campaign into the Gerald zone.

But somehow Clinton seems to be still hanging on — partly, in his view, because he's been through so much already in his 18 years of running for office. "I think if I had one characteristic in my public life, it has been I have endured," he says. "I have really been committed to the long run. I'm not going to fold my tent and go away."

One of the most striking aspects of Clinton's now famous 1969 letter to an Army

colonel in the University of Arkansas's R.O.T.C. program is his frank acknowledgement of his desire to maintain "political viability" — an unusual concern for a 23-year-old anytime, but particularly at the height of the Vietnam War. In fact, Clinton's fixation with politics began much earlier. "Bill was the kind of person who would come up to everyone new in high school and say: 'Hi. How are you? My name's Bill Clinton, and I'm running for something,' whatever it was," recalls Glenda Cooper, a high-school classmate and still a close friend. "We always thought, well, someday Bill will be President."

Since early on, Clinton has been the product of two entirely different political talents: On the one hand, he is a chronic politician unable to leave a room without shaking every

Clinton speaking at the South Carolina Democratic Party Leaders Conference in Columbia.

(Continued on page 36)

CLINTON

(Continued from page 29)

hand. On the other, he is an eye-glazing policy wonk, who gets genuinely excited at the end of a 16-hour day of campaigning when he's asked questions about subjects like stock depreciation compensation and passive-loss provisions in the tax code.

In Bill Clinton, the Arkansas Traveler meets the Progressive Policy Institute. Half of him comes out of the oldest tradition in Southern politics — one-on-one campaigning, at pig pickings and V.F.W. halls, where elements of macho excess are almost expected. The other half, which comes out of Oxford and Yale University Law School, led him to become an active member of an entire generation of young Democrats looking for a post-New Deal, post-Great Society vision for the party.

Addicted to card games of hearts, golf and crossword puzzles, a whiz on the tenor sax, Clinton has the look and loosey-goosey enthusiasm of a high school jock perched somewhere between eternal youth and paunchy middle age. But he also has the natural ease of a born politician — touching, hugging, making eye contact so deep that recipients sometimes seem mesmerized. Tabloid rumors aside, Clinton embodies the parallels between the seductions of politics and the seductions of sex. As one Clinton watcher said recently: "It's not that Clinton seduces women. It's that he seduces everyone."

At 6 foot 2 and 230 pounds, with a full head of newly styled graying hair, intense blue eyes and a square jaw, Clinton can evoke the image of a bionic politician. But up close, there's not much bionic about him. Forever popping Sudafeds and Tums, he often seems in danger of losing his voice and appears to be in a constant battle with a red-nosed, baggy-eyed, puffy-faced condition that seems more at home on a cold-remedy ad than a political one.

Clinton's early success in this campaign reflected three things: a gift for strategy and pressing the flesh, a weak field of Democratic rivals and a message geared to middle-class voters, many of whom had deserted the party in the last 12 years.

Combining traditional Democratic rhetoric about compassion and activist government with Republican ideas like school choice and "workfare," Clinton's campaign appeared to be the distillation of two decades of Democratic Party ferment.

"In 1988, you had a lot of candidates who had a piece of the new picture, but they were like the blind men looking at the elephant," says David Osborne, an occasional adviser to Clinton whose book "Reinventing Government" has made him a hot property in political circles. "Gore, Gephardt, Babbitt, Dukakis all touched part of the elephant, but they could-

Clinton says that because of the recurring melodrama at home, he turned '40 at 14.'

not see it whole. This year there's one candidate who's seen the elephant whole, and that's Bill Clinton."

Others say Clinton's ability to craft the ultimate centrist message is the case to be made against him, not for him. "I think he's the best politician I've ever seen," says John Brummett, a longtime newspaper columnist in Arkansas, who, unlike most other critics there, comes at Clinton from the left. "I just don't know if there's much there in terms of abiding principle. Reinventing the Democrats is about one thing — getting elected. That's what he's about."

It's Clinton as "Slick Willie," the smart politician who's too smart by half. Still, for someone often accused of being too slick, it's remarkable how much Clinton's campaign has touched the cultural and generational fault lines of American life. The most conspicuous example was undoubtedly

ly the letter Clinton wrote about his draft status. In the numbing compression of soundbite journalism, the question became grossly oversimplified: draft dodger or no draft dodger? But it's hard to read Clinton's words — his description of peers "still loving their country but loathing the military, to which you and other good men have devoted years, lifetimes of the best service you could give" — and not feel both the passions and the pain of that era.

To some observers, the moving struggle of the 23-year-old student trying to come to grips with his ambivalence sets a standard the 45-year-old candidate cannot match. "The letter shows a candor and anguish that has shrunk," says Paul Greenberg, a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for *The Pine Bluff Commercial* and a harsh Clinton critic. "He is now a completely political man who has swallowed everything else. I don't see the anguish now. I wish I had known that 23-year-old."

To others, the trouble is not with Clinton himself, but with the way he's been overpackaged in the kingdom of spin that is Presidential politics. "There have been so many times in the campaign I've wanted to scream, 'Bill, let your gut instincts take over,'" says Betsey Wright, Clinton's longtime top aide and now a fellow at the Kennedy School of Government's Institute of Politics. "Nobody has better gut instincts than Bill Clinton. I think Bill is really on to something unprecedented in American politics — that it may be O.K. to make mistakes if you learn from them."

But at other times, Clinton's campaign has seemed to come out of his gut. On Feb. 12, the night the letter was released, Clinton flew to Dover, N.H., to speak at the Elks Lodge there. He knew his campaign was on the verge of collapse. Speaking in a small packed room with the audience on all sides of him, giving his appearance the feel of an actor in a theater in the round, he spoke like a man at the edge of a cliff looking down. "This is the work of my life," he said in a pained voice, comparing his commitment to change with that of George Bush, whose campaign had been saved by the voters of New Hampshire four years earlier.

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CLINTON

(Continued from page 36)

er. "I'll tell you what I think the character issue in this election is. How can you have the power of the Presidency and never use it to help people improve their lives until your life needs saving in an election? I won't be like George Bush. I'll never forget who gave me a second chance, and I'll be there for you until the last dog dies."

It was both artful spin and politics so close to the bone it hurt to watch. In an interview the day before, Clinton had wondered how much the public can demand from people running for office.

"People have a right to expect that there's more than my mind engaged in this," he says. "But to say you have to keep revealing yourself in order to be in public life, I don't think that is a standard anybody can keep. I don't think a minister in a church can do that. I'm almost positive a politician can't. At some point, all of us hold something back, except in our most intimate relations."

THE TWO EVENTS ARE like bookends of a relationship that is still raw for Bill Clinton long after his stepfather's death.

The first came when Clinton was in his early teens — a moment that would change his life forever. His stepfather, Roger Clinton,

was a quiet, amiable man by day; at night, the bourbon turned him so violent and abusive that he once fired a gun in the house. After one particularly ugly incident, Bill Clinton took his mother and younger half brother by the hand and issued a warning to his stepfather: "You will never hit either of them again. If you want them, you'll have to go through me." It was the stepfather who blinked, and though his drinking continued, the violence at home ended.

The second came when Bill Clinton was a 20-year-old undergraduate at Georgetown University. His stepfather was dying of cancer at Duke University Hospital, and Clinton would drive the 266 miles between Washington and Durham, N.C., on weekends to see him. Bill remembers one Easter weekend in particular, when he and his stepfather attended services together at the Duke Chapel, a soaring Gothic symphony of stained glass. It was then that each man finally came to terms with the other.

"It was, God, beautiful," Clinton recalls now, his voice softening. "I think he knew that I was coming down there just because I loved him. There was nothing else to fight over, nothing else to run from. It was a wonderful time in my life, and I think in his."

Hillary Clinton found herself profoundly moved by the reconciliation story, which she first heard from

her future husband when they were dating classmates at Yale Law School. "Here was a young man, not even an adult yet, who was big enough and mature enough to love somebody who caused him and his family pain," she says.

Only a fool would try to tie too neat a ribbon around the conflicting elements that shaped Bill Clinton. He's the son of a father he never knew — an outgoing, charismatic personality who died in an auto accident four months before he was born — but was doted on from Day 1 by a strong-willed, quick-witted mother. He grew up in Hot Springs, Ark., a town that was part Bible Belt, part Las Vegas (complete with race track and casino gambling).

Clinton says that because of the recurring melodrama at home, he turned "40 at 14." A friend of Clinton's, also the child of an alcoholic parent, contends that children of drinkers fall into three groups: healers, hidiers and jokers. Shaped both by the chaos at home and an aching sense of mortality from his father's early death, Bill Clinton became a healer. "He was my best friend," says his half brother, Roger Jr., now a 35-year-old singer and songwriter in Los Angeles. "He was my brother. He was my father. He was my protector."

That healing instinct comes to the fore not only in Clinton's private life but also in his public life — in the

way he works a room like a preacher, lacing his campaign speeches with personal stories of distress and pain. It also shows up in his compulsive need to please, to bring people together at some hazily defined, accommodating center — as if he were still re-enacting in politics the role he played at home.

"I can feel other people's pain a lot more than some people can," Clinton says. "I think that's important for a politician. I think you literally have to be able to sit in the quiet of a room and accurately imagine what life must be like for people growing up on mean streets, people living their lives behind bars, people about to face death's door."

But politics is full of people who practice empathy on a large public scale and who can't always translate this gift into their private lives. Clinton is the first to acknowledge this limitation in himself. "In a funny way, I'm reluctant to commit myself, to reach out past a certain point and get involved with people, because you're always, in a subconscious way, aware that this can all be taken away."

He was born William Jefferson Blythe IV on Aug. 19, 1946. Relatives say he has his father's magnetism and good looks; they can even see Bill Blythe in his son's long fingers and the way he tilts his head. When he was nearly 2, he was left with his grandparents, who ran a

grocery store in a black neighborhood in Hope, Ark., while his mother studied to be a nurse-anesthetist in New Orleans. At the age of 7, he moved with his mother and stepfather, Roger Clinton Sr., to the resort town of Hot Springs, where Roger's brother had a Buick dealership.

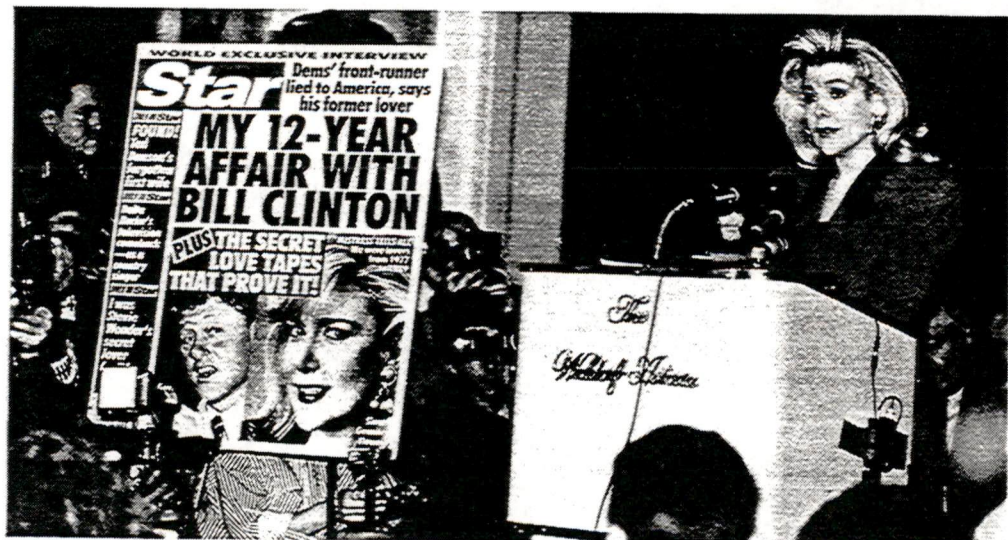
Growing up in a neat ranch house overlooking a field of peonies, Clinton was greatly influenced by his mother, who would be widowed three times in her life and is now remarried to Richard W. Kelly. A smart, voluble woman, she had an affection for the local race track and an opinion on everything. After a long day at the hospital, she'd rush in to the kitchen, muttering "It's just not right — it's just not fair" about some outrage, idiocy or injustice she'd witnessed at work that day. Engaging her son in endless political discussions, she was, says a friend of Clinton's, consciously feeding his mind, pushing her precocious son toward a life far beyond Hot Springs.

Clinton thought fleetingly of careers in medicine, journalism and music, but after he met John F. Kennedy in 1963 as a delegate to the American Legion Boys Nation program, he never wavered from the idea of a political career. His politics defined by the antiwar and civil rights struggles of the 60's, he went to work for Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas in Washington in 1967 and ran George McGovern's ill-fated Presidential campaign in Texas in 1972. When Clinton won the Arkansas Statehouse in 1978 at the age of 32, he became the youngest Governor since the 31-year-old Harold E. Stassen was elected in Minnesota in 1938.

As Governor, Clinton came in like a whirlwind. He had a program for every problem, from energy to education to economic development, and a passel of bearded young liberal aides to carry them out. He took on powerful timber and trucking interests and slapped on an unpopular license-tag tax increase to pay for a road program.

And then, suddenly, he was out of office, defeated by an obscure Republican

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Gennifer Flowers's allegations about having a longtime affair with Clinton knocked his campaign for a loop.

CLINTON

(Continued from page 60)

named Frank White, a sour economy and the growing perception around the state that he was a little too full of himself. A year later, he went on television, apologized to the voters and asked them to give him another chance. In 1982, he made a successful comeback by unseating White, picking up 55 percent of the vote. He has been Governor ever since.

Clinton's record is a mix of genuine innovation and unfulfilled promise. In education, where he pushed through the nation's first teacher competency testing program, his achievements live up to their hype. But in other areas, particularly tax fairness and the environment, his record does not match his rhetoric.

Clinton's toughest decision in office was a personal one. In 1984, State Police officers learned his half brother, Roger Jr., was selling drugs. Without hesitation, the Governor approved a sting that resulted in his brother's arrest and conviction on drug charges. For about six weeks, while he and Hillary characteristically read everything they could find on drug abuse, he waited in agony for the arrest to occur.

It was a pivotal moment for both Bill and Roger Clinton. The whole family, including their mother and Hillary, sat through counseling sessions that opened up some of the rawest wounds from their youth. Roger Jr. says he felt betrayed by his brother at first, but then realized he had saved his life. Bill Clinton says that for the first time he was able to see how much he'd ignored the needs of those around him, how much his own ambitions had gotten out of control. "I finally realized how my compulsive and obsessive ambition got in the way," he says. "And I think that dealing with that helped me to achieve some better balance."

Still, no one doubts the intensity of Clinton's ambition today. Talking about what got him into politics, he harks back to his first race. "It taught me you've got to stand for something bigger than yourself," he says.

The question that lingers from his personal history is just what kind of politician it produced: a charismatic leader with a real passion for making government work for people or an eager-to-please politician whose positions come from his polls rather than his heart? Clinton's campaign so far has shown he can take a punch, make a speech and spout policy with the best of them. What's not clear is whether he meets his own standard: does he stand for something bigger than himself?

THE MOST GLARING IRONY about Bill Clinton's wild ride is this: after spending a lifetime honing his political skills, he's running for

President at a time when the rules of the game are no longer clear. Larry J. Sabato, a University of Virginia political science professor and author of "Feeding Frenzy," says Clinton's problems offer a textbook case in the way marginal issues now obliterate substantive ones in American politics. "I've said all along the standards are going straight down, and that's what we're seeing," Sabato says.

Once it was the party bosses who sized up candidates, picked at their entrails and decided their fate. Now that process is largely left to the news media — a great unwieldy beast of mainstream newspapers, television news, supermarket tabloids and talk shows featuring Washington windbags. Clinton's troubles provide a particularly vivid example of how Byzantine the media food chain has become, how blurred the lines are between the bottom feeders and the "respectable"

Clinton's toughest decision in office was personal. He approved a sting that resulted in his brother's arrest.

press, between entertainment and journalism.

But it's clear that a candidate who thinks he can inspire the country as President can't do it without inspiring confidence in himself first. It's clear that a candidate whose campaign preaches personal responsibility has to practice it as well. Clinton's problem goes beyond the muck. Having based his campaign on the notion of his electability, he now has to cut through the haze and give voters a reason to elect him.

Before his campaign is over, Clinton may yet find himself in the hot seat again — as he did after a recent outburst against the Rev. Jesse Jackson over a misunderstood interview question. Even Clinton's supporters expect additional allegations about his private life. But some critical questions about his fate may be answered Tuesday. If he wins big in the South and can pull off a victory the week after in Illinois, where he has a formidable organization, his campaign could be back on track.

But after a lifetime of preparation for this race, Clinton says he's sure of only one thing: "Of all the people running, I'd be the best President. That's the only case I wanted to make to the voters." ■

Having trouble making sense of the media's presidential campaign punditry? Try consulting the people who have their own money on the line.

Bush by several lengths

By Charles E. Babin

WORRIED ABOUT the potential impact of this fall's presidential election on your investments? Almost daily, constituents are bombarded with yet another campaign survey; for every poll there are often multiple interpretations. And even when the electorate speaks at the ballot box (the only poll that counts), there's always a lingering question.

Consider the New Hampshire primary. On the Republican side, it was George Bush over Pat Buchanan by a margin of 16 percentage points—yet in much of the media this was considered a major defeat for Bush. Is Paul Tsongas just a “regional candidate,” even though he beat his nearest rival, Bill Clinton, handily?

In the media, confusion reigns as the various pundits interpret the results according to their preferences.

Fortunately, there's an alternative way to assess the election prospects of the various candidates. In Great Britain, where gambling is legal, Ladbrokes, England's largest gambling operation, makes book on a wide array of upcoming events, including U.S. presidential elections.

Are gamblers smarter than media sages when it comes to figuring elections? Say this for the gamblers: They have real money—their own—on the line. They are not just trying to look smart. They are trying to be right.

As I see it, the betting market is efficient. Arbitrage ensures that the odds reflect all known information. (Ladbrokes will not accept transatlantic telephone bets. But Americans on the scene or with friends in the U.K. can bet at any of Ladbrokes' 2,000 gaming shops, just like any Brit. And

Ladbrokes will quote odds over the phone: 011-44-81-868-8899.)

Karen Starkey of Ladbrokes' public relations department says her firm has been quoting odds on the U.S. presidential elections since 1964, and has never been wrong in identifying which party would prove victorious, from the very first odds quoted on a particular campaign.

How are Her Majesty's bookies sizing up Campaign '92? The table below lists Ladbrokes' odds as of Feb.

The presidential betting odds

Wager: Which political party will win the U.S. presidency?

	Odds*
Republicans	4-to-9
Democrats	13-to-8

Who will be the next U.S. President?

Bush	4-to-9
Buchanan	33-to-1
Clinton	5-to-2
Tsongas	6-to-1
Kerrey	50-to-1
Harkin	50-to-1
Brown	100-to-1

*As of Feb. 25, 1992.

According to the betting odds in London, President Bush is the odds-on favorite to win the November presidential election. For every dollar bet on Mr. Bush, punters stand to win only about 44 cents.

25, after the New Hampshire primary and Maine caucus. As with financial markets, the safer the bet, the lower the potential return. As of now, Ladbrokes is saying that George Bush looks almost like a shoo-in. And the odds favoring his re-election were improving during the latter part of February.

In looking at the table, remember that successful bettors get back their original wager plus the payoff, called the “winnings.” So at 4-to-9 odds, a \$9 gamble that the Republican party will capture the White House in November stands to gross \$13—that's \$4 in winnings plus the \$9 wager—for a 44.4-cents return on every dollar bet. An \$8 bet on the Democrats (at 13-to-8 odds) would return the \$8 plus a \$13 payoff, or a 162% return on your money if the Democrats won—over 3½ times the return from betting on the Republicans.

While the Democrats may be fond of telling the media that George Bush is mishandling the economy, the punters are saying that the Republicans are nearly four times as likely to win as the Democrats.

The odds on individual contestants are also revealing. Want a long shot? There's Pat Buchanan. Since the New Hampshire primary, he has been asserting that his 37% vote count evidenced the viability of his candidacy as he flashed the *Manchester Union's* “Read Our Lips” headline. But London's punters aren't all that impressed. Ladbrokes is currently willing to pay \$33 for every \$1 placed on Buchanan's nose.

Among Democratic contenders, Paul Tsongas isn't the front-runner among the betting crowd. A \$1 bet on Tsongas to win the Presidency would win \$6. That's a lot less risky than a bet on Bob Kerrey or Tom Harkin (both at 50-to-1) or on long-shot Jerry Brown (at 100-to-1). But a Clinton wager would return \$2.50 for every \$1 risked—a solid indication that the Arkansas governor has so far survived the Flowers/Vietnam-draft attacks and is far ahead of Tsongas.

To each his own. You may have your favorite poll or your favorite pundit. Me, I'll take Ladbrokes. The outcome of a presidential election is too important to my investments to leave to amateurs.

Stepping It Up

Clinton and Tsongas resort to jabs and quick-change artistry



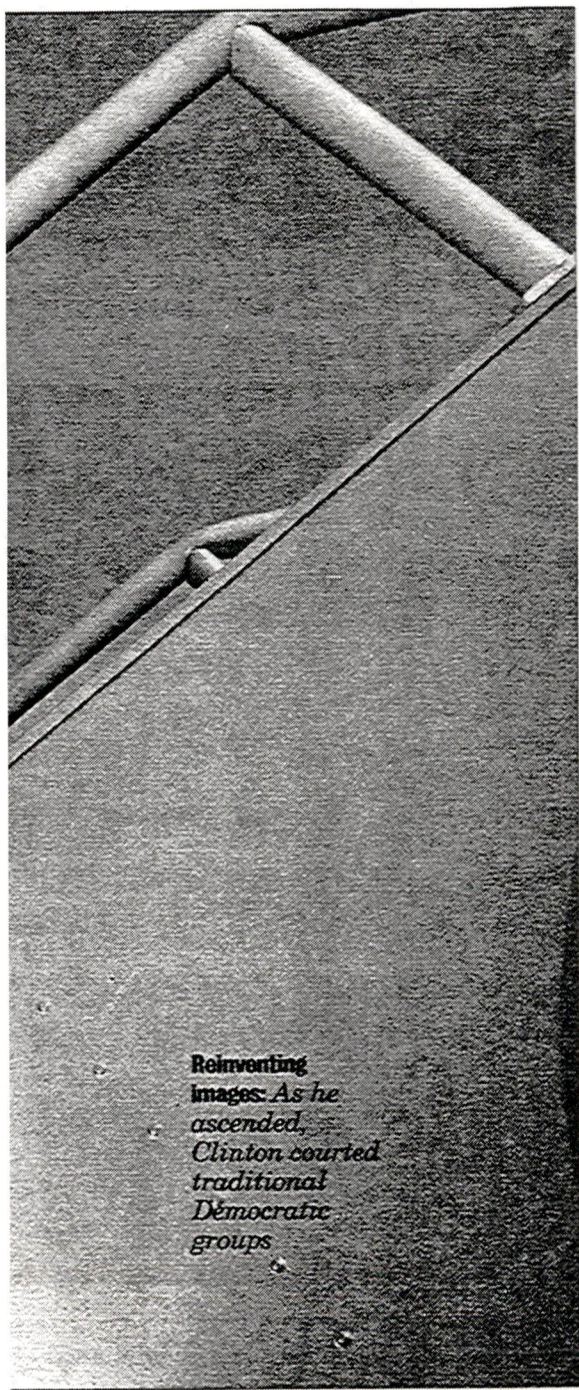
Unlike the rest of the American economy, the political industry worked overtime last week, manufacturing state-of-the-art metaphors for the differences between Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas. "Yin and Yang," "Elmer Gantry and Elmer Fudd," "Labor and Capital." Not surprisingly, the political shorthand represents a gross distortion of who these men really are. While they pander and gouge from Florida to Illinois, remember this: as different as they look and sound, Clinton and

Tsongas actually closely resemble each other—not just on the issues, but in their willingness in the heat of battle to jettison some of the principles that got them here.

The departure of Bob Kerrey from the race last week left more room for sharp elbows and quick-change artistry. Clinton—the New Wave proponent of fresh ideas and national harmony—was suddenly acting like an old-fashioned candidate, not just slavishly courting traditional Democratic constituencies like elderly and Jewish voters but actually bashing Tsongas for not currying enough favor with

them. Tsongas—the truth-telling "non-politician"—was suddenly acting very much like one, turning nasty and personal toward Clinton with a series of misleading ads. The blows of both men fell true: Clinton is indeed acting like a "pander bear," as Tsongas charged (he even held up a little bear). And Tsongas was playing the victim to the point of disingenuousness, as the Clintonites suggest.

The class divisions could hardly be more stark. In real life, he's an Oxford-trained policy wonk, but to voters, Clinton evokes pool halls, Chevys and "The Dukes of Haz-



**Reinventing
Images:** As he
ascended,
Clinton courted
traditional
Democratic
groups

IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

makers and key fund raisers who believe the party has to move beyond liberal orthodoxy.

While "reinventing government" is still a part of Clinton's approach, he's now running more as Hubert Humphrey than Sam Nunn. As he ascended, Clinton moved left, first cutting into Tom Harkin by successfully wooing a few old adversaries in the labor movement. Then he highlighted what had originally been a small part of his detailed economic plan—a "middle-class tax cut"—in order to secure a base with lower-income voters to whom \$350 a year is not chicken feed. More important, with Jackson on the sidelines and the others failing to catch on in the black community, Clinton built on his natural rapport there. "It's amazing," says Paul Goldman, who ran Douglas Wilder's abortive presidential campaign. "Here's the guy who was the DLC candidate, [who] complained about the influence of interest groups!"

Hypocrisy factor: Clinton's pandering risks trapping him with a "read my lips" pledge like George Bush's in 1988. For instance, he's making considerable hay out of Tsongas's proposal for a five-cent-a-year rise in the gasoline tax, yet that is precisely the kind of energy-conservation measure any future president will probably need. Then there's the hypocrisy factor: as governor, Clinton raised Arkansas's gas tax a nickel to pay for infrastructure improvements. On social security, Tsongas has also taken the more responsible, if politically risky, position: as a senator in 1983 he favored a much-needed temporary freeze in cost-of-liv-

ing adjustments. And this year he has said he would have to "consider" taxing the benefits of the rich elderly. Instead of respecting Tsongas's courage, the Clinton campaign beat him over the head with it, airing an ad in Florida that says Tsongas wants to "cut cost-of-living adjustments for older Americans." And the Clinton campaign in heavily Jewish Florida is suggesting that Tsongas is not as strong on Israel. Among the jabs: while he favored a security zone in southern Lebanon in 1982, Tsongas hoped Israeli troops would stop short of occupying Beirut.

zard"; Tsongas became the chic candidate of Lamaze classes, Volvos and National Public Radio. Whoa. Wasn't Clinton supposed to be this year's new-style Democrat? When the campaign began, Clinton had positioned himself as the leader of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), derided by Jesse Jackson and others as "the Democratic Leisure Class." Clinton's DLC message was to "challenge people to change"—by which he meant telling constituencies that they couldn't all buy a piece of him. This theme was essential in winning over opinion-

plied that Jackson backed Tsongas, which he does not. Finally, at the end of last week, Tsongas called Clinton "cynical and unprincipled" for two mild references by Clinton. In one, Tsongas seized on a misquoted comment by Clinton about a Tsongas proposal being "not American." This was meant to suggest that Clinton, like George Bush battling Michael Dukakis, was casting aspersions on Tsongas's ethnicity. That was clearly not Clinton's intention. It looked merely desperate on Tsongas's part. Tsongas isn't in Clinton's league as a panderer, but it's partly because he can't

"The attack on Israel was the last straw," says Dennis Kanin, Tsongas's campaign manager. But, in fact, it wasn't. Tsongas's harsh attacks on Clinton had begun weeks before, when he began steadily squandering his reputation as a candidate who is above mudslinging. Since New Hampshire, Tsongas himself—not his aides—has often taken the lead in going negative. In Colorado, when Clinton noted that "no one can argue with you, Paul; you're always perfect," Tsongas responded with a shot to the solar plexus that the GOP will love in the fall should Clinton be nominated: "I may not be perfect. But I'm honest." Even before that, Tsongas began airing misleading ads. In one, he suggests that Clinton's middle-class tax cut would rob from future generations, when he knew full well that Clinton proposes paying for it with a tax increase on the rich.

Then, in a Georgia radio ad, Tsongas tried to exploit Clinton's outburst after a misunderstanding with Jackson. The ad made something of nothing, and also im-



Clinton and Tsongas actually resemble each other—not just on the issues but in their willingness to jettison some of the principles that got them here

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manage it politically. While he did promise Texans some natural-gas goodies last week, he knows that too much pandering puts him at risk of acting like the Santa Claus he says he isn't. His problem now is that there may not be enough so-called "thoughtful Democrats" to nominate him. Having won over much of Clinton's original support among these people, Tsongas now has less room to maneuver. Jerry Brown, who won a surprise upset in last week's Colorado primary, is poised to cut into Tsongas's constituency of progressives, though he is working with Jesse Jackson to siphon off black votes from Clinton.

Bloody shirt Beyond all the petty squabbling, Clinton and Tsongas have similar programs. They share a basic theory of economic growth: that the United States needs a strategy based on investment tax credits and capital-gains cuts for productive businesses. They both just happen to have fastened onto one small tax cut to sharpen their differences—with Clinton emphasizing fairness and Tsongas discipline and truth-telling. The fairness approach was bolstered last week by a New York Times story explaining that during the 1980s, 1 percent of the population got 60 percent of the money. Clinton wielded the article like a bloody shirt at rallies, and polls suggested that many voters were turning to Clinton because they believed he was stronger on the "middle-class fairness" issue. "This is the Democratic Party in its usual floppy way doing market-testing," says Democratic consultant Robert Squier.

The market tests also show something less encouraging for Democrats. Passions about this election are running high; Democrats are desperate to retire George Bush to Kennebunkport. But turnout, so far, has been low. "Nobody's really totally enthusiastic about either of these guys," says Charles Whitehead, a former state party chairman in Florida who supports Clinton.

The electorate views both front runners as inescapably flawed. Tsongas's handicap is physical—the product not just of his having had cancer but of a sense that he simply doesn't look and sound like a dynamic standard-bearer. Clinton is personally and politically robust but seen to be bleeding internally from his dual character wounds. The logic is: I certainly don't think they're relevant, but all of these other people might in November. In years past, "Big Foot" was campaign-speak for a media heavyweight poaching on more junior reporters' turf. This year's variation is "Big Shoe," as in: will another one drop on Clinton? Whatever their flaws and spats, somewhere between the Clinton fish fry and the Tsongas brunch lies the bulk of the Democratic Party, and eventually they'll need each other to hold it together.

JONATHAN ALTER with HOWARD FINEMAN
and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

Th 'Uncandidate' How Pure Is Paul?

Tsongas paints himself as Mr. Conviction. But he made his reputation as a shrewd career politician.

Paul Tsongas was in an acerbic mood as his campaign's new 727 charter jet streaked from San Antonio to Dallas last week. The subject was Bill Clinton, his rival for the Democratic nomination and advocate of a tax cut for middle-income Americans that he opposes. "I know why Bill is for it," he told NEWSWEEK. "I was in the same meetings he was, the ones in which the pollsters and the advisers told you it would sell... I am operating from conviction. I won't say Clinton has no political convictions. Clinton is about average for the people I've seen in politics."

Call it tsanctimony. Tsongas has become the political surprise of 1992 by packaging himself as the "uncandidate," an unpolished purveyor of hard economic truths. But "Saint Paul," as some colleagues derisively call him, is steeped in the conventional politics he claims to disdain. This antipolitician is in fact a career politician: a tough-as-nails practitioner with an instinct for opportunity that helped him win four elective offices during his first nine years in public life. Tsongas's campaign mantra is that he's no Santa Claus. But he was Saint Nick during his years in the House and U.S. Senate, hauling sleighs full of federal largesse back to his native Lowell, Mass. Like most elected officials, he has profited handsomely from his political connections—with honoraria while in office and a lucrative partnership in a top Boston law firm when he returned home. But Tsongas makes no apologies for growing rich: his battle with cancer in the mid-1980s left him justifiably worried about his family's financial security.

Tsongas rankles at comparisons to Mi-



chael Dukakis, the other liberal Greek-American from Massachusetts. He needn't worry: he bears a more striking resemblance to Jimmy Carter, an equally hard-bitten blend of moral high-mindedness ("I'll never lie to you") and relentless, plodding ambition. It's no coincidence that several ex-Carter operatives, including former White House political director Tim Kraft, have signed on with Tsongas. And while he says his candidacy is a quest inspired by his recovery, he contemplated running for president as early as 1981.

Tsongas has never hesitated to make common cause with anyone who could help him win. He learned his politics in Lowell, a gritty mill town on the Merrimack River

north of Boston where Greek, Irish and French-Canadian pols scrapped for the patronage spoils at city hall. When his first city council race was floundering in 1969, the 28-year-old former Peace Corps volunteer sought out Jean Paul (Tiger) Frette, an ex-boxer popular in the city's Franco-American wards. At their first meeting, Tsongas slipped through the back door of a social club, so that word would not get out if they failed to hit it off. But the encounter was a success and helped boost him to victory. Once in office, Tsongas was a tenacious infighter. As a freshman city

councilor he assembled the votes to hire a new city manager he had handpicked. But his righteous "reform" fervor earned him enemies. By the middle of his second term, a third appeared unlikely. "He's always had an attitude that he was right, and that you'd better support him or there was something wrong with you," says Kendall Wallace, general manager of the Lowell Sun.

But Tsongas always managed to find a new perch before wearing out his welcome. In 1972, voter anger over courthouse corruption vaulted him to a seat on the Middlesex County Commission. Two years later Watergate and a shaky first-term Republican incumbent helped him win the Fifth District congressional seat. In 1978, few Democrats wanted to challenge Republican Edward Brooke, the Senate's only black member. Tsongas won the Democratic primary after a better-known opponent was injured in a car accident and lost campaign time. Brooke, plagued by financial problems and a messy divorce, was an easy mark.

While in the U.S. Senate, Tsongas teamed with another unlikely ally. City manager Joseph Tully was strictly old school: former state Senate colleagues dubbed him the "Joe Tully Employment Agency," a tribute to the patronage jobs he controlled. But beginning in 1979 he and Tsongas ushered in Lowell's urban renaissance. Tsongas was part of what locals referred to as "the delivery sys-

tem," the cadre of congressional and state representatives skilled at funneling grants into the city. Tully provided the muscle at city hall. They persuaded computer pioneer An Wang to locate a training center in the city's desolate downtown. Urban Development Action Grants helped leverage private financing for a new Hilton hotel. Tsongas sang Tully's praises as a can-do administrator. "They danced together perfectly," says former state representative Phil Shea. But in 1986, when Tsongas heard rumors of corruption, he asked the U.S. attorney to investigate. The trail led to Tully, who served 14 months in prison for extorting money from a local businessman.

In his 10 years on the Hill (1974-84), Tsongas was less than the friend to the American boardroom he now claims to be. He led the effort to force union wage concessions in the Chrysler bailout but got generally low ratings from business organizations. He voted against a capital-gains tax cut in 1978, a measure now at the center of his economic program. Tsongas believes it did more to help Lowell's economic revival than any other single measure. "That was really a stupid one on my part," he says.

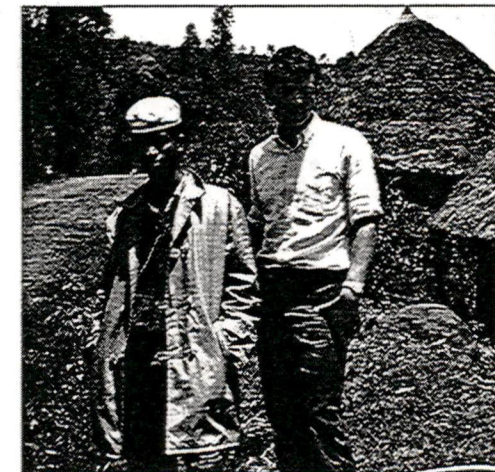
Face time: He was also a loner and a puzzle to some colleagues. Tsongas was among those who urged Teddy Kennedy to challenge Carter in 1980. Then, without warning, he delivered a famous speech to Americans for Democratic Action questioning the future of liberalism—a move Kennedy loyalists still view as a calculated betrayal. While Tsongas now bills himself the substance candidate, he operated on the principle that television face time counted more than content. "If [voters] are comfortable with you as a person—and TV for me was a very good medium—then they'll forgive you some of your positions," he told Hedrick Smith in the 1988 book "The Power Game." "Reagan is a classic example."

After cancer forced his retirement from the Senate in 1984 (page 26), Tsongas signed on with Foley, Hoag & Eliot, a Boston law firm. He became a "rainmaker," using his political ties to attract millions of dollars in business to the firm. His clients included the municipal-bond division of Drexel Burnham Lambert, masters of the junk-bond financing he now decries on the campaign trail. His strong environmental record (he led the congressional fight to protect Alaskan wilderness from development) made him an attractive hire for companies trying to shepherd unpopular projects through the system. Tsongas helped a Connecticut company win approval for a 370-mile pipeline to bring Canadian natural gas to the Northeast, pacifying environmental groups concerned about the project's impact. Tsongas was well paid for his efforts. His 1990 partnership draw was \$200,000 (\$150,000 this year); corporate directorships added \$125,000. His home is a



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

An instinct for opportunity:
Campaigning in Texas,
running for the Senate in
1978 (bottom left), with the
Peace Corps, 1964 (below)



spacious Victorian once owned by textile magnate Ames Stevens. Until he quit last December, he belonged to a Lowell country club that didn't admit women as full voting members until the fall of 1990.

Tsongas continued his attempts to rebuild Lowell—this time collecting fees by brokering deals through his law firm. In 1987 he persuaded Boston developer Edward Barry to convert the abandoned Boott Mills complex to offices and stores. Tsongas also continued his predilection for remaining tight with the boys. He joined Lawrence Ansin, a wealthy Lowell textile executive, and Steve Joncas, a former congressional aide, in developing an Ayer, Mass., industrial park. Tsongas put up little capital in the deal, prompting some in Lowell to con-

clude that Ansin was trading on Tsongas's name. "The guy has used Paul," says one former city official who knows both men. Ansin would not return phone calls. A weak economy has since eroded much of what Tsongas tried to achieve in Lowell. Boott Mills was sold in a bank auction last fall. The Wang Training Center is gone. The UDAG hotel, sold in foreclosure two years ago, is open but just hanging on. The Ayer industrial park has yet to turn a profit.

Tsongas is no entrepreneur, but his political luck carries an aura of legend around Lowell. Local politicians were not surprised when Clinton's problems with charges of draft evasion and infidelity allowed Tsongas to muscle into first place in New Hampshire. Nor are they surprised

that he has tried to soften Clinton up with negative ads in the South. "He is a mean enemy," says former city manager William Taupier. "He'll come after you and try to hurt you." Dewy-eyed idealists need not apply to Tsongas's high command. Campaign manager Dennis Kanin was at Tsongas's side during his 10-year House and Senate career. Ed Jessor, a Boston consultant and the campaign's attack-dog spinmeister, is the Bay State incarnation of James Carville. Ohio strategist Gerald Austin managed Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign. High-road appeals put Tsongas into play for the nomination. He'll need his hardball instincts to stay there.

BILL TURQUE in Lowell with HOWARD FINEMAN with Tsongas and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

Tsongas and the Cancer Question

Paul Tsongas discovered the lump in his groin on Sept. 29, 1983. It was a discovery that changed his life, and one that makes him unique today—for Tsongas, as far as anyone knows, is the first cancer survivor to run for president. The lump was eventually diagnosed as a non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, a relatively rare cancer of the immune system. The diagnosis led Tsongas, then a U.S. senator from Massachusetts, to an intimate acquaintance with pain and suffering and to a dramatic encounter with the power and skill of modern medicine. His robust health more than eight years later is a point-blank refutation of the prejudice against cancer survivors in all walks of life. But his medical history is still a factor in judging his fitness for office.

Non-Hodgkin's lymphoma was only dimly understood when Tsongas was first diagnosed in 1983. The disease is one of about 20 known forms of lymphoma, cancers that affect the tissue and organs that produce and store the cells of the body's immune system. The disease was known to be slow-acting, but there was no real certainty about its cause and there is no certainty today. What has changed is the medical consensus about its treatment, and Tsongas's



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

A demon swimmer: Proving his stamina every day

case is part of what appears to have been a significant victory in the war against this particular form of cancer.

Tsongas's condition grew slowly worse after the lump was found to be malignant. Then 42 and a first-term senator, he made the decision to retire from politics and find work as a lawyer in Boston. His doctors tried chemotherapy, but the treatments were only partly successful. By late 1985 Tsongas was losing weight, was extremely weak and was ready to try anything—even a macrobiotic diet. He went back to Boston's Dana-Farber Cancer Institute, where doctors told him about an experimental technique called an auto-

logous bone-marrow transplant. Bone marrow, which produces red blood cells, white blood cells and blood platelets, is crucial to a patient's survival. In autologous transplants, some of the patient's bone-marrow cells are removed so the patient can receive massive doses of chemotherapy and radiation; otherwise, the body's ability to produce new blood cells would be destroyed. (The marrow cells are reimplanted after treatment.) The procedure is excruciatingly painful. It also leaves the patient defenseless against disease until the immune system recovers, which usually takes about six weeks. There were times, Tsongas says, "when I believed I

was dying" during treatment.

He thus became a pioneer guinea pig in the development of what is now regarded as a standard treatment for non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. Tsongas is one of 114 transplant patients followed by Dana-Farber researchers. Of those, 57 were found to have some trace of cancer after treatment while 57 did not; Tsongas is among the second group. Today, the only symptoms of his ordeal are partial deafness in his left ear—the result of an infection during his recovery—and a persistent cough.

Excellent prognosis: A demon swimmer who neither drinks nor smokes, Tsongas has set records for men in his age group. (He is 51.) He also proves his stamina every day on the campaign trail. His doctor says the lymphoma is "100 percent" in remission and that Tsongas's prognosis is excellent. But cancer specialists never use the word "cured," and that means this candidate has more reason than most to study the 25th Amendment and the rules of presidential succession. Tsongas told The New York Times last week that he is ready to pick a running mate who could function as "co-president" if he were disabled in office. But he is sure, he says, that non-Hodgkin's lymphoma would not be the reason he would step aside.

MARY HAGER in Washington

'Is This a Bunch of Lollipops?'

Jerry Brown on his message and his mission

Dismissed at first as a fringe candidate, Jerry Brown is now gaining traction with disaffected voters and liberals. He promises to name Jesse Jackson as his running mate and last week campaigned in Miami's "little Haiti" with Jackson. Brown's populist persona is the latest lurch for the former governor of California. Last week he talked about his political evolution with NEWSWEEK's Eleanor Clift. Excerpts:

CLIFT: You've had a lot of different personas: governor, follower of Mother Teresa, a populist now. The feeling is that you're on a personal odyssey. What are you looking for?

BROWN: One doesn't have to be banal to be consistent, or to be understandable. It just so happens that the range of my interests is rather broad, as evidenced by the fact that I went into the Jesuit seminary for three and a half years and spent that period in virtual silence and meditation and manual work and the study of Latin and spiritual treatises—and then went to Berkeley at the very beginning of the awakening in the early '60s. I've always been interested in religion and politics. What I'm doing now is trying to find a way to unify them, try to raise my politics to a higher level of principle, which is never easy in the best of times.

The Washingtonian magazine says that growing up, you were tired of your father's [Pat Brown was governor of California in 1959-1966] constant politicking—that you thought it was phony.

Well, you get different interpretations of your life at different times. I would say I'm more shy—I'm more like my mother than my father—although I have enough of my father in me that I followed in his footsteps rather precisely. So he has more of an outgoing, different kind of temperament. Whenever he went anywhere, he would start shaking hands with everybody. And as a child, I found that—it was just clearly embarrassing, that's all. For him, he was in his element. He was like a fish swimming in the ocean.

Of course you're out there now extending your hand to America and advertising your 800 number.

It's not easy. I've had to work at that. It doesn't always come as naturally as I think it does to some of my competitors.

Your father is this consummate pol—and you're really an anti-pol.

Yes, I am, and I'm not. Garry Wills wrote an article [saying] that all these unusual

features of my biography were really just a cover for what was really pretty much a traditional politician. I think there's some truth to that.

Can you elaborate on that?

I got elected governor. I raised money. I made TV spots. I have press releases and



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

A populist persona: At a soup kitchen

sound bites. So I did that. Part of me—I believe my essence—is striving toward a higher form of public discourse and political action.

At the beginning, you emphasized the outsider move; now you're stressing your experience.

Well, because I was trying to take this message that the system was broken and offer a solution, an alternative. So it's hard to say, "Look, I have all this experience and then, by the way, the system isn't working and I'm going to come in here with all these new people and change it." A lot of people don't know who I am, so I have to first of all give some account of who I am and where

I've been. Then I have to make my critique.

You said there's room for more division [in the Democratic primaries].

I believe that in this party we have to divide before we can determine where is our soul here. I mean, what is this party? Is this a bunch of lollipops for business, lollipops for something called the middle class—or is it about social justice?

But does that fit your definition of a higher political discourse?

I don't believe in this whole discourse about how wonderful we are and George Bush is the only problem. I am saying something different. I'm saying the system is stuck, and I'm saying exactly what Ralph Nader is saying. You have to empower people. He calls it his toolbox of democracy. I have my 800 number, my \$100 limit. These are all methods in the service of a larger goal, which is to restore great-er vitality to our political life.

You have a lot of appealing ideas, but the media shorthand is Right Message, Wrong Messenger.

But I think I'm getting to be a much better messenger. It just takes a little of my humor to come out. And the reason why it's taken a lot is it's hard for me as an insider, as part of this culture, to then stand back and say, "OK, guys, you're wrong, it's empty and meaningless." It is unpleasant. I'm not that kind of a person to stand there and chide Harkin and Kerrey for their pay raises and Tsongas for his nuclear lobbying, whatever it is. It takes a certain mentality that I have to work at.

If you're not president, what's next for you?

My statement is, we do not stop. Because I believe this requires a cause, it requires a movement. And what we have today with this 800 number is quite extraordinary. We got on the ballot in New York. In 1980, when I was governor and I had two union presidents supporting me, we couldn't get on the ballot. But we had the people—they're all 800 people.

When you say you don't stop, does that mean third party?

We build whatever movement is required to make real change. I don't consider the Gong Show capable of making real change. People that lack the capacity to grow are not only boring, but they're underdeveloped. They are probably not realizing their potential as a human being.



ROBERT MAASS—SIPA

Gunning for the president: The challenger campaigning in San Antonio last week

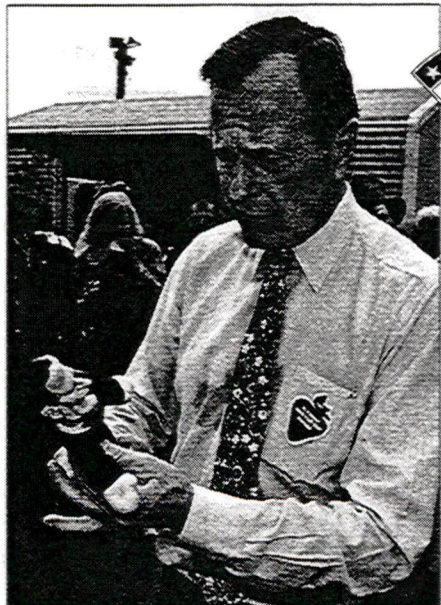
Is Buchanan Running the Country?

Setting Bush's agenda

It isn't true, as the critics claim, that George Bush stands for nothing: he seems to stand for whatever Patrick Buchanan wants him to. Consider: the talk-show-host-turned-candidate criticizes the president for funding "dirty" art. The White House fires John Frohnmayer, the head of the National Endowment for the Arts. Buchanan attacks an IRS proposal that would require churches to report the names of major contributors. Quickly, the administration lets it be known that the proposal is being "re-evaluated." Buchanan takes Bush to task for breaking his "read my lips" pledge, and Bush responds by telling *The Atlanta Journal* that raising taxes was a "mistake" after all.

Around the country last week, editorial pages began asking the *real* Bush to stand up. The *New York Times* labeled him "President Noodle" for his "appalling lack of conviction." In the White House press corps, reporters began to joke mordantly that it was a good thing Buchanan didn't call for nuclear war, or the president might have reached for that hot button, too.

Hard as Bush tried to court conservatives, however, his own staffers worried that his message was not stirring voters. As



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

How does it play? With a Bush doll

the president flew around the South on the eve of Super Tuesday, his aides fell to backbiting and media-bashing. Campaign chief Robert Mosbacher publicly chastised aides for insisting that Bush remain on the road when he has "a million things to do" back in Washington. The president's usually affable spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, erupted when a reporter wrote that Bush's crowds were "nondescript." The press secretary pulled the plug on a PA system to the traveling press corps's temporary newsroom and railed, "I'm sick of you lazy bastards." Bush griped to aides that he wasn't sure what he was accomplishing, racing from event to event, but he doggedly stuck to his script. "Life means nothing without

fidelity to principles," he told home builders in South Carolina. Then, without missing a beat, he reminded his audience that he had proposed tax breaks for first-time home buyers, the better to stimulate the beleaguered real-estate industry.

The right: Back in Washington, the president's men worked to buy off the right. Attorney General William Barr killed the expected nomination of a highly respected New York lawyer, James Benckard, to head the Justice Department's environmental division. Why? A conservative foundation disliked the fact that Benckard had been a trustee for an environmental group. At the Environmental Protection Agency, regulators prepared to drop a pollution-control proposal opposed by the auto industry—just in time for the March 17 Michigan primary. At the Office of Management and Budget, director Richard Darman, a target of conservatives for his willingness to raise taxes, had to fear for his job. Darman is a wily survivor, but some White House aides predicted he would be gone by summer.

Has Bush been born again as a conservative? Not to worry, say his aides. Once Buchanan is defeated, Bush will be a moderate again.

Many in the White House expect the Democratic primaries to push Bill Clinton, whom they rate as the likeliest nominee, to the left in order to win over the party's traditional constituencies. "The moderates will be left in suspended animation for us to pick up," says a senior Bush adviser. But the cynical maneuvering could cost Bush with voters; it only reinforces the view that he has no real beliefs.

In the meantime, Pat Buchanan is playing Bush like a puppet. "We're driving the national debate," he crowed last week. "There's no question about it." Tossing Frohnmayer over the side of the NEA didn't pacify Pat. "When I'm president, I'm going to shut the place down, padlock it and fumigate it," he said. Buchanan knows he has no chance to win the nomination, but he shows no signs of giving up.

The White House is left begging for peace and quietly asking what the challenger *really* wants. ("A talk show of his own," grumbled a senior staffer.) Bush says he will bury the hatchet with Buchanan after the primary season. So why does Buchanan persist in being so personal now, calling Bush "King George" and insisting that he step down? In part, Buchanan just loves a fight. But he also sees himself, like Barry Goldwater in 1964, as a martyr to a Cause That Will Not Die. When that cause is reborn—in, say, 1996—Buchanan plans on being its champion.

ANN MCDANIEL with
GINNY CARROLL on the campaign trail

A Voters' Guide to the Issues



For all the reams of copy published about the presidential campaign, the essentials are sometimes elusive. Who are these men?

What do they think about America's real problems? How might they actually behave in office? A thumbnail guide to the candidates, their characters and convictions:



SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WHITE HOUSE

★ George Bush ★

RESUME: 67 years old. Born: Milton, Mass. Greenwich Country Day School, Andover, Yale '48. Congressman. U.N. ambassador. Republican Party chief. China envoy. CIA director. Vice President 1981-1989. 41st president of the United States. Son of Wall Street investment banker Prescott S. Bush. Married to Barbara Pierce. Four sons, one daughter. 12 grandchildren. One daughter, Robin, died of leukemia at age 4.

CHARACTER BUILDER: As navy flier in World War II, forced to bail out of his plane under fire. Decorated for valor.

MEMORABLE LINE: "Read my lips. No . . . new . . . taxes."

NICKNAME: Poppy.

ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Power of incumbency. Enjoys global respect on foreign policy; admired personally. Great wife. **But:** Weak handling of the economy; disappointing domestic record. Erratic campaigner; perception that he doesn't stand for anything.



LISA QUINONES—BLACK STAR

★ Patrick Buchanan ★

RESUME: 53 years old. Born: Washington, D.C. Georgetown Univ., 1961; master's, Columbia School of Journalism, 1962. Knee injury kept him out of Vietnam. Editorial writer, St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Adviser to Richard Nixon, 1966-74, and Ronald Reagan, 1985-87. Wealthy columnist and TV commentator. Wife Shelley was Nixon receptionist. No children.

CHARACTER BUILDER: Thrown out of college for brawling.

MEMORABLE LINE: "This landfill called multiculturalism."

NICKNAME: High-school pals called him The Blade.

ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Skilled sound-bite polemicist; taps protest vote. Cadre of aggressive young tacticians eager to avenge what they regard as Bush's betrayal of core conservative values. **But:** Charges of anti-Semitism and racism still stick. Isolationist "America First" message repels many voters, smacks of xenophobia. Risks being seen as party wrecker.



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

★ Bill Clinton ★

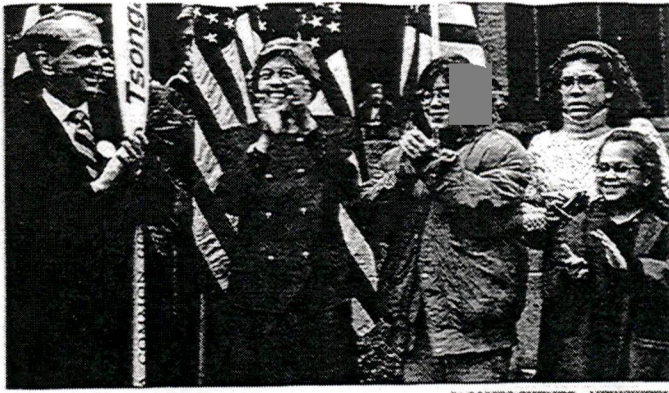
RESUME: 45 years old. Born: Hope, Ark. Georgetown '68; Rhodes scholar. Yale Law. Avoided Vietnam with unfulfilled ROTC commitment, high lottery number. McGovern worker. Arkansas attorney general at age 30. Governor, 1979-81, and '83-present. Father died before he was born. Stepfather was alcoholic. Wife Hillary is a prominent lawyer. Daughter Chelsea, 12.

CHARACTER BUILDER: Saw grandfather treat blacks well at his country store.

MEMORABLE LINE: "I'll be there for you 'til the last dog dies."

NICKNAMES: Slick Willie; Elvis

ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Gifted campaigner; Southern base; well funded. Extraordinary memory. Lack of Washington connection. **But:** "Character" questions on infidelity, draft. Ordinary debater; every-which-way message. Small-state background. Strikes many as too much the politician.



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

★ Paul Tsongas ★

RESUME: 51 years old. Born: Lowell, Mass. Dartmouth, '62. Peace Corps, Ethiopia. Yale Law School. Lowell City Council, 1969-72. U.S. House, 1975-79. U.S. Senate, 1979-84. Experimental therapy believed to have cured lymphoma, 1986. Member, eight corporate boards, six nonprofit. Lobbyist for natural-gas company. Father ran small dry-cleaning business, mother died when he was 7. Wife Niki, lawyer. Daughters Ashley, 17; Katina, 14, and Molly, 10.

CHARACTER BUILDERS: Watched his hometown sink economically. Survived cancer.

NICKNAMES: Saint Paul; Tsongie Bongie

MEMORABLE LINE: "I'm not Santa Claus."

ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Perception he's a truth-teller; strong emphasis on economics. Self-deprecating sense of humor; Greek fund-raisers; lack of slickness. **But:** Untelegenic; strange accent. Bitter economic prescription. Sometimes sanctimonious.



ROBERT MAASS—SIPA

★ Jerry Brown ★

RESUME: 53 years old. Born: San Francisco. Jesuit seminarian, dropped out to go to Berkeley. Yale Law School. Antiwar and labor activist in '60s. Governor of California, 1975-83. Lost Democratic presidential bids in 1976, '80. Lost Senate race, 1982. Chairman, California Democratic Party, 1989-91. Son of former California governor Pat Brown. Sister Kathleen is California's treasurer. Unmarried. Dated singer Linda Ronstadt in late '70s and early '80s.

CHARACTER BUILDER: Cared for the destitute with Mother Teresa in India.

NICKNAME: Governor Moonbeam

MEMORABLE LINE: "That's 1-800-426-1112."

ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Zealous reformer's spirit; captures liberals' mad-as-hell resentment at entrenched system. Won't accept contributions larger than \$100. **But:** Was actually a big money-raiser until 1991. Dogged by "has-been," "flaky" tags.



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

★ Tom Harkin ★

RESUME: 52 years old. Born: Cumming, Iowa. Iowa State Univ. '62; law degree, Catholic Univ. Noncombat navy pilot in '60s. Congressional aide, 1969-72. U.S. House, 1975-85. U.S. Senate, 1985-present. Father was a coal miner. Brother Frank's deafness sparked interest in handicapped. Wife Ruth is a Washington corporate attorney. Daughters, Amy, 15, and Jenny, 10.

CHARACTER BUILDERS: Saw WPA help his family. Publicized South Vietnamese "tiger cages" for POWs.

NICKNAME: PAC-man

MEMORABLE LINE: "Bullshit!"

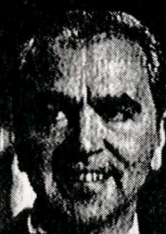
ASSETS/LIABILITIES: Farm-state roots, union backing make him truest heir to old-time Democratic Party traditions. Strong orator. **But:** Crotchety tone. Special-interest ties. Swimming against the tide of history: Democratic voters are rejecting the liberal message, the messenger—or both.

What They Think

DEMOCRATS



Bill Clinton



Paul Tsongas



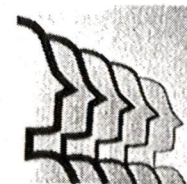
Jerry Brown

Newsweek

ECONOMIC GROWTH



SOCIAL POLICY



Distinguishes himself from Tsongas by stressing "fairness" to middle class as well as growth. Short term: Cut middle-class taxes by \$350 a year and make it up with taxes on people making \$200,000-plus. Increase tax credits for kids. Accelerate existing highway-bill spending, creating thousands of new jobs. Aid first-time home buyers. Pressure banks to lend more. Restore real-estate breaks. Long term: Develop a true economic strategy, which the U.S. lacks. Extend free trade. Greatly expand worker retraining. Enact investment-tax credit, 50 percent capital-gains tax cut for investment in new businesses, community-development banks. End deductions for investment overseas, excessive CEO pay. *Strong on specifics, weaker on who will sacrifice, how to pay for it.*

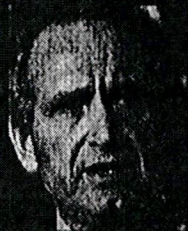
Would declare a national economic "emergency" on first day in office. Favors investment and R&D tax credits to aid manufacturing. Would cut capital-gains tax on stock held long term; ease antitrust rules further; rechannel defense dollars. Opposes Clinton's middle-class tax cut. Would raise top bracket of income tax to 33 percent and expand the availability of IRAs to promote savings. To encourage long-term thinking, companies would issue reports semiannually, not quarterly. Antiprotectionist, but calls for strong push to buy American. Wants a "flexible budget freeze" to reduce the deficit, but not specific. *A more focused, humane version of GOP economics. Offers little that's truly new, but makes some tough choices.*

Money in politics is the root of all evil—including a weak economy. Argues for term limitations and severe restrictions on fund raising to break the "stranglehold" that special interests have on Congress and the tax code. Would dump the existing income-tax structure and replace it with an across-the-board, flat-rate 13 percent tax on individuals, regardless of their means. No deductions except for mortgages, rent and charitable giving. Envisions a flat 13 percent value-added federal tax on all business transactions (including retail), allowing deductions only for depreciation, bad debt and capital investment. Calls protectionist CEOs crybabies. Emphasis on building seaports to enhance trade. *Yes, the system's corrupt, but his tax plan is regressive.*

Pro-choice, but supports some form of adult notification for girls under age 14. Under "personal responsibility" plan, would give welfare recipients two years of training, then force them to work. Would use tax credit to aid working poor. Death-penalty supporter. Stresses drug treatment, noting that his brother is a recovering addict. Backs "boot camps" for juvenile offenders. Has fought for civil rights since student days. Strong minority-hiring record in Arkansas. *Departs in places from traditional liberalism.*

So pro-choice he wears a button. Says it should be a litmus test for Supreme Court nominees. Backs federally funded family-planning clinics and abortions for low-income women. Early sponsor of gay-rights bill, and willing to raise it publicly. No stated welfare policy. Counts on economic growth to ease poverty. Like other Democrats, backs a waiting period for gun purchases. Supports the death penalty for cop killers and major drug dealers. *Rarely mentions the poor.*

Work with Mother Teresa attests to his devotion to social causes. Offers no welfare-reform solutions, but would give tax credits to businesses hiring workers from poor neighborhoods. Pro-choice, and supports writing abortion rights into law. Like other Democratic candidates, backs more AIDS research. Favors mandatory sentences for crimes committed with a gun and for repeat offenders. Opposes the death penalty as barbaric. *Has offered few specifics.*



Tom Harkin

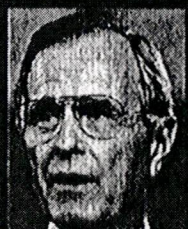
Traditional Democrat who favors direct government intervention in the economy. Wants to "throw 'trickledown' economics on the trash heap of history." The only Democrat to oppose any form of capital-gains reduction. Opposes middle-class tax cuts as symbolic. With defense savings, would spend \$60 billion annually on infrastructure—highways, bridges, sewers—and a huge job-training program. Offers tax credits for R&D in selected industries. The most protectionist candidate—the only one who opposes U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement. Goes beyond other Democrats in backing farm supports. Says that anything businesses pay CEOs above \$500,000 should get taxed as if it were profit.

If "trickledown" has failed, so has old-fashioned Big Government.

Emphasizes job creation over expanding welfare coverage. Backs the full civil-liberties agenda: pro-choice, expanded child care, parental leave, pay equity. Prime sponsor of the newly enacted Americans with Disabilities Act, which extends access and civil-rights protection for the handicapped. Opposes the death penalty. Thinks crime-prevention efforts should focus on root problems in poverty, but little emphasis on the urban agenda.

Standard liberal fare.

★ REPUBLICANS ★



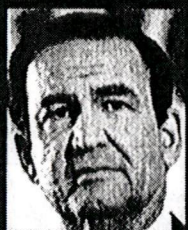
George Bush

Favors a less-is-more approach to the economy, believes it will grow out of the recession without government intervention. Recently concluded this economic vision wouldn't sell politically, so he cobbled together a grab-bag "plan" for economic growth. It includes: reducing the capital-gains tax to 15.4 percent; imposing a 90-day moratorium on new federal regulation; adjusting federal income-tax withholding to add an average of \$3 to \$7 to weekly paychecks; increasing the exemption for each child by \$500; adding a \$5,000 tax credit and penalty-free IRA withdrawals for first-time home buyers; permanent R&D tax credits and restored deductions for real-estate development.

Slow to recognize the gravity of the economic downturn.

Staunchly pro-life since 1980. Favors abstinence over sex education, but will tolerate the latter. Strict law-and-order approach to crime, except when it interferes with gun owners' right to bear arms, including assault rifles. Favors the death penalty. Supports welfare reform that would require able-bodied people to work—but proposed little until the campaign. Would make it easier for states to escape federal welfare requirements in order to try new ideas.

Has paid little attention to urban America.



Patrick Buchanan

His "America First" plan includes tax cuts, slashed government, trade war. Doesn't specify income-tax reduction, but would completely abolish capital-gains tax for middle class and halve the rate for people making more than \$50,000. Backs investment-tax credits. Would freeze federal spending, hiring and salaries. Would impose a two-year moratorium on all new federal regulations and roll back regulations imposed by Bush. Says that when Kuwait bought European Airbus planes, he would have told emir: "Listen, little fella, pick an [American] airline out or call the Germans next time you're in trouble." Would play "hardball" with Japanese and other countries. Vague on consequences.

Bully-boy talk sounds hollow without more specifics.

Anti-abortion under any circumstance. Pro-death penalty, with much speedier executions. Opposes any form of gun control, even waiting period for assault weapons. Says the problem is "criminal class" in American cities. On immigration, calls for digging trench along U.S.-Mexico border. Would eliminate affirmative action "root and branch," end subsidy of "blasphemous" art. Gays are "sodomites" with "lascivious appetites" for whom AIDS is retribution.

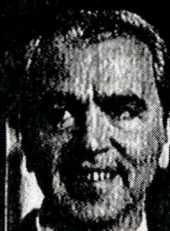
Right up there with David Duke on the hate chart.

What They Think

DEMOCRATS



Bill Clinton

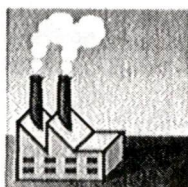


Paul Tsongas



Jerry Brown

ENERGY/ENVIRONMENT

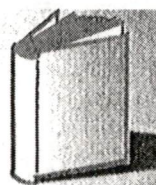


Sometimes traded off environment for growth in Arkansas. Opposes nuclear power. Supports 45-mpg cars, but opposes gas tax. Would help save rain forest by allowing locals to share in pharmaceutical-company profits if they don't cut down trees.
Nothing to brag about.

Backs a yearly three- to five-cent gas tax increase to achieve energy independence. Supports some nuclear power. Early backer of solar energy, wilderness preservation, recycling, tax credits for conservation. Would pursue accord on global warming.
A true energy policy.

Says planet is becoming a "stinking junkyard." As California governor, got high marks for conservation, renewable resources. Backs new Civilian Conservation Corps, high-speed rail, better auto-fuel efficiency. Knowledgeable "Green" on global hazards.
Strong anti-nuke record.

EDUCATION

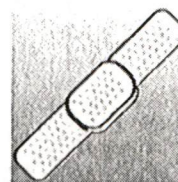


Backs national exam system; annual report cards for every school; apprenticeship program for students not bound for college; college loans to anyone—to be paid back either as percentage of future income or with service in teaching, police or child care.
Strong record in Arkansas.

Endorses merit pay for teachers, competency requirements, national standards, experimental voucher system that would include private-school tuition. College loans could be paid back as a percentage of future income. Likes school uniforms, longer days.
Not one of his passions.

Envisions a computer on top of every schoolchild's desk and federally funded educational software. Favors national educational standards, federal scholarships. Says he will abolish the Department of Education as "a massive bureaucratic waste."
Wasn't an innovator as gov.

HEALTH CARE

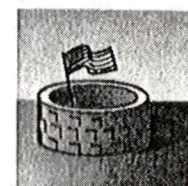


Supports "play or pay" universal coverage under which employers would have to insure their workers or pay an additional tax into a public fund to cover the uninsured. In Arkansas, allowed nursing-home funds to be used for home health care.
Light on cost containment.

Says Americans will not support a radical plan. Under his "managed care" system, employers or groups would offer plans. HMOs and private insurers would bid for contracts. This would introduce competition. Paid for by a 6 to 8 percent payroll tax.
No long-term-care plan.

Favors national health-insurance system like Canada's, eliminating private insurers. Emphasizes wellness programs, alternative healing practices such as acupuncture. Notes that special interests give Congress \$30 million a year to maintain status quo.
Short on details.

NATIONAL SECURITY

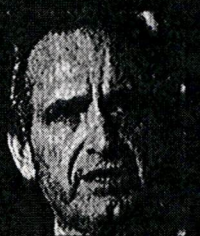


Cut defense spending by 36 percent by 1997, saving \$100 billion over Bush plan. Backs a new advanced research agency that would apply defense technology to commercial work. Envisions a "Democracy Corps" to send professionals to help former East bloc.
Homework, no experience.

Cut defense 30 percent, scrapping SDI, the B-2 bomber. Backs 50,000 to 90,000 troop reductions in Europe, new "Marshall Plan" to aid former Soviet Union (CIS), including a business Peace Corps. In Congress took a liberal line; opposed Grenada invasion.
Shades of Jimmy Carter.

Cut defense spending by 50 percent immediately. Withdraw all U.S. troops from Europe. Research for SDI, but drop other high-tech programs. Emphasis on global environmentalism and U.S. role as peace broker.
Would he stand up for the United States abroad?

Newsweek



Tom Harkin

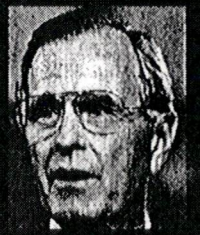
Booster of alternatives like ethanol and electric cars. Would impose fines on wasteful companies—like makers of gas guzzlers or overpackaged goods—and use the money as “fee-bates” to firms and consumers who recycle and buy efficient products.
Some fresh ideas.

Argues for less reliance on property tax, more on boosted federal spending. Would create an ROTC-style college-loan program featuring four new national-service corps—for teachers, health-care workers, police and conservation—as a way to repay the loans.
Money’s the answer.

Supports universal health care, but isn’t likely to dump the existing system. Big recipient of PAC money from the health-care lobby. Says as president he would appoint a panel to develop a reform strategy. Backs preventative programs.
Offers few specifics.

Halve the military in 10 years, saving \$420 billion. Eliminate tactical nukes. Leave only 20,000 troops in Europe. A top pro-Israel PAC recipient. Led Senate fight against Persian Gulf War. Would ban aid to countries that spend more on military than human needs.
Aggressively dovish.

★ **REPUBLICANS** ★



George Bush

Won points for passage of the Clean Air Act. Accepts a new restrictive definition of “wetlands.” Supports offshore drilling. Wants to simplify nuclear-plant licensing. Global-warming flip-flop. Didn’t achieve energy independence.
Yes, but made the Persian Gulf safe for cheap oil.

Self-styled “education president” favors national testing, math- and science-teacher training, and voucher system that would fund parental “choice” of either public or private schools. Backs increase in Head Start, but short of Democrats’ plan to “fully fund” it.
Good ideas, little follow-up.

Says he opposes “socialized medicine,” but politics forced proposal of tax credits to poor to purchase insurance, plus other piecemeal changes such as capping malpractice awards and allowing penalty-free IRA withdrawals for medical expenses.
Modest reform at best.

Cold war ended on his watch. Beat Iraq, yet Saddam Hussein remains a thorn, and new world order still fuzzy. Would cut defense spending by \$50 billion over five years, though not SDI. New disagreements with Israel. Modest progress in dismantling nukes.
Still his main strength.



Patrick Buchanan

Despises conservationists of all stripes. Favors “the welfare of the American worker over the spotted owl,” but offers no specifics. Supports coastal oil drilling. No positions on nuclear power, gas tax, global warming or pollution.
Environmentalists an endangered species.

Supports voucher system to promote choice and create market pressures to improve quality, but provides no specifics on implementation. Favors more power for local officials to hire, fire and respond to parental concerns over curricula. Still hung up on busing.
A “D” for specifics.

No commitments to any reform, but will consider a plan in which employers open medical IRAs. Uninsured families would get same tax benefits as companies. Backs vouchers for perhaps 75 percent of home-care-nursing expenses.
Stay well during a Buchanan administration.

Cut troop levels in Western Europe, but not SDI or nukes. Phase out foreign-aid payments to Third World. Like Democrats, favors ending trade concessions to Chinese. Stiff the World Bank and IMF. Anti-Israel. Opposes majority rule in South Africa.
Big-stick isolationism.

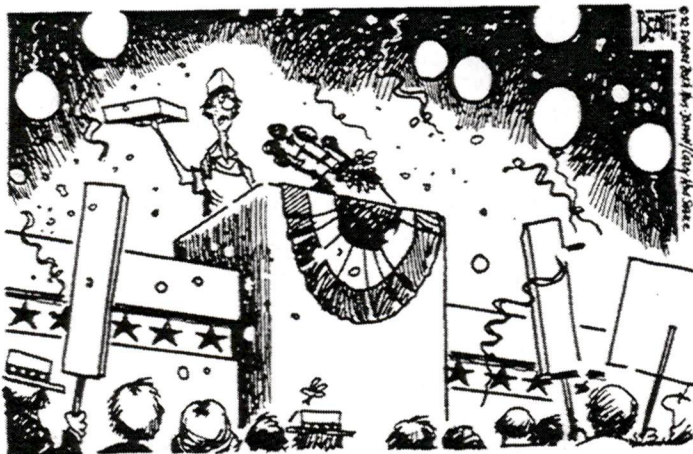
How They Might Govern

	VISION	MANAGEMENT	COLLEGIALLY	COMMUNICATION	STYLE
 Bill Clinton	Postliberal "people-based economics" stressing education. Strategy to "compete and win again in the global economy." Emphasis on racial healing.	Relishes details of governing, but D.C. is a lot more complicated than Little Rock. Wide circle of access. Wants to "reinvent" the way government works.	So friendly he would impress world leaders, get bills through Congress. But so eager to please his ideas might get compromised to death.	Terrific off the cuff, but prepared speeches stilted, long-winded. Lengthy, effective press conferences, but with circular, often fudged answers.	Southern Yuppie, shooting "Camelot" remake. Rhodes scholars on parade. Formidable First Lady. Poker-playing, sax-blowing president.
 Paul Tsongas	"Economic patriotism." Narrow focus on restoring manufacturing base. Everything else secondary. Pro-business progressive. Tsongas Tsacrifice.	Zero administrative experience. Would try to run government like a business. Believes in public-private "leveraging" instead of big bureaucracies.	Open, but no backslapper. Dislikes socializing. Might end up having more trouble with fellow Democrats than Republicans.	Dweebish TV presence would make it hard to rally the country with speeches. Accent is off-putting, but speaks in clear, jargon-free metaphors.	Eat-your-spinach with a side order of dry wit. Like favorite high-school teacher. Peace Corps galore. Cancer doc as king-maker. Lots of pool parties.
 Jerry Brown	New Age populism. Truly radical campaign-finance reform. Smash pro-business special interests, "incumbent party." A real new world order.	Loner. Short attention span. Little interest in mechanics of governing. While governor, department heads complained they were ignored.	Has never been known for social grace, and is often called rude. Would have terrible congressional relations, which is just how he'd want it.	Angry outsider tone might not work well from Oval Office. Literary speeches—with footnotes provided. Sour press relations likely.	Touchy-feely asceticism. White House as bachelor pad. Out: state dinners. In: brown rice on grass mats to ease world hunger.
 Tom Harkin	Back-to-the-future New Dealer. A Reagan of the left. Champion of farmers, blue-collar workers. Democrats have nothing to rethink or apologize for.	No administrative experience. Has shown little concern about the sprawling federal bureaucracy, or the influence that special interests have over it.	Aggressive—even cranky—in both public and private. Would work well with organized labor, but not Congress. Extremely partisan.	A cussin', fussin' orator with echoes of Harry Truman and Hubert Humphrey. Ever-present signer for the deaf. Could be prickly with the press.	Work boots in the White House. Sailboat on Potomac. Screenings with Hollywood left. Farm animals on South Lawn. Revenge of the old-time liberals.
 George Bush	Admits he's not very good at this "vision thing." Sees himself as a pragmatist, responding to whatever arises. The future will take care of itself.	Do-it-yourself presidency. A sponge for detail, often better versed on the minutiae of foreign policy than his staff. But little interest in reform.	Strong suit, especially with foreign leaders. But loads of friends on Capitol Hill—including Democrats—haven't helped him pass a program.	Bumbler on the campaign trail. Weak on shaping, delivering message. Is English a second language? Good at interacting with the press.	WASP frenetic. "Aerobic golf" is quintessential Bush sport. Energy was a big plus with the war and foreign policy, but little to show for it at home.
 Patrick Buchanan	Back to the white, Christian 1950s. Wants to transform America into ideal of his youth, where no one played bongos on the street corner.	Fear and loathing in the bureaucracy. Pink slips for regulators. Meat cleaver to agencies. Only true believers need apply. Huge Enemies List.	Scorched-earth approach to Congress: would veto by line-item—see 'em in court. Will he break habit of calling for foreign leaders "little fellas"?	Former White House hack will be his own best—or worst—wordsmith. Will need extra staff to do damage control for all the incendiary rhetoric.	Urban Catholic tough guy with upscale suburban veneer. Boxing classes for young aides. Franco memorabilia. Joe McCarthy nostalgia.

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK (2), ROBERT MAASS—SIPA, IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK, WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK, LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

CAMPAIGN . . .

Beattie Keefe Herblock Counts



"I'm overwhelmed! When I delivered this pizza, I never expected to be made the Democratic presidential nominee!"



"PAY NO ATTENTION TO THOSE OTHER ORACLES"



THE NATIONAL FORUM

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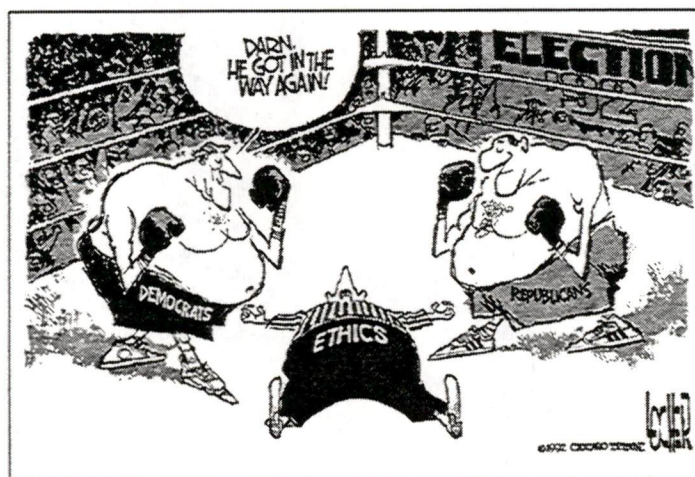
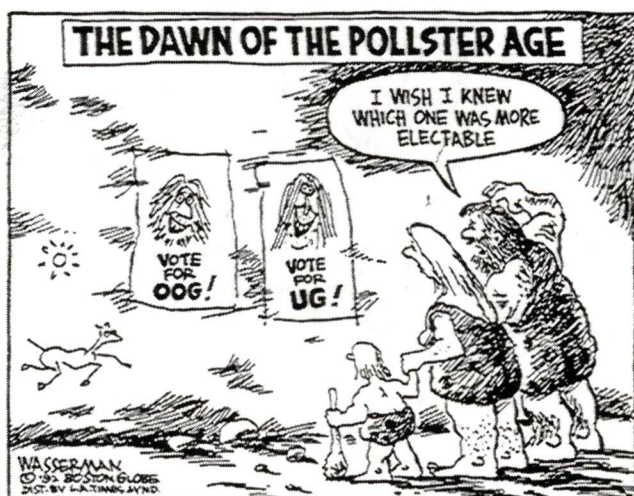
Kathryn Kennard

... '92

Stayskal Berry Wasserman Locher



Berry's World



Berry's World

I WANT TO BE TOTALLY CANDID WITH YOU.
I AM A PHONY AND A SMOOTH-TALKING POLITICIAN.



THE DEMOCRATS

Southern Fried Feuding

As Tsongas and Clinton pull ahead, they begin hurling negatives at each other—and reveal a lot about themselves

By LAURENCE I. BARRETT NASHVILLE

Good chemistry. Paul Tsongas liked to say when asked why he and his rival Bill Clinton got on so well. Clinton would point out that he and Tsongas were the two candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination offering broad, serious economic plans. That was in New Hampshire barely a month ago—a lifetime in the compacted nominating calendar. By last week the chemistry had turned combustible as each struggled to define the other in negative terms, an exchange that revealed as much about themselves as each other.

After last Tuesday's contests, the former Senator from Massachusetts and the Arkansas Governor emerged as joint front runners. Bob Kerrey, losing badly everywhere, quit the race, and Tom Harkin's war chest is empty. Jerry Brown's narrow win in Colorado will allow him to continue receiving federal matching funds to wage a guerrilla operation.

Tsongas' victories in Utah, Maryland and Washington demonstrated that he could prosper outside New England. Clinton's big win in Georgia was his first victory of the year, but the nominating process puts him in a strong position for this week's Super Tuesday contests. His treasury is the plumpest of all, his organization the most robust—and with seven of the 11 contests in Southern and Border states, he has the home-field advantage.

Last week's outcome, however, left Clinton and Tsongas, both cerebral candidates with a strong sense of purpose, scrapping like ward pols. In Florida Tsongas' best hope in the South, Clinton aired a commercial questioning Tsongas' commitment to maintaining Social Security benefits. When Tsongas accused Clinton of misstatements and scare tactics, Clinton's aides distributed a fact sheet showing that Tsongas had in fact proposed an amendment eight years ago that would

have frozen cost of living increases in benefit programs for a year.

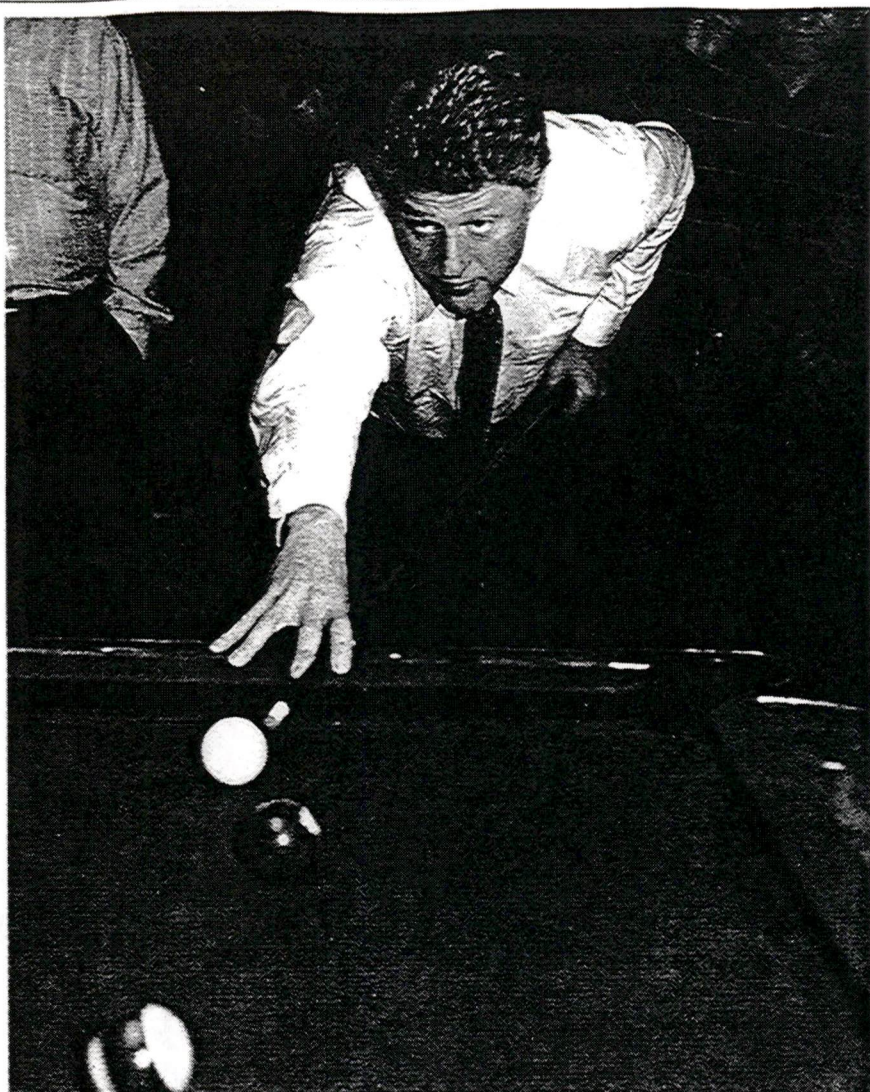
Then a suddenly bellicose Tsongas attacked Clinton personally as a "cynical and unprincipled politician," a "pander bear" eager to promise everything to everyone. Jetting around the South, Clinton told reporters at a late-night press conference in Nashville that Tsongas was the real panderer, with Wall Street the prime beneficiary, and that Tsongas had belied his image as a "truth teller" by lying about the impact of Clinton's position on a middle-class tax cut. A Tsongas ad had implied that the reduction would worsen the deficit. Clinton's plan would offset the loss with a higher rate for affluent taxpayers.

But the fact that Clinton's camp has been striving for weeks to undermine Tsongas' credibility is testimony to the way the ostensibly cool Clinton is suffering from the pressure of the campaign. The furor over his alleged romance with Gennifer Flowers and his draft status dur-

ing the Vietnam War nearly sank Clinton's candidacy. Though he staged a gutsy comeback, neither his campaign nor his image has fully recovered from the trauma. Says his campaign manager, David Wilhelm: "Because of what happened to us, we lost for the time being the aura of the serious, thoughtful candidate."

This loss was particularly damaging in caucus states like Washington, which became an ideal target for Tsongas because his constituency consists mainly of upscale, educated voters. Tsongas' Mr. Candor persona allowed him to benefit from the attacks on his opponent's character. Clinton and his assistants have since admonished reporters to give Tsongas' own record deeper scrutiny.

Clinton's need to fight off doubts about his character is leaving its mark on his message. His intense efforts in New Hampshire and Georgia forced him to divert time and money from other states he might have won. Further, Clinton has ad-



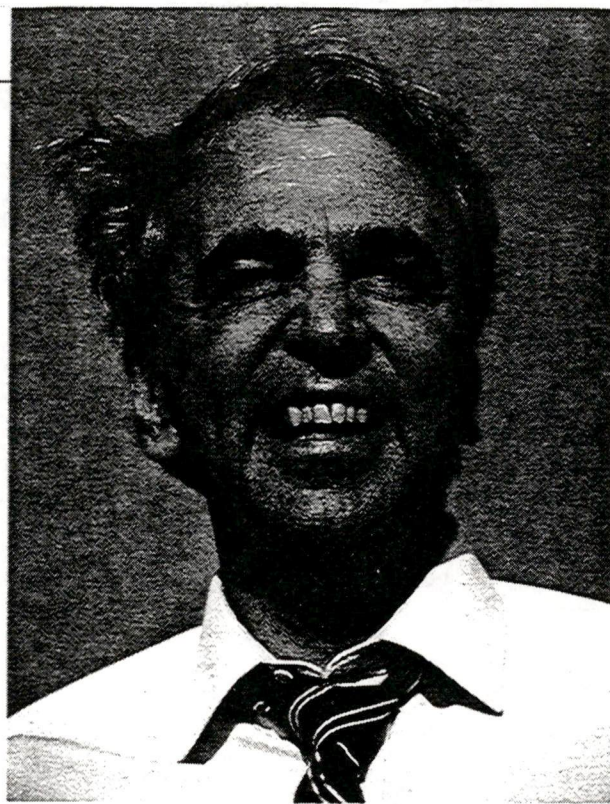
Looking South: Clinton, playing in Baltimore, is behind the eight ball in Maryland

COURTESY JOHNSON FOR TIME

justed the emphasis of his message in subtle ways. He started as a new-wave centrist disdainful of traditional liberal nostrums. But against the fiscally conservative Tsongas, Clinton has had to find other points of contrast in their philosophies. He has reached out to traditional Democrats—minorities, working-class families, older voters still enamored of the New Deal. Without changing any of his positions an iota, Clinton has inched rhetorically toward being the compassion candidate. Tsongas, he says, “wants to make life harder for [working people]. We want to make life somewhat easier for people already paying the bills.”

Clinton understandably feels threatened by his plodding, sober rival. An NBC/Wall Street Journal survey last week found that only 5% viewed Tsongas as an unacceptable nominee, while 17% rejected Clinton. Says pollster Peter Hart: “Tsongas’ greatest advantage is that he repels no one.”

Whether Tsongas can build on that asset is uncertain. In New Hampshire he had a year to campaign at his leisure. As the nominating contest goes national, Tsongas has not been able to expand his austere message. “We’re going to have to



Surprised contender: Tsongas scrambles to keep his momentum

broaden the appeal,” he conceded last week, while giving no evidence that he knew how. Nor is it clear that Tsongas can keep up effectively with Clinton’s tireless pace. During a televised debate in Dallas last week, Clinton was feisty, Tsongas

wan. “I was just exhausted,” he said later. His lean campaign organization, which he began to enlarge only after New Hampshire, also has difficulty competing with the far larger team Clinton assembled last fall.

Tsongas sometimes gives the impression of being as surprised as many of the pundits that he has made it to the Democratic finals. Now that he has been enmeshed into negative slugging with Clinton—an exercise for which Tsongas seems ill equipped—his ability to demonstrate leadership will be further crimped.

Still, Tsongas is gritty enough to put up a stiff fight, and Jerry Brown’s continued presence will nibble some votes from both front runners. That will prevent any candidate from winning a critical mass of delegates soon. For months party leaders had hoped to have a consensus candidate in place by mid-March so that the Democrats could target George Bush, the most vulnerable incumbent since Ronald Reagan challenged Jimmy Carter 12 years ago. But the chemistry for that accomplishment may be as transitory as the chemistry between Clinton and Tsongas. —With reporting by Walter Shapiro with Tsongas

Who Shot J.R.?

Jack Russ must have been surprised by his own success. The son of a gas-station operator from Picayune, Miss., he moved to Washington in 1967 and worked as a part-time doorman on Capitol Hill. He rose through the ranks to chief page and in 1983 became sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives. In that capacity Russ helped command a force of 1,265 black-suited police officers and oversaw the security of the 435 members of the House.

The most important part of Russ’s \$115,092-a-year job was to hand out lawmakers’ monthly paychecks and supervise a House bank that adjoined his spacious office. Russ regularly permitted members to carry large interest-free overdrafts, some of which were outstanding for years. But the House bank closed last year, after investigators found that lawmakers had written more than 8,000 bad checks in one year alone.

Last week the House ethics committee completed its probe into the scandal and recommended that the House disclose the names of its 24 biggest offenders. Russ, 46, found himself at the center of the scandal. Criticized for mismanaging the bank, he was also accused of cashing \$10,000 worth of his own rubber checks while running the bank.

Russ’s problems, as it turned out, were only beginning. As some House members called for his dismissal, Russ reported last week that he had been the victim of a bizarre holdup and shooting. He claimed to have been walking his sheep dog near the Capitol one night when he was accosted by two men. Russ claimed that one of the men put a gun into his mouth while



Sergeant-at-arms Jack Russ

the other took his wallet and Rolex watch. The gunman pulled the trigger but the bullet only ripped through his left cheek. As he recuperated at home last week, Russ called reports questioning his account of the shooting “ludicrous” and “ridiculous.” Police have not found the gun, bullet or suspects.

A protégé of House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski, Russ also enjoyed the backing of former House majority whip Tony Coelho and ex-House Speaker Jim Wright. But he was unable to earn the trust of House Speaker Tom Foley. Two years ago, after the General Accounting Office disclosed that the House bank had cashed \$232,000 in bad checks in the 12 months ending June 30, 1989, Foley directed Russ to halt overdrafts in the free check-writing and check-cashing service. Russ never did.

Republican members of the House ethics committee plan to introduce a resolution that would call for all House bank records to be made public—and for the hiring of a professional manager to modernize and carefully audit Congress. That could mean only bad news for Russ—a former doorman with no management training who had found himself with power, prestige and a six-figure salary. —By Nancy Traver/Washington

■ **Paul Tsongas**, Democratic front-runner post New Hampshire, is hitting Dixie in preparation for Super Tuesday, March 10. Tsongas is getting serious contributions, some even from conservatives who are attracted by his "anti-politician" look and town-moderator demeanor. But his record in Congress (as senator 1978-84, and representative two terms before that) falls strictly in the liberal Democratic pile. His ACU ratings never broke 20; in 1978 his ADA slipped to 50, but it was more usually 85, 95, or (twice) 100. . . . Might Tsongas have had a change of heart, after seeing wreckage of Massachusetts Miracle of fellow Bay State Dem. **Michael Dukakis**? No reason to think so. In address to ADA as long ago as 1980, he warned that anti-business stance was mistaken, but concluded, "The soul of liberalism is intact"—including its emphasis on affirmative action. . . . Nebraska Sen. **Bob Kerrey** kept fading hopes alive with 40 per cent showing in South Dakota, but he will face **Bill Clinton**'s Arkansas flying squads in South. Talk of a late **Mario Cuomo** entry died down after poor showing of N.H. write-in campaign. . . . Strikingly in evidence in New Hampshire was panzer-like deployment of television cameras and boom microphones that kept candidates and ordinary voters effectively apart. Big-city columnists gazed disdainfully on Granite State society; *New York Post*'s **Pete Hamill** blamed it for not producing homeless people or crack users like the "real" America. . . . Absent from N.H. was **Joan Jett Blakk**, running on Queer Nation Party ticket. She claims to be first "queer, black, drag-queen" presidential candidate.

■ **Pat Buchanan**, bolstered by 31 per cent of South Dakota GOP vote going to uncommitted delegates, was talk of the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, Feb. 20-22. *Human Events* editor **Allan Ryskind** pointed out that **Sam Donaldson**

(who was present for debate with **Robert Novak** and **Mark Shields**) had made up a quote he attributed to Buchanan on December 8 **Brinkley** show: "The Jews are trying to drag us into war." Donaldson acknowledged his error, but next day, on **Brinkley**, he attacked Buchanan for remarking in 1986, during a closed-door meeting with **Elie Wiesel** and other Jewish leaders asking President **Reagan** (whose communications director Buchanan was) not to go to Bitburg: "When are you people going to start acting like Americans first?" Turns out Wiesel was not at that meeting, and Buchanan didn't say it. . . . CPAC attendees were polled on GOP race. To question: "If you were voting in a primary election today, which candidate would get your vote?" 54 per cent said Buchanan, 40.1 per cent **George Bush**. To "Would you say that Pat Buchanan's candidacy is a good thing for the conservative movement and the Republican Party or a bad thing?" 66.9 per cent said "good thing," 20.8 per cent "bad thing." On specific policy areas, 84.7 per cent agreed with Buchanan on taxes and spending, 11.9 per cent disagreed. However, on foreign policy, 41.4 per cent agreed, 46.8 per cent disagreed, and on trade, 36.4 per cent agreed, 49.8 per cent disagreed.



"You're late! Have you been ruining your chances of being a presidential candidate?"

■ **Boris Yeltsin's** CIS is expecting to get some help from New York investment bank of **Goldman Sachs**, recently hired to persuade the rest of the world to invest in Russia. Its Moscow pied-à-terre will be in offices once used by Gosplan, the now defunct state planning agency. . . . Russian press incidentally is best place to catch up with disdained former ally and client, **Fidel Castro**. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* talks of his 32 residences across the island and his increasingly obsessive security, now requiring a force 9,700 strong. If the leader of the Cuban revolution wants to go swimming, the paper continues, then 122 navy divers "comb the sea bottom inch by inch, looking for underwater mines and traps." . . . The "Gorbachev of the Platteland"—South African President **F. W. de Klerk**—suffered a crushing defeat in a by-election in the Transvaal by **A. J. Treurnicht's** militant Conservative Party, thus putting his whole anti-apartheid policy on the line. De Klerk has called a nationwide referendum for March.

■ Justice **Clarence Thomas's** decisions and opinions are being subjected to examination unlike that of previous controversial Supreme Court Justices. *L.A. Times* reporter **David Savage** sees signs that Thomas might be "a conservative hard-liner ready to sharply restrict the protections of the Constitution." . . . After another decision, a ruling against a black county commissioner, *USA Today* quoted liberal blacks—including Judge **A. Leon Higginbotham**—who reproved Thomas for not remembering what the civil rights movement had done for him. . . . Then *New York Times* front-paged a critical commentary on a decision Thomas rendered while on a lower court concerning women and affirmative action. *Times* quoted opposing authorities; **Anita Hill** appeared in last paragraph.

■ No more Indians, Braves, Redmen, or Redskins in sports pages of the principal newspaper in Portland, Oregon. The *Oregonian* said it would not have a hand in "perpetuating racial or cultural stereotypes in our community." **Dave Matheson**, of the Coeur d'Alene tribe in Idaho, said that Indians often refer to themselves as "skins." He dismissed the fuss as an "urban Indian thing."

THE WEEK

■ READ PEGGY NOONAN'S LIPS: Asked why George Bush went back on a pledge to environmentalists, Budget Director Darman explained: "He didn't say that. He read what was given to him in a speech."

■ Early returns from Dixville Notch, N.H., put Andre Marrou, the Libertarian candidate, ahead of the whole field, with 11 votes, when the polls closed at 12:06 A.M. But the early front-runner was overtaken when the rest of the state voted the next day. The big question now: Can Marrou bounce back?

■ No one who followed the New Hampshire campaign closely was surprised by Paul Tsongas's strong showing, which had little to do with his being a next-door neighbor. Despite his look-what-the-cat-dragged-in countenance, Tsongas is an earnest and engaging man whose qualifications hold up well over the long haul. Whether he, Clinton, or someone else winds up as the Democratic nominee, George Bush will have his hands full in the fall. Eight per cent of New Hampshire Republican voters wrote in Tsongas or Clinton. Who were these people but the yuppie baby boomers, fans of low taxes and low morals? Without the absolute guarantee of no new taxes—their tie to the GOP—they were free to seek economic moderates who believe in abortion on demand, feminism, and gay rights. So Bush stands to lose this chunk of the Reagan coalition in November, even as his waffling on quotas has made the white lower middle class, alarmed by the underclass nipping at its heels, easy marks for Pat Buchanan (or, in the worst case, for David Duke).

■ The last time a figure at the level of presidential politics was nailed for his war record was 1988, when Dan Quayle's service in the National Guard was examined with a jeweler's eye. Quayle's examiners, chiefly the press, appeared to accept the moral framework of the Eighties—that most of America's wars have been just, and that citizenship entails obligations. Flash forward four years, to a new candidate, and a new moral framework. Young Bill Clinton not only arranged his phantom ROTC program with shrewd self-interest, he defended his decision in the modish antiwar-speak of the Sixties, writing at the time that while World War II had been a just war, Korea and Vietnam weren't; that the draft sys-

tem was "illegitimate"; that a draft resister chum of his at Oxford was "one of the bravest, best men" he knew. While questioning other aspects of Clinton's behavior, the media treated this one with silence, amounting to agreement, forgetting the toll of slaughter in Southeast Asia after America's exit. Croatian-Americans are reportedly contributing heavily to Patrick Buchanan, in gratitude for his defense of their beleaguered country. We know one candidate who shouldn't be getting checks from Vietnamese-Americans—or from any Americans who take their responsibilities as citizens seriously.

■ In an interview with the *Washington Times*, White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner hinted that Pat Buchanan is an anti-Semite. "I think the Jewish community believes he is. From everything I know, they're the best ones to measure his record on that issue," Skinner said. "It's certainly a debatable issue. It would appear that the voters would like to know the answer to that question, and a number of organizations who study that and are experts on that issue have reached that conclusion." Good work, Sam. The President didn't have to say a thing.

■ Meanwhile, several prominent columnists—A. M. Rosenthal in the *New York Times* and Richard Cohen, Carl Rowan, and William Raspberry in the *Washington Post*—are complaining that the news media haven't been tough enough on Pat Buchanan, whom they regard as an out-and-out bigot. Needless to say, we disagree; Buchanan has taken some pitches high and inside from, for example, Sam Donaldson, and criticism of him in these pages has received ample publicity. What is interesting about the demand of Messrs. Rosenthal et al. is its evident assumption that the role of the media is not primarily to report events impartially, but to infuse their coverage with moral judgments colored by certain political commitments. These gentlemen clearly believe that the media are susceptible to an appeal to slant the news their way. We agree. But it's hard to imagine a conservative or a libertarian calling on the media to shade things another way.

■ The Congressional Budget Office has quietly admitted (in a letter to Representative Dick Armey) that its most recent estimate of capital-gains income—\$254 billion for 1990—was \$134 billion too high, off by a mere 112 per cent. It seems that in calculating "real" capital gains the CBO neglected to adjust the purchase price upward so as to remove the effect of inflation from normal gains. This one mistake helped kill the Archer-Jenkins capital-gains reduction bill, provided endless ammo for class-warfare troops, and seems about to frustrate another economic-growth package. Who says government isn't efficient?

The B Team

WILLIAM MCGURN



WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR THIS Lent I resolve not to write about the apparently inexhaustible capacity for folly of the George Bush re-election effort. Not because doing so would be unfair or un-Christian, mind you. But because, given the provocations, I regard abstaining from comment as a suitably testing penance.

Fortunately, the Lord scheduled a late Easter this year, which means that New Hampshire and the immediate aftermath are not covered by my vow. Although Pat Buchanan's ultimate tally turned out to be well under the 40 per cent originally reported, he clearly emerged the victor. Over the course of the following week Bushies from all parts of the campaign machine took pains to get the message across on the tube, over radio, and in print that the President had in fact come in first. But the pains taken only underscored the point: any time you have to explain a victory, you've lost.

This problem will not go away soon, because it is both a result of and a reaction to a schizophrenic Bush cam-

paign. On the one hand there are people working hard to get Bush elected to a second term. Less obvious are those who would like Bush elected to a second term but are more interested in defending the first one. Candidate Bush speaks to both sides of this campaign, conceding that "I understand the message of dissatisfaction" but then asserting that "This President has done a good job." It has not yet dawned on him that these are mutually exclusive propositions, and not least among the reasons for the public's anger is that he appears so little concerned about the gap between his rhetoric and his performance. With Budget Director Richard Darman still in place killing off any real economic reform and campaign chairman Bob Teeter heading a team that doesn't think such reform necessary to re-election, we have an Administration that still does not know how to respond to Buchanan because it doesn't know what hit it.

"What you run into around here is anger and befuddlement," says one senior Administration official. "All these people are asking themselves, 'Why is Buchanan doing this?' You want to explain to them, 'He's doing it because he wants to rid the Republican Party of the whole lot of you.'"

This distance between the Bushies and the GOP rank-and-file is illustrated by the different kinds of money coming into the Bush and Buchanan campaigns. In November and December, a fundraising letter mailed to the known donor list from the three committees (the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and the National Republican Congressional Committee) actually lost money, unprecedented with a sitting GOP President and certainly in sharp contrast to the

fundraising efforts for Ronald Reagan's re-election. By contrast, whist upstart Pat Buchanan has not been able to raise nearly the same amount of money Bush has, he has raised more economically and is pulling in more of the small contributors, meaning that he has a popular base (good for getting volunteers) while Bush depends on fat cats. Indeed, of the \$14.1 million Bush has raised, only \$2.6 million has been matched by the FEC, because matching funds are limited to contributions under \$250.

The choice of people assigned to returning Bush to the White House does nothing to bridge that gap. The I Team is led by a troika that includes former Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher (now general chairman of the campaign), Fred Malek (campaign manager), and pollster Teeter (campaign chairman and chief political strategist). These in turn are supported by a second tier that includes political director Mary Matalin, an Atwater protégée and former chief of staff at the Republican National Committee, and consultant Charles Black and RNC chief Rich Bond, both senior advisors. Whatever strengths the team may have, its only concession to the thought that campaigns may be about ideas is the inclusion of James Pinkerton, author of the "new paradigm," over at the 15th Street headquarters. In other words, these are the same folks who brought us the Dick Thornburgh disaster, blowing the biggest lead of any candidate in history.

In their own ways most of these people are extremely competent. Mosbacher can raise loads of money from fat-cat Republicans like himself. Malek is a businessman whom everyone likes. Teeter, who excites almost as much distrust as Darman, is, excluding his political advice, a savvy pollster. Rich Bond is probably the best political operative in the business, and even Mary Matalin, of whom conservatives are strongly suspicious on the social issues, also is a good operative.

Like their boss, however, these campaigners are all deficient in "the vision thing." Over the last two months, they have been making that painfully evident. To Bob Mosbacher's credit, he at least seemed to realize it, lamenting

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MR. BUCHANAN AND HIS FRIENDS

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

IMAGINE the headquarters of a Latin American Communist Party. Around the table are veteran revolutionaries—grizzled and plump now but still cherishing the memory of their fighting youth—when the news arrives that the North has fallen to a new band of rebels. They claim allegiance to the Party and are led by an old Party hand, but they also show worrying signs of deviationism and the cult of personality.

"I have seen them, comrades," reports one apparatchik nervously. "They are like we were in the pampas, young, tough, and so certain of everything. They say they support the Party, but when they speak of us they smile. A smile of pity, comrades. As if we were women."

Patrick J. Buchanan's success in New Hampshire provokes similar unease in the think tanks, foundations, magazines, and congressional offices of the counter-establishment that Ronald Reagan led to political dominance in the 1980s. On the morning after New Hampshire, many a conservative baron must have looked into the shaving mirror and detected a trace of mascara. Buchanan had dared and won; they had either watched from the sidelines or served as voluntary hostages in the Bush camp.

But there is more to this conservative alarm than gender nervousness. If the straw poll at the CPAC conference is correct, Mr. Buchanan has the allegiance of more than half the rank and file. He probably has an even higher proportion of younger conservatives on his side. Reports coming into Washington's conservative centers suggest his campaign is almost entirely staffed by their recent interns.

Movement notables thus face a

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR's Editor.

tricky problem. How can they prevent Mr. Buchanan becoming the unchallenged caudillo of the movement without a civil war that would hand most conservative supporters over to him and leave them looking like country-club quislings? There are four courses of action to choose from:

1. *Supporting President Bush (the Wm. F. Buckley Jr. Option).* No conservative in his heart wants to endorse a President who has raised taxes and extended racial and sexual quotas. All conservatives, including Pat Buchanan, accept that they will end up doing so in order to keep a liberal Democrat out of the White House. (There is, incidentally, no other sort of Democrat these days.)

But timing is all. Declare for Mr. Bush too soon—and you fracture the unity of the conservative movement. Declare too late—and you risk being blamed for losing the general election. WFB argues that, the Buchanan demonstration having been made, to do it again would be both redundant and risky. This calculation will change only if the President himself begins to look unelectable—and Mr. Bush's resourcefulness in this respect should not be underestimated.

2. *Supporting a Third Candidate (the Harold Stassen Option).* Terrific idea. Who is he? This vacuum will be filled only if the President begins to look unelectable. (But see above.)

3. *Concentrating on the Issues (the Norman Podhoretz Option).* If you can support neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Buchanan, you can still advance conservative ideas and criticize liberal ones. Such activity, of course, is not politics but social criticism. We may define a social critic as someone who surrenders any influence on the next election in order to influence the two or three elections after that. The

drawbacks to this option, however, are that to exercise it effectively you need a) a magazine, b) something to say, and c) patience. It is thus a vocation to which few are called and even fewer chosen.

4. *Supporting Mr. Buchanan (the Richard M. Nixon Option).* Why Richard M. Nixon? In 1964 Mr. Nixon, almost alone of the Republican establishment and almost certainly against his private inclinations, strongly supported the election campaign of Barry Goldwater. It was, however, Mr. Nixon and not Senator Goldwater who became the next Republican President, helped into office by a united and much more conservative Republican Party. It is often more blessed to give support than to receive it.

BUT SUPPORT in this context means many things. Mr. Buchanan's current supporters will presumably endorse his entire program without a qualm. Other conservative leaders and institutions, who are as yet uncommitted, might give him qualified backing, with explicit reservations about such matters as trade policy. A third group, notably Jack Kemp and William Bennett, linked by ties of loyalty to President Bush, might hint that they regard Mr. Buchanan as a legitimate conservative candidate by debating his case seriously, conceding some of it, and publicly disavowing any "attack dog" campaigns against him. And all three groups must anyway seek to entice Mr. Buchanan into overcoming his pride and offering an apology for the remarks that, whether unfairly or not, have caused him to be labeled anti-Semitic.

Which option should conservatives embrace? My own preference would be to support Mr. Buchanan until a millisecond before he himself decides to support Mr. Bush, probably some time in early April. With luck, we might then maintain the unity and integrity of the conservative movement, avoid responsibility if Mr. Bush loses the general election, and transform Mr. Buchanan from this year's Wallace into one of several respectable conservative leaders for 1996, *primus inter pares* perhaps, but no more than that. All in all, the best available outcome in a lean year.

Unless, of course, the President begins to look seriously unelectable. □

★ BY WILLIAM GREIDER ★

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bush's Tax-Cut Follies: Rich Entertainment

It's show time again in Washington — that magic moment every four years when politicians rediscover the people and scurry to perform for them. It's time to cut taxes, save the environment, help little children, dismantle nukes, shrink the defense budget and rescue the economy. When they see such theatrics in the nation's capital, prudent citizens put their hands on their wallets.

George Bush is the falsetto tenor leading this gaudy election-year musical, but the Democrats are providing the high-kicking chorus line. The theme song

this season is "We Love the Middle Class, Truly We Do." Keep in mind that these are the same folks who raised taxes on the middle class only a year ago. They are the designers of the famous "deficit reduction" agreement of 1990, which has so far produced a federal deficit of \$360 billion this year, rising to \$390 billion in Bush's new budget for next year. They are, on the whole, the same politicians who collaborated on the reckless extravaganzas known as the Eighties.

The sincerity of the president's tax-cut proposals can be swiftly tested by posing an ancient question of politics: Who gets the money? The answer is unambiguous:

The same wealthy few who enjoyed huge tax cuts throughout the last decade. According to Robert McIntyre of Citizens for Tax Justice, the typical middle-income family of four will reap \$167 a year from Bush's proposals to increase the tax exemptions for children and to cut by half the tax on capital gains. Meanwhile, a family in the top one percent of incomes — earning \$200,000 and upward — will save \$24,933. Our president has a weird notion of who is middle-class.

The Democrats, for once, have the high ground, since they are promoting modest but straightforward tax relief for the broad range of middle-income fam-

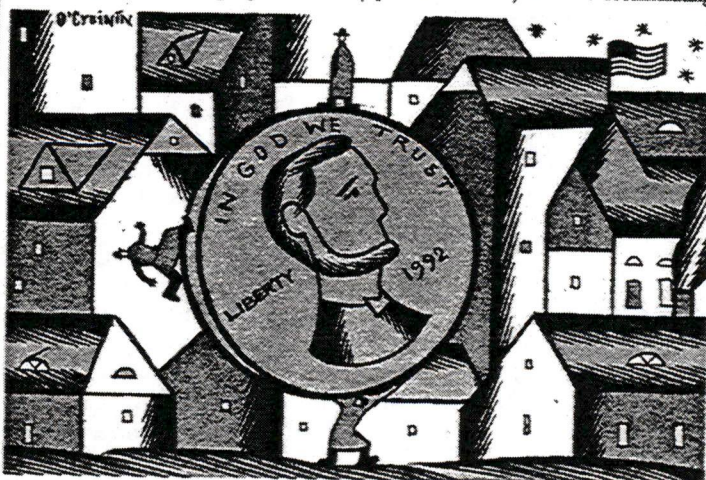
ilies, in the range of \$300 to \$400. Furthermore, some leading Democrats have said publicly that the general tax cuts should be paid for by increasing the levy at the very top of the income ladder, including a ten-percent surtax on millionaires and billionaires — the 30,000 citizens who made out like bandits during the Eighties.

"The way I see it," says McIntyre, an experienced advocate of progressive tax-

plot that the public doesn't hear much about — the inside games by which both Democrats and Republicans take care of business and other interested parties. Under cover of the rhetorical flourishes about middle-class relief, the various lobbies are lining up at the trough, demanding to be fed. Since they are the same special interests that finance the candidates of both parties, Bush and the Democrats will be vying to see who is best at slopping the hogs.

Having seen these shows many times, I've developed a tolerant (some would say twisted) view of them. The correct good-government response, expressed ad nauseam in the media, is to scold the politicians for pandering to the voters during election seasons. My own attitude is: Thank God for elections. They force the political community to put on a show for the folks, if only once every four years.

THE TAX-CUT FOLLIES IS BEING DRIVEN by an additional force this year — the depressed economy and the accumulating



ation, "George Bush has fired the opening salvo in the 1992 class war and made it very clear which side he's on. If the Democrats aren't complete boobs — which is not a foregone conclusion — they will play this contrast to the hilt."

Unfortunately, these election-year spectacles always have a complicated sub-

plot of unemployment and bankruptcies. After exhausted denials and false predictions, the president finally acknowledged what was obvious to most Americans. "This will not stand," Bush proclaimed in his State of the Union address, hoping to revive the memory of his glorious war making against Iraq. He did stop short of

comparing the recession to Hitler.

While Bush is doubtless sincere about his hope for economic recovery — his presidency may be doomed without it — there is still something phony about his response. The various elements of his so-called action plan, including some good ones, do not add up to a convincing package. His proposals are more in the nature of solicitous gestures, designed to create an aura of forward motion.

In fact, in line with the conventional wisdom among Eastern elites, the Bush administration still thinks the economy will soon get well on its own and needs little help from the government. After the president's speech, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* all ran boosterish articles promising as much — and chided their readers for thinking things are worse than they really are. If the cheerleaders are wrong again, as they have been throughout this recession, the Bush administration is setting itself up for another nasty moment of shocking discovery sometime this spring.

In any case, the cornerstone of Bush's program is his hoary favorite, a drastic cut in the tax on capital gains from the sale of stocks, bonds and other assets. In his speech the president played one of those too-cute statistical tricks by noting that sixty percent of the families who would benefit from a capital-gains reduction are those earning less than \$50,000 a year. The real money, however, goes to people who are already rich. The top one percent will get sixty-seven percent of the total tax savings; the top three percent will get eighty-three percent.

This result is inescapable, since — surprise! — it is the wealthy who own most stocks and bonds. A few mischievous Democrats are proposing that if the capital-gains rate is reduced, the benefits should be restricted to people in the middle-income ranges. Charles E. Walker, the capital's premier corporate-tax lobbyist, dismisses the idea as pointless.

"That's like a stud horse with no balls," scoffs Walker. "The purpose of capital gains is to stimulate, but if you just give it to people who don't have much money, you don't get much stimulus." He's right, of course, but another windfall for the wealthy won't provide much stimulus, either. It will churn stock sales and improve balance sheets for the well-to-do, but it won't get money to the broad ranks of consumers, the ones who are hurting.

Walker and fellow lobbyists are concentrating their firepower on another item in Bush's plan — the so-called Investment Tax Allowance, which would modestly increase tax write-offs for businesses purchasing new equipment. The main problem with the president's proposal, Walker points out, is that it's too timid. Because the benefit will be available only for 1992, companies might buy more cars or office equipment, but they won't have time to

plan large purchases of major machinery.

So a lobbying coalition led by airlines, oil companies and utilities has mobilized to sell a larger idea — revival of the ten-percent Investment Tax Credit (ITC). "I think it may have some legs from what I'm hearing," Walker says coyly as he collects bipartisan cosponsors.

The ITC is the favorite of corporate lobbyists — a tax loophole that, like Lazarus, keeps rising from the dead. John F. Kennedy first introduced it in the early Sixties, but it was repealed in 1966 as a wasteful subsidy. A year later it was revived, then repealed again in 1969. Richard Nixon brought it back in 1971, and with modifications it endured until 1986, when it was among the loopholes Congress killed in the name of tax reform.

"Tax Reform" was last season's song. This season, it's "Stimulate the Economy." When I talked to Walker back in 1986, I expected him to be dejected over the loss of the ITC, but he was surprisingly cheerful. "We'll get it back in the next recession," he explained. Well, here we are in the next recession, and we are about to learn whether his confidence was justified.

In that same spirit, Bush wants to alter the minimum corporate tax imposed in 1986 to ensure that profitable companies pay at least some federal income tax. After the gross tax giveaways launched by Ronald Reagan back in 1981, hundreds of large corporations wound up paying no taxes whatsoever — and many collected refunds. They made use of so many deductions and loopholes that the government ended up owing them money. Tax reform was supposed to eliminate this embarrassment, and it did somewhat. About a third of corporate America currently files under the minimum-tax category. "Now," says McIntyre, "they are loosening up the minimum-tax provisions, so they will bring back the no-tax corporation."

The real-estate industry is, likewise, going to get back some gravy. The Eighties building boom — glossy office buildings and shopping centers — was driven fundamentally by the outrageously generous tax provisions enacted as part of Reaganomics in 1981. Developers (and their bankers) discovered that — thanks to the tax breaks — they could make money on new buildings even if most of the space was never rented. The 1986 reforms withdrew or scaled back the most egregious real-estate loopholes, but Bush wants to restore some of them, now that the big-bucks developers (and their bankers) are in trouble. The Democratic Congress, which also relies heavily on real-estate moguls for campaign money, will not only go along with the president on this, it may well sweeten the deal.

The main thing Bush wants restored is called "passive losses" — allowing commercial real-estate operators to write off their rental losses against other enterprises that are profitable. It's intended for Don-

ald Trump and all the other highfliers whose glitzy fortunes crashed in the last two years, but it may actually have some limited benefit for the nation if it helps to slow the fall of real-estate values. The industry is grateful to Bush for putting the proposal in play, but it is also lobbying Congress for a more generous version — almost sure to pass, since there are already 300 cosponsors. "We know who it is for," says McIntyre. "It's the people who make campaign contributions."

All of these new tax breaks — the lower capital-gains rate, the ITC, a reduced minimum corporate tax and passive losses for real estate — have one thing in common: They were all traded away by the monied interests in 1986 in exchange for the drastic reduction in individual tax rates. Business lost some favorite goodies,

and it needs at least that many to prevent the squeeze on housing from getting any worse than it already is.

The irony, of course, is that in this single instance Bush is practicing the kind of pump priming that liberals made famous. My only complaint is that he ought to be doing much more of it. Though unfashionable in economic circles, the housing industry is a core element of the economy, and when it grows, the positive effects spread rapidly to other sectors. The best way to pump up the housing market is to help buyers. Housing construction in 1991 was at its lowest level since 1946, a bit more than 1 million starts. In good years this country builds 2 million homes,

If business is going to get tax breaks, companies should have to prove that their tax savings actually created new jobs — for Americans. The taxpayers should not subsidize the export of American jobs.

but business executives and wealthy stockholders won lower rates on their personal income. That was the deal announced to the public — a grand compromise in the name of "fairness."

Now the deal is being undone in behalf of those same interests. In effect, the general taxpayers are being double-crossed. Democrats may succeed in restoring a higher rate on millionaires, but don't count on it. Bush promises to veto it, and few politicians like the idea of raising anyone's taxes during a campaign. In the confusion and hype of election-year tax politics, it seems more likely that some selected citizens are going to get their cake back and eat it too.

If business is going to get tax breaks, Congress should impose some new rules. For instance, no company should be eligible if its executives are enjoying scandalously high salaries and bonuses. Or if the company intends to buy its new machinery from foreign producers. Furthermore, a company ought to have to prove its tax savings actually created new jobs for Americans — or else give the money back. There's no reason American taxpayers should subsidize the loss of American jobs.

THE STRONGEST IDEA IN BUSH'S BAG OF goodies is the one that speaks most directly to the sagging economic climate — a \$5000 tax credit for first-time home buyers. The National Association of Home Builders, which lobbied the White House for this provision, estimates that the sub-

sidy can produce as many as 215,000 new housing starts this year. That would put a lot of people back to work in the construction industry and at least begin the kind of economic stimulus needed for a genuine recovery.

The problem with the housing tax credit, of course, is that it's good for the better off but no help at all for the unemployed or those who can't raise the money for a down payment. Likewise, the proposals by Bush and some Democrats to waive penalties on IRA withdrawals for housing or education are skewed toward upper-income people who can afford to have IRAs in the first place. Still, these measures are small first steps toward the kind of action the government ought to be taking to reverse the economic decay.

"Not to worry," the conventional wisdom proclaims. "Signs of recovery are in the air," the *Wall Street Journal* announces. If so, then the congressional debates this spring will be more entertainment — fun and games with the tax code, though essentially beside the point. But if the recovery does not develop smartly this spring, or if it is so weak that nobody notices, the economy may undergo another wave of doubt and fear and retrenchment. The psychological effects can be deadening in themselves, as economic players from corporate executives to ordinary consumers decide to play it safe and pull back again from buying and spending or producing.

Should this occur, George Bush will look even more pained and frantic than he does now. Given his cynical performance as president, he richly deserves such a fate. The country doesn't.

MARCH 16, 1992

PANDER TIME

The most depressing lesson from the South Dakota primary is that the Democrats can still unite around one theme: support for the nation's absurd, costly farm policies. Those who watched the main television debate before the primary saw the alleged party of the people pander samelessly to the wealthiest special interest group in America. Ken Bode, the CNN moderator, led off one question by declaring, "Today's farmers are older, they're poorer, and they're fewer than ever before." In reality, today's farmers are far richer than most Americans, and far wealthier than their forefathers. According to USDA statistics, the average full-time farmer is a millionaire. Even farmers in the part-time class have an average net worth of over \$300,000.

The silliest notion floated in the debate was that the government has not done enough to help these folks. Farm subsidies—roughly \$20 billion a year in federal handouts and \$12 billion more in higher food prices—are the equivalent of giving every full-time subsidized farmer a new Mercedes Benz every year. Annual subsidies for each dairy cow in the United States exceed the per capita income for half the world's population. With the \$300-plus billion that government and consumers have spent on farm subsidies since 1980, we could have bought every farm, barn, and tractor in thirty-three states.

The debate capped a week of farm-belt pandering. In a February 21 speech before the South Dakota legislature, Bob Kerrey called for more supply management programs to boost farm prices. "Supply management" is a euphemism for paying farmers not to work. The federal government is currently paying farmers to idle more than 50 million acres of crop land in order to inflate crop prices. Kerrey—along with Harkin—wants to shut down more acres to inflate prices even further. In the debate, Kerrey fixated on the notion that "the loan rates are too low, and it makes it difficult for us... to be able to get the price in a range where the producer can make a profit without having to provide a subsidy." The "loan rates" are federal price support levels; Kerrey favors raising these levels, a policy that would enrich already rich producers and, since it would make

food more expensive, impoverish consumers.

Senator Tom Harkin drove around South Dakota in a pickup truck fueled with ethanol, hooting about his commitment to more subsidies for ethanol production: "Ethanol really is a win-win situation for all of us." In fact, it's lose-lose. An Agriculture Department study concluded that each \$1 of benefits provided to farmers via ethanol costs consumers and taxpayers \$4. Ethanol production is extremely profitable for politicians, though, since Archer Daniel Midland, the nation's largest ethanol producer, gushes money into the pockets of its political supporters like Harkin.

Governor Bill Clinton bragged in the debate about his state program of tax-exempt bonds to provide subsidized credit for first-time farm buyers. More credit is exactly what American farmers do not need; when it doesn't push them into bankruptcy, it increases land values, which in turn raises farmers' cost of production and undermines their competitiveness. Though Clinton joined the hosannas to the family farmer, he dodged a question about whether the government should effectively restrict payments to \$50,000 per farmer.

Arkansas rice farmers receive among the highest subsidies of anyone on the USDA dole, and Clinton protects them. Clinton's final point was to call for more agricultural export subsidies. Perhaps most disappointing of all was Paul Tsongas, the alleged candidate of truth, who challenged none of this malarkey and was just as sycophantic toward farmers, though more vague about specifics than his rivals.

Current farm policy is institutionalized penalization of consumers. In any sane country running a \$400 billion a year deficit, agricultural subsidies would be phased out as quickly as possible. Any party that claims to support "the forgotten middle class" should have no truck with a policy that harms American productivity, increases food prices for middle- and low-income families, and costs the taxpayer billions of dollars a year. Today's Democrats, of all people, should have a look at their policy of enriching the rich at the expense of the poor, and switch sides. •



NOTEBOOK

BUSHISM OF THE WEEK: "Because I'm a little bit tired—well, I'll give you an example, I'll give you an example. This state of Tennessee had 6,700 Reservists and Guardsmen volunteer—one community of 1,000 had eighteen people—this is the volunteer state, people are still very proud of the fact of this—of Desert Storm. And there is a national pride there, there's a pride in having a strong America. That's my position—a strong America, and having led a very triumphant and very important war over there." —February 19, at a press conference in Tennessee

OPERATION ANFALA: Reports now arriving in the West about Iraqi atrocities against the Kurds in the late 1980s beggar the belief even of those who were unillusioned about the Baath regime. By some Kurdish estimates, some 180,000 people may have been liquidated by systematic mass killings, gas attacks, and torture. In meticulously detailed documents, recovered by Kurds during their brief liberation a year ago, the Baath agents reportedly recorded such events as carrying truckloads of Kurdish civilians to open pits, forcing them to stand in them, and gunning them down en masse, before bulldozing the earth. Organizations such as Middle East Watch have discovered mass graves that lend credence to such accounts. Among other documents recovered are tapes reportedly recording the Baath defense minister, Ali Hassan Majeed, boasting that "we have been gassing them escaping. We gas them not once, not twice, but until we get rid of them." We hope this material can be gathered and verified by independent experts as soon as possible. We hope also that the Bush administration begins to realize the gravity of its decision to betray the Kurds last year to one of the most brutal regimes the world has seen since the demise of the Third Reich.

UNISEXISM:

COMING OUT OF HER CLOSET

Designers put feminine touch on their bold fall lines for men

—*Chicago Sun-Times*, "Fashion," February 5

Falling in place

Menswear designers take a very masculine approach to fall fashions.

—*Chicago Tribune*, "Style," same day

(thanks to Elizabeth Elving Bass, DeKalb, Illinois)

Bush in New Hampshire.

THE SHRUB FILE

By Douglas G. McGrath

Another unsolicited report from Secret Service Agent Duke, assigned to the president. *Wednesday, January 15, 1992—Washington*
12:13 p.m. Shrub met with reporters. He said, "Let me just say to those out there who are out there churning around, saying I don't know there's a recession on, I say, hey! Of course, I know it. Who do they think was president of the whole country when it started? Times are bad. Recovery's been ripcorded. Never known a time as tough as this one and I'm counting that time the maids went on strike at Andover. Economy's in a free fall. *I know it. Nobody's got their hand on the wheel. I hear you.* Families can't find food, men can't find jobs, babies are being pulled off their incubators. Oh, actually, that was—well, never mind. If that is the message the American people are trying to leave on the phone machine of the Bush White House, we've got it—flipped it over and saved it. Because I am the Understands the Recession President."

Friday, January 17—White House

Apparently, people found the Shrub's remarks so severe, they now think the country is in a depression. At his lunch with the Vice-Shrub, the Shrub asked him what he thought about this. The Sapling said he thought it was actually good news. "Think how happy they'll be when they find out we're only in a recession!"

Saturday, January 25—White House

With the Buzz Saw gaining ground in the primary, Mr. Teeter has dispatched conservatives to New Hampshire to speak up for the Shrub. None of them wanted to, but the Shrub said that if they played along, he'd fire someone for them. (Word is the NEA guy has got it coming. Too many ladies in chocolate.) The Shrub knows that if he wants to pull this out of the fire, he'll have to do it himself. After he met with Mr. Skinner, he told us, "Pack your baggies, fellas, we're heading for the Hambone!"

Wednesday, February 12—Nashua, New Hampshire

We took the Shrub to an "Ask the President" session at William Loeb Elementary. Ever since the broccoli thing, the Shrub is very popular with kids. This session was K through five. That's a nice age, still pretty innocent. We only confiscated twelve pistols and a deer

rifle. (I should let you know there was a 602-C at the door. Mrs. Loeb, the newspaper publisher, tried to get into the room disguised as a gym teacher. She set off the alarm. We frisked and found a package of darts under her sweats. When we tried to remove her, she knocked Agent Banks to the ground, bit him repeatedly, and lengthened his right arm.)

Once the Q and A started, a little girl asked the Shrub what his proudest achievement was. He said, "When I took office, flag burning was tearing this country apart. I said I'd do something about it and I did. Drew a line in the sands of the Persian Gulf and I drew a line for Old Glory."

The little girl raised her hand. "How can you draw a line in a gulf?"

The Shrub glared at her a little and said, "That's a question for your geography—or physics—teacher. Anyway, a message on Bush stationery went out to the Betsy Ross burners and flag fires started going out with laserlike speed."

She started to ask a follow-up but the Shrub was getting irritated. He gave me the signal for a B-19 from Agent Simons. Agent Simons approached the little girl and told her that her mother had been in an accident and was in the hospital. Man, did she start crying; we could hear her all the way to the parking lot. I almost felt sorry for her, but then I thought how happy she'd be when she learned it wasn't true. That's the beauty of a B-19.

6:59—Orlando, Florida.

The Shrub went to an industrial show in which equipment for supermarkets was demonstrated. He stood at a sample check-out stand and was amazed by the electronic scanner that reads prices off the cans. He played with that over and over, giggling and clapping. Then he noticed the cans moving toward the cashier. He became very excited and raised his voice. "Look at that! Are you telling me—are the cans *themselves* automated? I mean, look at 'em, they're walking right up to the cash register!"

The woman behind the counter said, "Actually, Mr. President, it's a conveyor belt."

The Shrub said, "Oh. Super. Gotcha. And when will this be available for regular supermarkets?"

Saturday, February 15—New Hampshire

Things were getting so bad for the Shrub that Mr. Teeter had to fly in Arnold Schwarzenegger. Me and the other agents were pretty excited about this, and met him before for autographs. Agent Banks asked him if they could arm-wrestle. Mr. Schwarzenegger agreed and Agent Banks won!

On the plane back, the Shrub asked him what it was like to wrestle the Terminator. "He's tough," Agent Banks said, "but he doesn't hold a candle to Mrs. Loeb."

"I hear you," said the Shrub, and I thought he looked a little forlorn.

DOUGLAS G. MCGRATH is a playwright and screenwriter.

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

WAR FOOTING

By Fred Barnes

Once movie star Arnold Schwarzenegger was summoned to appear with President Bush in New Hampshire on February 15, the Bush strategy against Patrick Buchanan was firmly in place. Contacted by campaign strategist Jim Pinkerton, Schwarzenegger flew overnight from California in his private jet to join Bush for lunch and an afternoon of campaign events. After being part of Bush's 1988 campaign, Schwarzenegger asked to be chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness. A memo backing his bid went to Bush. "This is great," Bush jotted in the margin. "I'm high on Conan."

After shilly-shallying for weeks, the Bushies have finally decided on a strategy. It's simple: crush Buchanan in every caucus and primary and drive him out of the race after Super Tuesday on March 10. They assume Buchanan will win no contests. So they'll muster Republicans, especially conservatives, all over the country on March 11 to proclaim noisily that it's time for Buchanan to drop out. "He'll have to withdraw," says a senior campaign official, "or he'll be seen as a guy who's sabotaging Bush." Samuel Skinner, the White House chief of staff, says Buchanan "will turn off voters and turn off the party" if he persists.

To stifle Buchanan, the White House and campaign staffs are on wartime footing. "We wish we didn't have to do this," says a Bush adviser. "But Buchanan forced us to." The first White House session of the day is no longer the senior staff meeting. Now it's preceded by a 7:30 a.m. meeting in Skinner's office. Skinner, campaign chiefs Bob Teeter and Fred Malek, Skinner deputy Henson Moore, budget director Richard Darman, Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, and several others talk about the campaign. Throughout the day, meetings are held on specialized campaign topics—schedule, message, surrogates, TV ads (the media consultants are known at the White House as "the three amigos"). Then Teeter drops by Skinner's office at the end of each day for a wrap-up session.

The Bushies are not happy people. Buchanan's attacks have gotten under their skin, and under Bush's too. He resented being called "King George" by Buchanan in New Hampshire. "To get personal is annoying to everyone," says Skinner. The day after the New Hampshire primary, Buchanan demanded a

debate with Bush. Fitzwater dutifully asked Bush about it. "Marlin, you know the answer to that," the president said. "Not in my lifetime?" Fitzwater said. "Yep," Bush snapped. The president, however, relishes the shots taken at Buchanan. His favorite was by former drug czar William Bennett, who declared that Buchanan "sounds like George McGovern in foreign policy, sounds like Richard Gephardt in trade policy, and sounds like Jackson in policy toward Israel—not Scoop Jackson, but Jesse Jackson."

In their eagerness to crush Buchanan, the Bush high command has made two questionable decisions. One is to have the president campaign practically full-time in the two weeks before Super Tuesday. "With any challenge at all, you've got to go," insists a senior White House official. "We don't have an option." Actually there is one. Bennett has talked repeatedly to Bush and others at the White House about it. Bennett's idea is a Pennsylvania Avenue strategy that calls for Bush to stay in town and concentrate his fire on Congress, not Buchanan. He would fire away with new initiatives, attacks, media events. "Remember," says a Bennett ally at the White House, "President Bush is a much stronger candidate than George Bush." But by campaigning frantically, Bush may turn the race into a Ford-Reagan grudge match in which Bush diminishes himself and elevates Buchanan. That's the argument, anyway. Bush, Skinner, and Teeter rejected it.

The other decision was to go negative on Buchanan. The Bushies were rightly wary of doing this in New Hampshire. "The press would have killed us," says Fitzwater. Two things changed their mind: first Buchanan's accusation that Bush reneged on his promise to push a middle-class tax cut, then how well Buchanan did in New Hampshire. More than anything else Buchanan has done, the allegation of another White House betrayal on taxes angered Bush and his aides. "He just out and out lied," says Skinner. For doubters, Skinner displays a chart produced in January before Bush's State of the Union address. It shows the \$500 boost in the personal exemption as part of the "intermediate and long-term agenda," not the emergency economic recovery agenda. OK, the distinction between short- and long-term agendas is legitimate, but I'm afraid it's lost on voters. On the other hand, Buchanan's accusation is understandable: Bush promised a middle-class tax cut, but it isn't in the bill he wants Congress to pass now.

The problem with driving a stake through Buchanan's heart is that it might alienate conservatives whose votes Bush needs in the fall. So the attacks are cleverly parceled out. Bush never mentions Buchanan by name in speeches. This is known at the White House as being "above the fray." Vice President Dan Quayle is allowed to get more specific. He warned in a speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference on February 21 that conservatives "risk being out of power for a generation" if Buchanan wounds Bush so badly that a Democrat wins the White House. Others like House

Republican Whip Newt Gingrich are permitted to get more specific still, zinging Buchanan directly and by name. My guess is that conservatives won't be alienated; they know about hardball. A negative TV spot points out Buchanan's opposition to Desert Storm. That's also safe with conservatives, most of whom disagree with Buchanan on the Gulf war.

The drive to eliminate Buchanan prompted Bush speechwriters to come up earlier than expected with a standard stump speech for the president. It's an amalgam of conservative themes. From consultant Mike Murphy, Bush has taken the theme of change. "Republican leadership will change America," he told a GOP crowd in Charleston, South Carolina, on February 21. He blasted big government, pundits, and lawyers. "We believe in less government, low taxes," he said. "We believe that parents, not the government, should make the big decisions" about their children's school and health care. "And another thing. Maybe this is just my personal prejudice talking. Let's not listen to the gloom and doom from all those intense talking heads who are happy only when they say something negative. We are the United States of America and we don't have to put up with all that." This caused the Charleston audience to erupt with chants of "four more years, four more years."

The speech is pretty thin stuff. Bush aides concede as much. "We need to sharpen the message," says a senior adviser. Bush needs improvement too. He was an effective campaigner in 1988—really—but he's lost his touch. Schwarzenegger outshines him. After lunch at the Holiday Inn in Manchester, New Hampshire, on February 15, Bush shook hands with a line of hotel employees. A young woman didn't mince words when Bush approached her. "I want to meet Arnold Schwarzenegger," she said. •

The last gasp of Mario Cuomo.

THE COWARD

By Sidney Blumenthal

All day, a charter airplane warmed its engines, ready to speed the governor of New York from Albany to Concord, New Hampshire, where, within minutes of the filing deadline, he would declare his presidential ambition. A large party of local political notables huddled at a hotel near the airport, prepared at a moment's notice to rush there to hail the hero. "Hurry, hurry!" shouted an excited aide to the restive press corps. "Get ready to go to the plane!" Mario Cuomo was to appear at eleven; then noon; then

one. Hours passed. He was alone, writing his statement, honing his eloquence. Finally, after three, he emerged from his chamber, and bowed out. But this was a false cue. Cuomo still wanted to have a campaign, but without having to campaign. His choice not to run was simply a gambit in his run, which he could only accomplish on his own self-protective terms.

The key to this reflex is Cuomo's parochialism. Cuomo has always lived a village life. His departure from Queens to Albany was no break in this: for fourteen years, since he was elected lieutenant governor, he built a small, familiar world up the Hudson. His closest adviser remains his son Andrew. "He doesn't allow the development of other personalities around him," says a New York political figure who has been close to him for almost twenty years. "People around him are terrified of him. They don't say, 'Don't say that.'" In Albany Cuomo has offended almost all the other leaders. He has no close allies. Even when his popularity was high, he would not expend his political capital to help his party win the state Senate. When he won by a landslide in 1986, he was commonly called "a sore winner."

Cuomo the villager loathes travel. According to *The New York Times's* Kevin Sack, Cuomo has spent a mere thirty-six nights away from the executive mansion in the 3,187 days he has been governor. He even took the red-eye back the night he delivered his famous keynote address at the 1984 Democratic Convention in San Francisco. "I come from the old school and the old neighborhood," he told Larry King last month. Cuomo is quick to recall his shame as a boy about his Italian-inflected English, the ethnic slights he endured from his friends' mothers, his rejections from Wall Street law firms. He acts as though the world of ethnic limits in which he grew up were still in place. At a recent meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, he remarked that he has occasionally been mistaken for Lee Iacocca: "You know we all look alike," he said, glancing toward David Dinkins. For Cuomo, membership in the family of New

York seems to mean sharing a common ethnic taint.

Cuomo's rumination about running for president was a wrestling match with his demons. In 1985 he blurted angrily to a startled group of reporters: "You're telling me that the Mafia is an organization, and I'm telling you that's a lot of baloney." The following year he said without prompting: "If anything could make me change my mind about running for the presidency it's people talking about 'an Italian can't do it, a Catholic can't do it.'" Constantly he speaks about how ludicrous it would be if he changed his name to "Mark Conrad"—his imaginary WASP doppelgänger. He is deathly afraid of the unknown,

of WASPs, of the mysterious country beyond the Hudson. But his sense of the rigid boundaries of ethnicity are less a measure of reality than of his lack of psychological assimilation. The isolation and insecurity he must feel is mainly rooted in himself. He's welcome to the party, but fearful of coming; it would mean recognizing a world that is unfamiliar.

Always afraid that others might overshadow him, Cuomo has mastered the small art of belittlement. When Walter Mondale ran for president, Cuomo called him "polenta," or Italian corn mush. Then Cuomo explained that his mother had said it and it meant that Mondale had the character of that sturdy, reliable food.



MARIO CUOMO BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

In 1988 Cuomo spent much of the campaign creating circumstances in which Michael Dukakis appeared small, forced to seek his blessing and endorsement, which he would not grant. The day after the primaries ended, Cuomo announced that the question of endorsement was irrelevant in any case since he was always going to endorse the winner. But reporters pressed him to say something about Dukakis. They needed more than Cuomo's solipsism for their lead. "I endorse him! I endorse him! I endorse him!" Cuomo shouted. In endorsing other politicians, Cuomo often lauds them excessively. "It's an incredible trick, a device," said a New York politico. "His modesty is literally incredible."

At the 1984 convention, Cuomo's keynote speech instantly elevated him into party savior, whose coming could be brought only by sufficient prayer of the faithful. He had momentarily dropped into a demoralized party whose nominee was gasping for life. Cuomo's speech—a "Tale of Two Cities"—divided America into two classes, the rich and poor. He defined the middle class in resentful, anti-modern terms: "The middle class, those people who work for a living because they have to, not because some psychiatrist told them it was a convenient way to fill the interval between birth and eternity." By enunciating the credo and swiftly departing, Cuomo had set himself apart as a spiritual figure. From then on, he was begged to run, his frequent exhibitions of reluctance only stimulating the pleadings. His moment may well have been 1988, but he left the race to the technocratic Michael Dukakis, a much more assimilated figure, who unconvincedly tried to present himself as a character out of *Moonstruck*, in the Cuomo image.

The mugging of Dukakis seemed to prepare the Democrats for Mario Cuomo. They liked to imagine him striding onto the debate stage with George Bush carrying a baseball bat. His enormous, obvious weaknesses did not dim the feeling for his candidacy. In any other figure his titanic flaws would have been cement shoes. But Cuomo's unsurpassed rhetorical skill and combativeness—his sweep of intellect and street-wise menace—attracted a following that did not disperse even after his refusal to run.

But soon after his withdrawal, Cuomo was in the game. In the now-infamous Gennifer Flowers tapes, Flowers raised Cuomo's name: "I wouldn't be surprised if he didn't have some Mafioso major connections." Clinton, who later claimed he was trying to assuage an unstable threat, replied: "Well, he acts like one." Clinton apologized. Cuomo exploded. On "Larry King Live," on January 29, he unleashed his rage: "It involves all Italian-Americans and, much more than that, it involves all the people who have ever been slurred—all the Jews and all the Polish people and all the minority groups and all the women and all the welfare people—all those people who, when you're in trouble in this country, you tend to scapegoat; all that cheap living room talk when the 'other group' isn't there; all that 'nigger' talk...."

With the New Hampshire primary in full swing, on February 13, Mario Cuomo made a border raid. At the Kennedy School, the faculty and graduate students hung from the rafters and on every word. It was as close to a campaign appearance as Cuomo would ever make. The subject was ostensibly welfare; the stated target was ostensibly the Republican president; the subtext was Bill Clinton, who has argued for welfare reform. The speech was mostly composed of arias from Cuomo's repertoire: "The Republicans are masters of diversionary tactics." And: "Instead of a blueprint, [Bush] has given the nation a few delicious but meager bonbons." (In fact, Cuomo's Harvard speech had no specifics on welfare reform; it was itself a delicious but meager bon-

bon.) Cuomo could not have had a more fawning audience than the Harvardians. Questioner after questioner begged him to enter the race as the only one who could rescue the party. He declined to quell the write-in effort in New Hampshire on his behalf. "They're saying lousy things about me in my own state. If someone wants to say nice things about me in New Hampshire, I'm not going to discourage it."

But what was filling for Harvard felt empty in New Hampshire. And what Cuomo did not understand was that he was not perpetuating his artful dodging. By declining to shut down the write-in operation, he put himself in the race. But by not entering in earnest, the voters resented his disingenuousness. His negative rating in the polls climbed higher than any other Democrat in the primary. On election day, he won 3 percent.

Cuomo's intent to armor himself from the rigors of the campaign caused him to suffer from them. His moral vanity may be left intact, but not his promise for the Democrats. They had been led to believe that he was a man who understood power. His coyness over the years may have sprung from his instinct for self-preservation, but his self-absorption ultimately distracted him. He has returned to his village, where he is again enveloped in parochial battle, violently feuding with Senator Al D'Amato, the last major New York politician with whom he did not have strained relations and with whom he had previously had a political concordance. Now he can await the New York primary, when the presidential campaign will parade through his neighborhood and he can play his traditional role, belittling by belittling or belittling by praise. But his own aura of possibility, which accounted for much of his power, is gone. What he has exposed by his non-candidacy is that he is not the prince who can ride fortune. What he has injured is his pride. What he has lost is the last chance in his political career. •

Paul Tsongas's foreign policy record.

PUNCH-PULLER

By Morton Kondracke

Paul Tsongas's campaign manifesto, "A Call to Economic Arms," is replete with violent metaphors. "Today our economic enemies are our political friends," he writes. "The war they wage is in the marketplace, not on the battlefield." "Our companies are going forth to do one-on-one battle and are being mugged" by competitors "aided by governments that aggressively seek out the advantages of uneven playing fields wherever possible." As a result,

the U.S. economy is "under siege" and its way of life is "in peril."

Despite the life-and-death rhetoric, however, Tsongas's means of fighting back are strangely mild, especially toward our "economic enemies." He calls for targeted tax cuts to help U.S. corporations, partnerships between government and business, and "economic loyalty" on the part of American consumers, who should regard buying a foreign car as the moral equivalent of sending money to the Soviet Union in the midst of the cold war. Though Americans are being "mugged," Tsongas's manifesto calls for no action against the muggers save "to criticize them when their policies are in error." He calls for no sanctions, no threats, no "bashing." In one recent candidates' debate, when pressed on what tough action he might take against Japanese trade restrictions, Tsongas said the strongest action he could take would be to tell the American people Japan had not been fair and ask them to "understand that in your consumer purchases."

Tsongas's eschewal of protectionism is a relief; but his reluctance to use presidential power against foreign powers in geoeconomics is unfortunately mirrored in geopolitics. In virtually every case when America came in conflict with an adversary during his career, Tsongas found that this country was somehow to blame. And in virtually every case when the United States faced the choice of using or threatening military force, Tsongas was opposed to it.

Fellow Massachusetts Democrats say Tsongas is not as non-combative as Michael Dukakis of Brookline. "I am not a suburbanite," says Tsongas himself as he points to Lowell, where he grew up: a gritty machine town, where he had to fight entrenched anti-reform interests to make it onto the city council and then the Middlesex County Council. But since his election to Congress in 1974, he has never had to fight a dirty campaign and never waged one. Watergate did in his first opponent, Paul Cronin. In 1978 he faced a multi-candidate primary field for the U.S. Senate, and won because he had a superior handle on federal issues.

On policy he has stuck to his guns: a long-time advocate of corporate subsidies, in 1980 he gutsily told the Americans for Democratic Action that they had to help—not oppose—private business. He's also tackled fellow liberals on nuclear power and middle-class tax cuts. But these are the exceptions and not the rule. (Tsongas's ADA approval rating, for example, was still an average 85.8 percent in his Senate career.) And conflict-aversion is Tsongas's instinct. As his campaign ads show, Tsongas's sport is swimming—a "solitary, self-dependent" activity, as he once described it—where victory depends on improving one's own performance, not blocking or tackling an opponent. It's also not a team sport requiring him to lead others by force of personality as well as ideas.

It's in foreign affairs that his conflict-aversion is most striking. During his term in the Senate, Tsongas became one of the foremost opponents of President Reagan's Central American policy and a leading advo-

cate of a nuclear freeze with the USSR. He's no pacifist and never succumbed to the illusion that the United States and the Soviet Union were morally equivalent. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, he supported arms aid to the Afghan rebels, and in his 1981 book, *The Road from Here*, he describes the Soviets as cynical and threatening. As a representative in the mid-1970s, he joined fellow liberals in slashing the defense budget but refused to go along with colleagues who wanted to pull U.S. forces out of Europe.

Still, arguing in 1980 for aid to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, Tsongas declared that "Castro is in power today because we isolated him and gave him no choice but to turn to the Soviets." The United States faced anti-American regimes in Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Iran, he said, because it backed right-wing dictators beforehand. In an interview, he told me he believes the same today. He also argued in his book that Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam turned to the Soviets because the United States refused him military aid.

Tsongas argued against the invasion of Grenada because he said he didn't believe U.S. medical students there were truly in danger. He opposed the contras as "terrorists" and, while not endorsing the Sandinistas, predicted they would remain in power "for a long time" because they had the support of their people and called on the United States to make an accommodation with them. He urged a negotiated settlement between Communist FMLN guerrillas and the government of El Salvador in 1983 even though, at the time, the FMLN was still bent on a takeover of the country.

Tsongas opposed Reagan's defense buildup and Star Wars because he said he feared U.S. aggressiveness would help the Soviets succeed in wooing Western Europe into neutrality. Actually, in 1984, when Germany voted to deploy U.S. nuclear missiles, the Soviets returned to arms talks they'd previously walked out of. Tsongas now admits, "Reagan's 'evil empire' mindset made the Soviets wary of what we might do."

President Bush's invasion of Panama, Tsongas says, was "probably justified, given what Noriega was doing." (Tsongas favors the death penalty for large-scale drug dealers, though not for murderers.) He told me: "I'm troubled by the instinct of Republicans to use force automatically," but said he understands the principle that "you have to be willing to use force sometimes, or else your adversaries take advantage of you." In the Gulf, he says, he would have voted with fellow Democrats to give more time for economic sanctions to weaken Saddam Hussein, but would have used force if sanctions had not succeeded. He does not rule out force "as a final resort" if other means are unsuccessful in curtailing Iraq's nuclear program.

"I am not an attacker. I'm a counterpuncher," Tsongas said. "I'll give people reasonable running room, but if they hit, you have to hit back. Otherwise the judgment gets made that you're not tough." Tsongas denies that such a judgment should be made

about him, and points to his post-Senate experience on Cape Cod, where as chairman of a study commission on the environment he won limits on development by threatening a moratorium on all new construction. It's not an argument that would have Saddam Hussein quaking in his boots. •

The problems just over the rainbow

Neither party is yet in a strong position to build a coalition that will produce a victory in the fall

In the first three weeks of presidential primaries, voters in all four corners of America have been sending a message of anger and protest. Yet even though the issue focus has been on the stagnant economy, voters in both parties have been split not so much along economic lines as along cultural fissures—according to education, region, race, gender and personal values. Each candidate, Republican as well as Democratic, starts off with just a few fragments of the electorate. And the problems exposed by the voting so far suggest that no candidate is yet in a good position to assemble a coalition that can produce a victory in November.

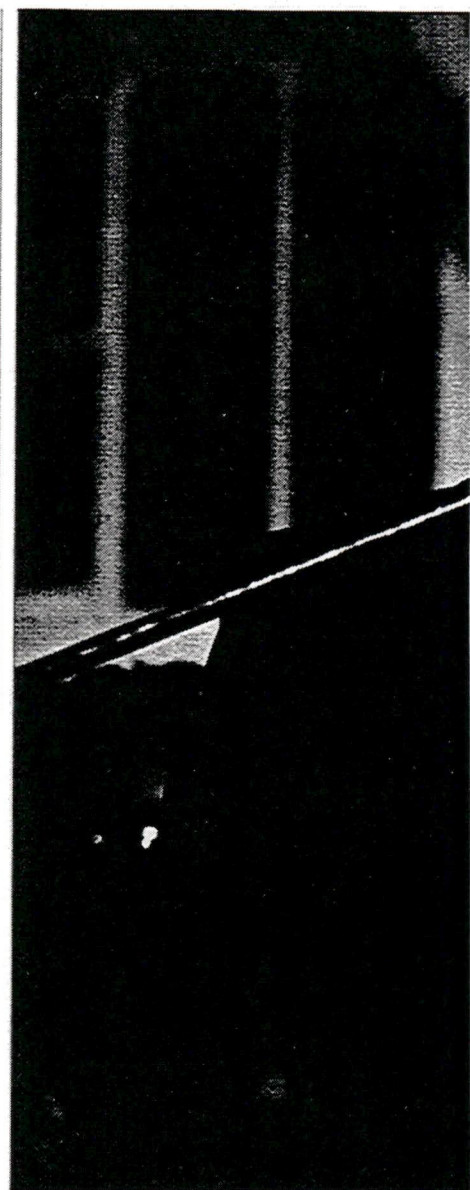
The disenchantment cuts in many directions. George Bush is losing about one third of the once cohesive Republican primary voters, even in states where

Patrick Buchanan doesn't campaign. And typically, about half the Buchanan voters say they would back a Democrat over Bush in the fall. Paul Tsongas, winner of the most Democratic contests, does poorly with the Democratic base constituencies of blacks, blue-collar workers and the elderly. Meanwhile, Bill Clinton has failed to draw large turnouts among moderate whites.

The other Democrats are in even deeper trouble—or are already exiting. Bob Kerrey, who ran well only in South Dakota, just north of his Nebraska home base, has left the race. Tom Harkin has scored only with upper Midwest liberal activists; he hopes that support from United Auto Workers leaders and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young will enable him to do well in Michigan's March 17 primary. But labor leaders have trouble delivering the rank and file, and Young's backing hurts Harkin with many white voters. Jerry Brown, who showed appeal to the environmentally minded under-30 voters in Maine and Colorado, has hopes for Connecticut, New York and California. He will pepper Clinton and Tsongas with anti-Establishment rhetoric and seems poised to occupy the vacuum on the left caused by Jesse Jackson's absence. But Brown is not likely to create a three-way deadlock, if only because the



Discharged. Kerrey could never sell his few ideas.



Forward ho. Bill Clinton will do very well in

768 party and public officials who are superdelegates will probably gravitate by April to Clinton or Tsongas, depending on which of them looks stronger.

A cultural divide. Similar percentages of all income groups voted in both parties' primaries in New Hampshire and Maryland. The most striking cultural divisions were among the Democrats. Take education: Exit polls in New Hampshire, Maryland, Georgia and Colorado showed that Clinton led Tsongas by an average of 53 percent to 20 percent among high-school dropouts; Tsongas led Clinton by an average of 44 percent to 23 percent among those with postcollege graduate study. Clinton won big among blacks and Hispanics. Tsongas did better among baby boomers ages 30 to 44. Tsongas has fared well



Southern contests this week, then faces a big showdown against Paul Tsongas in Illinois and Michigan.

because the Democratic primary electorate, even in tough economic times, is much more upscale than ever before: Joe Six-pack has been replaced by a Volvo-driving yuppie. Exit polls showed that 34 to 44 percent of Democratic voters are baby boomers, and 39 to 51 percent are college graduates—nearly double the percentage of boomers and college grads in Democratic presidential primaries just eight years ago.

Democratic primary voters are also sharply divided by region: Clinton won 52 percent of whites in Georgia and only 30 and 23 percent in Maryland and Colorado. And they also split by race. Clinton has run far ahead among blacks and is confident he can beat back Harkin's efforts to win their votes in South Carolina and Michigan.

The early results suggest that the Democrats have more to fear than the Republicans do in a general election. There is no evidence so far that Tsongas can win a single electoral vote in the South. Even Clinton is in trouble in his home region. He won in Georgia only among a shrinking Democratic electorate: More than a million Georgians voted in the Democratic primary for governor in 1990, but only 453,000 voted Democratic for president this month; 452,000 voted Republican. The falloff suggests that Clinton's avoidance of military service during the Vietnam War has reduced if not killed his chance to win the "Bubba" vote. Without it, no one can carry the South.

But Democratic strategists can take comfort from the Republican primary

results, which have highlighted Bush's problems. Buchanan's 30 percent-plus showings are a sign of danger—closer to the primary results against incumbents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, who lost, than to primary totals against incumbent Richard Nixon, who won. Even more important, Bush's base seems demoralized, even imperiled. Buchanan's combative style and martial metaphors ("the Buchanan brigade"; "shooting down the Bush dirigible") have attracted more men than women. In New Hampshire, Georgia and Maryland, almost two thirds of his voters were men, the highest proportion since males flocked to the similarly combative campaigns of George Wallace. This could signal weakness in November for Bush, who ran much better among men than women in 1988.

Missing young. One general election bulwark for Bush and the Republicans has been voters under 30. But they haven't yet turned out in great numbers, making up only about 15 percent of primary voters in New Hampshire and Maryland and even less in Georgia and Colorado.

So far, Bush strategists seem to be confident, even cheerful. But in a negative environment, with declining turnout among once enthusiastic voter groups, almost anything can happen. The Democrats may be vulnerable on values, as they were in 1988. And there's an opening for a candidate of either party to assemble a majority by setting forth plans for reform of basic public institutions like education, health care and welfare and by providing a persuasive vision of how America can lead in a postindustrial economy and a post-cold-war world. In the hurly-burly of the first primaries and caucuses, none of the three leading contenders—Bush, Tsongas and Clinton—has done much more than get started on that task. ■

BY MICHAEL BARONE

Can either fix the economy?

The ideas of Clinton and Tsongas aren't as different as they claim

Bill Clinton accuses Paul Tsongas of talking "cold blooded" economics reminiscent of the trickle-down policies of Ronald Reagan. Tsongas derides Clinton's proposed middle-class tax cuts as a giveaway and touts himself as the candidate who will spur economic growth. In the Selling of the Democratic Nominee, product differentiation on economic policy is the name of the game. But while the front-runners make each other out to be separate species, fraternal twins is more like it. There are noticeable differences between the two—but the gene pool is the same.

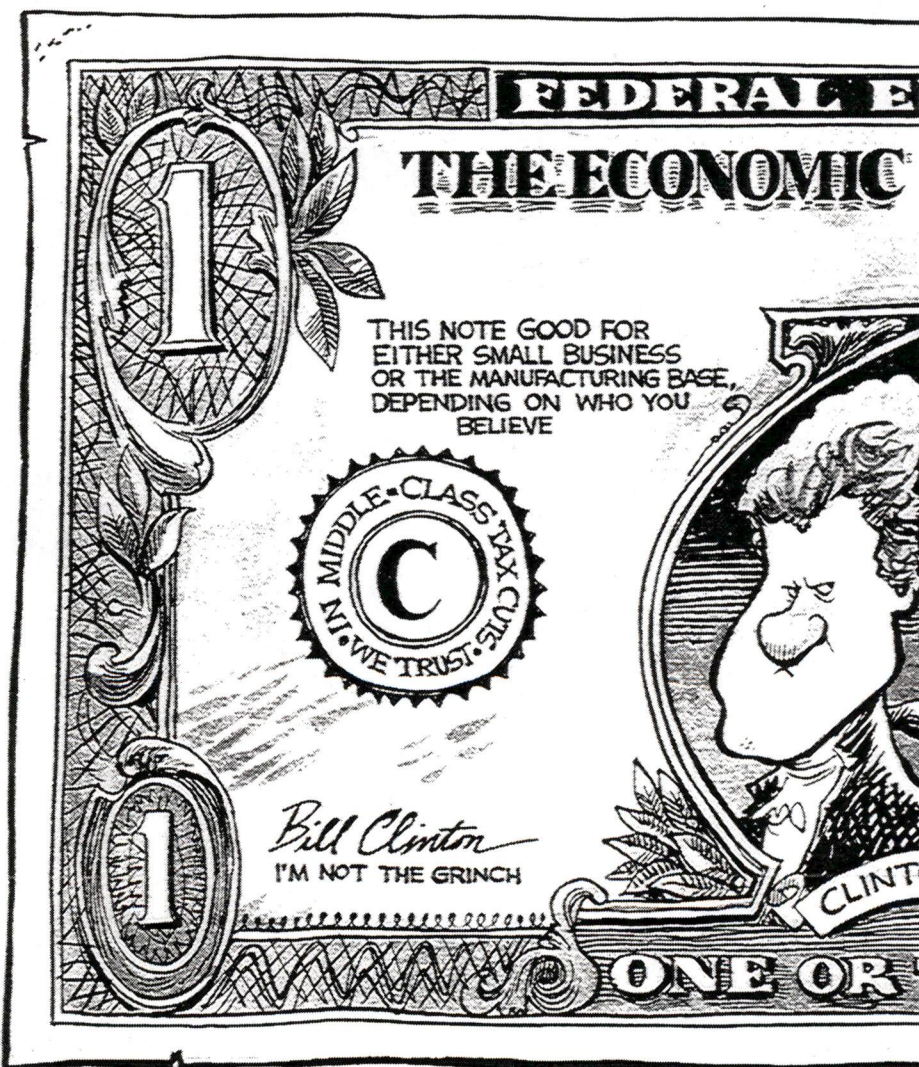
In fact, both the former senator from Massachusetts and the Arkansas governor are bent on taking the party sharply to the right. At the same time, they share a vision of America that differs radically from George Bush's: while the president sees a mighty superpower, Clinton and Tsongas see it slipping into economic twilight. To them, rejuvenating the nation calls for new activism: educating the work force, cutting capital-gains taxes to spur investment and even helping out traditional Democratic nemeses like employers and Wall Street.

Gap with Bush. But despite the pro-business tilt, these two are still Democrats. Although they decry ballooning budget deficits, neither has sketched in detail the painful cuts in entitlement programs that will be needed to curb them. Clinton wants to limit excessive executive pay and force companies to spend an estimated \$55 billion to train their employees. Tsongas encourages workers to go on strike—not for higher wages but because their bosses won't create "total quality management" programs. As Clinton puts it, "Whatever may divide the Democrats is marginal compared to the gulf between us and George Bush."

Before that contest begins, though, they are going after each other. Last week, Clinton denounced Tsongas's plan to hike gasoline taxes 50 cents over a 10-year period and predicted that a more laissez-faire Tsongas would "relax accountability on people at the top." Yet to the extent that the two candidates really do differ, the contrasts stem less from

attitudes or policies than from past experience. Clinton, the Rhodes scholar from a depressed rural state, is steeped in a mixture of New Age globalism and a chamber-of-commerce fervor for nurturing small and medium-sized business. Tsongas, the Dartmouth grad and native

of Lowell, Mass., who lived through the final death throes of that city's textile industry, emphasizes the importance of modern manufacturing—and exhibits a focus on high finance befitting the corporate board member and lobbyist that he became after leaving the Senate in 1984.



CLINTON thinks his platform best helps America adjust to the realities of a New Age globalism, where big corporations transfer money and technology around the world. But he proposes investment incentives targeted only at small and medium-sized business—and he rails against big companies that shift jobs offshore.

Their respective pasts have helped to shape the strong points of each candidate's position on the economy, and each one's shibboleths and sophistry as well. If the economy is an elephant, Tsongas and Clinton have simply grasped different parts of it, with their blindfolds covering at least one eye apiece.

It is ironic that Clinton has so far claimed the affections of the traditional Democratic base—the working class and minorities—because he has long staked himself to the right of the party's mainstream. Until recently, he chaired the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of moderate and conservative Democrats set up after the 1984 elections to

push the party to the center. As governor, he doled out tens of millions of dollars in tax breaks to Arkansas businesses and took stands that alienated labor unions, such as supporting right-to-work legislation. Moreover, despite his claims that Tsongas's gas-tax plan is regressive—most harmful to those least well-off—the Arkansas governor himself last year signed on to a 5-cent gas-tax hike to help pay for highway construction.

In many respects, Tsongas is cut from similar cloth. Although he once had one of the most liberal voting records in the Senate, he began moving to the center toward the end of his tenure in the early 1980s. In retrospect, he now says that

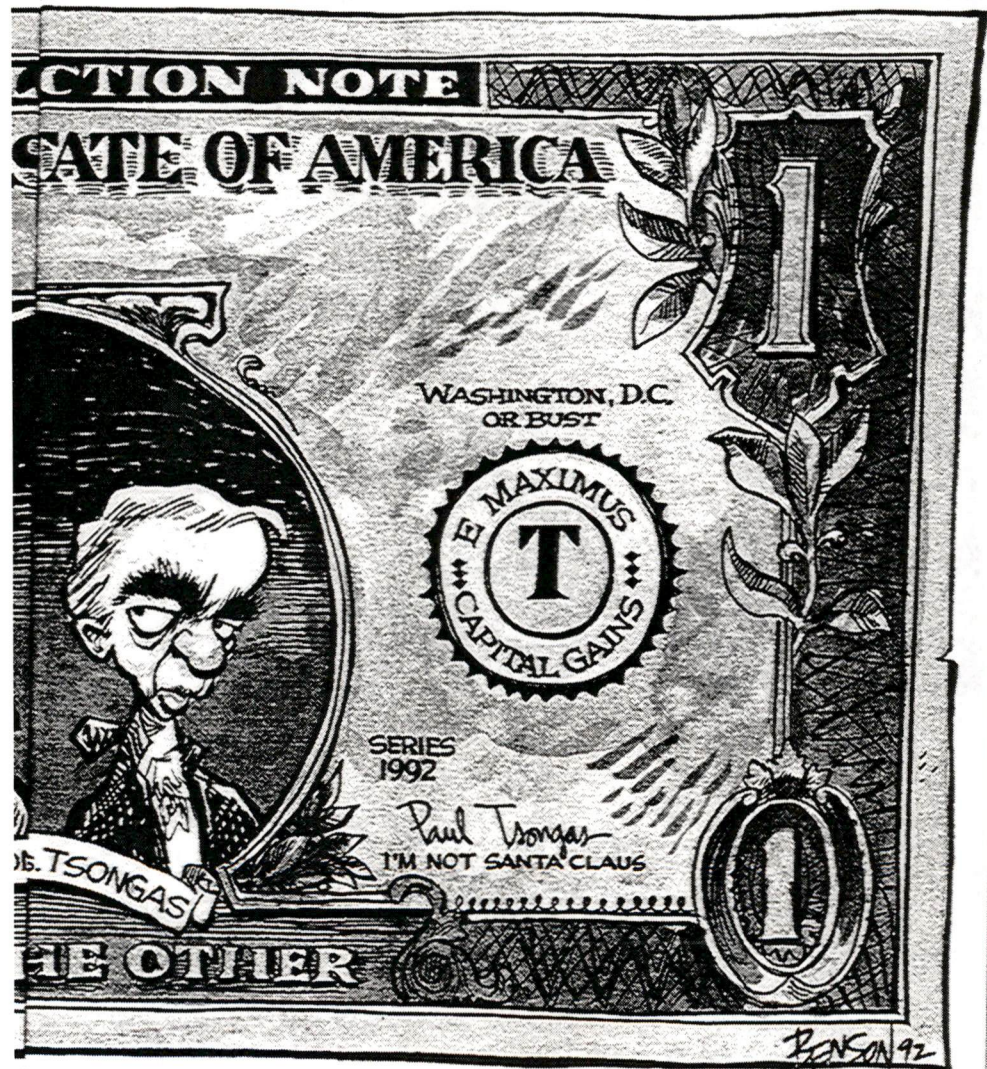
a 1978 vote against cutting capital-gains taxes was among the worst mistakes he ever made. "Democrats still view business as the enemy," he says. "They think you can be pro-jobs and anti-employer at the same time. But you can't redistribute wealth you never created."

A common *weltanschauung* informs both Tsongas's and Clinton's perspectives on global economic issues and trade. While they both favor tough negotiations with countries like Japan to tear down barriers to U.S. exports, they eschew protectionism as harmful to the economy. And they agree that America's economic woes were mainly created at home. As a result, both have cribbed liberally from the "competitiveness" tip sheets making the rounds of Washington policy-making circles, espousing such measures as creating a new federal agency to support research and development of "critical" civilian technologies. Even their advisers share similar perspectives. Clinton draws on the counsel of an old friend from his Oxford days, Harvard political economist Robert Reich. Tsongas, meanwhile, has been advised by another Cantabrigian, economist Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "On the great spectrum of economic theory from A to Z," says Reich, "Lester and I are letters J and K."

Parting company. Yet Tsongas and Clinton do differ in a number of areas—perhaps foremost among them the issue of taxes. For example, both favor hiking income tax rates on the wealthy, who now pay a 31 percent marginal rate on taxable income over \$49,300 for an individual (\$82,150 for a couple filing jointly). Tsongas wants to raise that top rate to 34 or 35 percent, partly to pay for his proposed cut in capital-gains taxes on stocks. Clinton seeks a new top tax rate of 38.5 percent for individuals with taxable income of about \$90,000 (\$150,000 for couples). But he primarily wants to use the proceeds—about \$25 billion—to pay for a cut in tax rates for the middle class. Clinton also proposes to help middle-income families by replacing the current deduction for dependents with a new per-child tax credit, estimated to cost roughly \$22 billion a year. He has vowed to pay for the measure through federal spending cuts and other tax changes but so far has not provided details.

Clinton contends his tax proposals are needed to restore "fairness" amid evidence that the rich scored huge income gains in the late 1970s and '80s. Siding with most mainstream economists, Tsongas rejoins that with the federal budget deficit out of control, any "fairness" that costs money will have to wait.

The two candidates also disagree on



TSONGAS wants a capital-gains-tax cut for new stock investments held for several years, in order to lower American firms' capital costs. He's especially worried about boosting investment in manufacturing—although the chronic productivity problems of the far larger service sector pose perhaps a bigger danger.

how to go about tackling America's underinvestment crisis—a shortage of spending on everything from education and worker training to building public highways and factories and acquiring new equipment. Most economists think the shortage is a central explanation for the long slowdown in the growth of productivity, or output per worker, the key to rising living standards. What's more, underinvestment imperils America's competitiveness: Because of higher rates of investment abroad, Japanese workers now have roughly three times as much capital equipment at their disposal as do workers in the United States.

Better workers. While economists debate the relative importance of "physical" and "human" capital, they agree that both more equipment and more-efficient workers are critical to getting America growing again. Yet for reasons that seem to stem from personal experience, Clinton emphasizes the yin, and Tsongas the yang. The former has spent years trying to improve primary and secondary education in Arkansas; moreover, he shares the view of his friend Reich that, in an age when technology and money can be shuffled around the globe, a nation's competitiveness is most linked to the quality of its labor force. That's the reason Clinton would require firms to spend 1.5 percent of payroll on training all their workers, or contributing to a government-run training program—a step that would add about \$20 billion in mandated costs to the roughly \$35 billion U.S. companies are already spending on worker training.

Tsongas also argues that "work skills are power." But he has spent far more time discussing his plans for spurring private savings through expanded individual retirement accounts—creating more funds that could be plowed into investments in plants and equipment. And in contrast to Clinton, who rarely mentions his own plan to cut capital-gains taxes on investments in start-up businesses, Tsongas argues that his broader proposal to cut capital-gains taxes on new long-term investments in corporate equities will channel badly needed funds to America's industrial sector.

One other thing the candidates share is some confusion about contemporary economic realities. Despite Clinton's embrace of the new globalism—including his support of the proposed North American free-trade agreement—he rails against large corporations that shift jobs overseas. But that seems off point at a time when many U.S. companies are banking on exports to lead growth and

Pointing to the future: Both Tsongas and Clinton are renegade Democrats

SIMILARITIES

On economic

issues, both candidates are to the right of the Democratic mainstream:

- Each is pro-employer and pro-investment: Clinton has supported right-to-work laws and Tsongas has said he would be the best president Wall Street ever had.
- Each favors tough trade negotiations to tear down barriers to U.S. exports. But they eschew protectionism as harmful to the economy, and argue that America's economic woes were created mainly at home.
- Both decry runaway federal spending and have alluded to needed cutbacks in huge government programs like Medicare.

DIFFERENCES

Each candidate

wants to raise tax rates on the wealthy but for different reasons: Tsongas to pay for a broader capital-gains-tax cut, Clinton to cut tax rates for the middle class.

■ Both recognize that America needs more technology and better-trained workers to redress lagging productivity growth. But Tsongas puts more emphasis on the former, while Clinton wants to "put people first."

■ Invoking the Persian Gulf war, Tsongas calls for fuel conservation, tapping renewable energy sources and exploring options like more nuclear power. Clinton has no broad energy program.

USA QUINONES—BLACK STAR FOR USNEWS



Who's the workers' friend? Tsongas (above) and Clinton battle for their votes.

are sensibly setting up international operations to be closer to their foreign customers. And while Clinton and Tsongas both propose investment tax credits for business, Clinton limits his to smaller firms, claiming they produce even greater economic benefits. As for Tsongas, some economists find his emphasis on manufacturing exaggerated, especially since America's far larger service sector employs many more people and is where productivity growth lags the most. Moreover, while Tsongas and Clinton

have talked hazily of whacking entitlement programs like Medicare—Tsongas, for example, has talked of trimming cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security—neither has been very specific. And Clinton recently backed off a suggestion that farm programs be trimmed. Nor have the candidates produced serious plans for monetary and fiscal policies to alleviate the slow growth and relatively high unemployment the nation faces for the next few years. "Someone running for president ought to be talking about that," says liberal economist Jeff Faux. As substantive as this campaign has been, it still could stand more beef. ■

BY SUSAN DENTZER

If it's March it must be time to govern

His handlers think the best re-election strategy now is for Bush to act like he's president again

President Bush still doesn't understand what all the fuss is about. He tells friends that he's been a damned good president and doesn't deserve the scorn being heaped upon him. He admits misjudging some problems, such as the depth of the recession, but argues that he still deserves a second term. Above all, the frustrated president doesn't understand how Patrick Buchanan—whom he dismisses privately as a crass, vulgar television pundit—could make him chase his tail around

America for the last month.

But no more. Except for a few fund-raisers, Bush is suspending his exhausting and frenetic road show. "We're declaring victory," says a weary senior adviser. "George Bush is getting the hell off the campaign trail and getting back to being president." Even before Super Tuesday's primaries and caucuses in 11 states, Bush advisers believe they have the Republican nomination sewn up. Just as important, they have persuaded themselves that Buchanan has already inflicted his worst damage in generating a large but evanescent anti-Bush vote that will disappear this fall.

Such a dismissive attitude seems to underestimate America's deep dissatisfaction with the status quo, but Bush will now begin the newest phase of his protean re-election campaign—shifting toward what advisers call a "governing strategy." It might seem a bit late for that, considering that Bush has been president for three years, but his handlers, ever devoted to short-term fixes, think he needs to look more presidential and less like a candidate. Their plan:

■ **Re-emphasize foreign affairs.** Exploiting his ability to dominate the news, Bush is likely to attend an environmental conference in Rio June 12, then hold a summit with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Washington June 16-17, possibly to announce a new round of arms reductions. He will create a news "bracket" around the Democratic National Convention in



Rose Garden-bound. Bush and Skinner return to work.

July with other events highlighting his experience in global diplomacy. He will attend an economic summit in Munich early that month and may meet with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and threaten U.S. antitrust action against big Japanese companies. Bush also could order military strikes against missile construction facilities in Iraq that Saddam Hussein has refused to dismantle.

■ **Play up incumbency.** Bush will make more use than ever of his presidential powers. He will hold at least one prime-time news conference from the historic East Room in the coming weeks—something he has done only once since taking office. He will hold more high-profile meetings in the White House with congressional Republicans, prominent busi-

ness executives, civic leaders and dignitaries. The administration will step up efforts to dispense federal largess. Last week Bush ordered the Interior Department to make available 1 million acre-feet of water to drought-plagued farmers in central California. The state's primary is June 2. Bush's most politically accomplished cabinet officers, such as Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, will be making numerous stump speeches designed to rout Buchanan and Democratic critics.

■ Do his own thing

Bush will take a variety of lateral actions to show some boldness in domestic affairs, placate conservatives and thumb his nose at Congress. The White House is considering a proposal to cap capital-gains taxes by basing them on asset appreciation that results in inflation. Bush may ease the 90-day ban on new regulations announced by his State of the Union message, and he may begin using a line-item veto on unpalatable provisions of spending bills, even though Congress never has given the president such authority. Conservative legal scholars argue that he already has the power and urges a constitutional test.

■ Sharpen distinct

Bush will attack congressional Democrats by rejecting his package of economic stimulus which he asked the Congress to pass by March 20.

he will veto any Democratic alternative that contains tax increases. A goal is to woo disaffected conservatives stirred up by Buchanan (story, Page 1). To demonstrate that he stands for something, Bush is seeking opportunities to veto other Democratic legislation. Likely targets include defense spending cuts deeper than the \$7.9 billion he recommended for 1993 and any bills legalizing abortion rights.

Yet the Bush high command typically cannot decide whether Bush should attack Congress itself or single out individual Democrats, liberals or Democratic hierarchy—especially Majority Leader George Mitchell, White House nemesis. "Almost everybody thinks it should be us ve-

them," a senior Bush adviser says. "We just haven't decided who 'them' is."

Even more basic, Bush and his aides are moving away from the three re-election themes they envisioned last year: crime, quotas and liberating Kuwait. Polls and focus groups suggest that voters want more depth and vision from their president, and the original themes now seem myopic. So the White House is repackaging Bush's presidency—again. The latest thematic iteration, according to key strategists, will be "family, jobs and peace," but the objective is really to promote old Bush ideas under new titles. Among the possible venues for promoting these themes are formal speeches to business executives, police groups, religious leaders and, this spring, a planned round of commencement addresses.

No cakewalk. Compounding Bush's problem of settling on a strategy, aides say, is that so far his heart hasn't been in the campaign. After meeting with senior strategists last August, Bush concluded that his renomination would be a cakewalk. Buchanan's insurgency forced him into what he calls "campaign mode" before he was mentally ready, friends say, and he resented the disruption.

After viewing Buchanan's attack ads depicting skimpily clothed gay dancers, Bush shook his head in disgust and complained that he was being forced to respond to such vulgarity. Off balance, he has given lackluster political performances, and his day-to-day messages have been confused. More important, he stubbornly refuses to see Buchanan's insurgency as anything but a temporary protest vote that will evaporate when the choice becomes Bush versus the Democrats. In recent weeks, the president and members of his family have chided campaign leaders for being so agitated all the time. The Bushes sense no reason for panic. "George Bush is a firm believer in his own internal clock, his sense of when is the best time to do things," says a longtime adviser. "In this campaign, his clock hasn't gone off."

Yet many GOP loyalists fear time is running out. Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner has spent months reorganizing the White House since replacing John Sununu last year. That delayed effective policy making. Republican insiders are increasingly critical of campaign chairman Robert Teeter for failing to make his goals clear. "No one can be sure what he's thinking," says a prominent Republican. "But everything stems from a bedrock faith that George Bush will win the White House again because the Democrats will screw up."

BY KENNETH T. WALSH



Conservatives' argument. Who drags the movement down further: Buchanan or Bush?

Standing Pat? Civil war on the right

How Buchanan's challenge could beat Bush

George Bush and his advisers had an artful political plan. The president would give a speech on March 20, his deadline for a congressional economic growth package; he would admit the 1990 tax-increase deal was a mistake, blaming the tax-and-spend Democrats for making him do it—and conservatives would love the apology. Instead, Bush blurted out in an interview last week that "if I had it to do over, I wouldn't do what I did then, for a lot of reasons, including political reasons." He did not damn the decision because of its economic impact, nor apologize for breaking his no-new-taxes oath. And conservatives, once again, charged treason. "If he flagellated himself and begged forgiveness," grouches House leader Newt Gingrich, one of Bush's key political bodyguards, "these conservatives would complain he used the wrong whip."

In many ways, the fight that threatens Bush's re-election extends beyond his presidency. Ronald Reagan handed Bush the conservative baton, yet the flock has always considered him unworthy. The star search wasn't supposed to begin until 1996, but Patrick Buchanan's candidacy fast-forwarded the mess. For-

get Reagan's 11th commandment ("Thou shall not speak ill of another Republican"); in fact, forget Reagan. The fight now is over who will carry the conservative torch, and on that, at least, there is one general agreement: It will not be Bush. And the movement now divides

between those who want to save the party from Bush and those who want to save conservatism from Buchanan. "Buchanan's idea is not Reagan's 'City on a Hill,'" declares William Bennett, a 1996 GOP presidential possibility now campaigning for Bush. "It's the 'Fortress with a Moat.'" Buchanan, says Gingrich, is a "momentary aberration"—albeit with power enough to "destroy the movement."

New demonology. Just as liberals struggled for redefinition of their movement in the 1960s, conservatism is now up for grabs. Bush's main treachery came when he reneged on his no-tax pledge. But the real cataclysm came when communism went away, leaving conservatives in search of a new demonology. Without the glue of anticommunism to hold them together, the movement fragmented and may never reunite: Does the future rest with Buchanan's fellow paleocons, harking back to the isolationism and protec-



U.S. NEWS

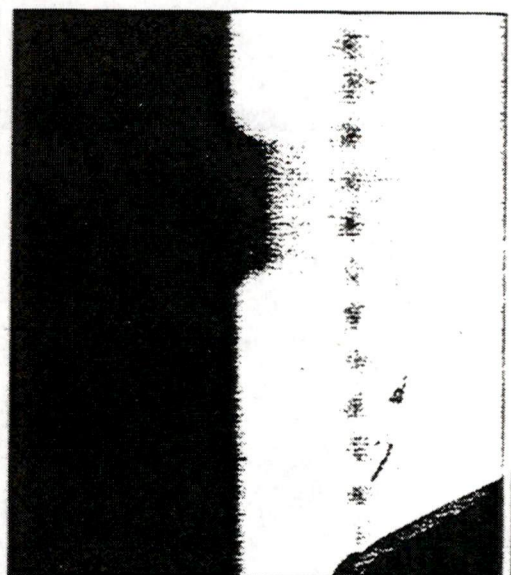
tionism of Robert Taft—a group Gingrich calls “nihilists”? Does it belong to the neocons, internationally oriented intellectuals and ex-Democrats like Norman Podhoretz, who believe liberal doctrine is based on flawed economic and social policy? (Podhoretz says he might leave the party if Buchanan’s “ugly conservatism” prevails.) And what of the large number of congressional ex-cons—more precisely, moderates like Sen. Bob Dole—who once held the party majority? Now that Buchanan has the fattest mailing list, what is in store for Bennett’s “neo-Reaganites”—leaders like Gingrich, Dan Quayle, Jack Kemp, Phil Gramm, Dick Cheney and Pete du Pont?

The battle for control of the party—and of the election—is being waged on two fronts. Buchanan is the public conservative exploiting the mad-as-hell voters, offering pat solutions to soothe the anger. “If he has his way, we wouldn’t have an income tax,” brags libertarian leader Ron Paul, a key Buchanan adviser who adds that the “world of politics” precludes such a proposal—for now.

Meantime, inside the party, a host of tenacious infighters—in Congress, aca-

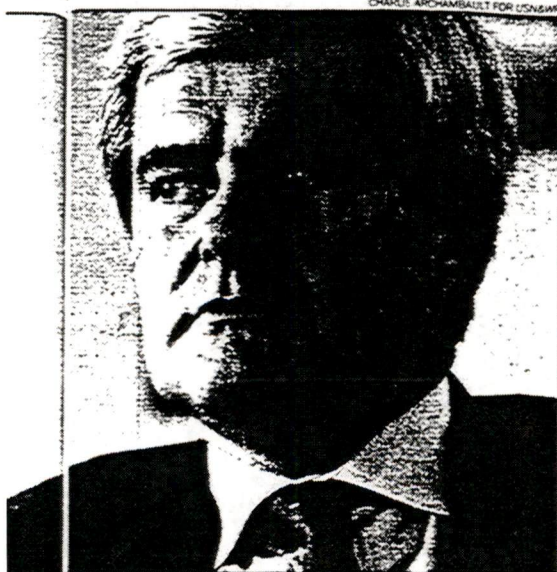
demia, think tanks and right-leaning commercial ventures like the direct-mail activities of Richard Viguerie—are battling it out for intellectual dominance. Their doctrinal nit-picking, which once seemed under control—and even healthy for what analyst Kevin Phillips calls “the think-tank and foundation hustlers”—has become a street fight with potentially enormous implications. No one thinks Buchanan will win the nomination or even the minimum of five state races he needs to be nominated at the GOP convention. But when White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner recently predicted that conservatives will return to the fold this fall, there was a widespread GOP complaint that he has not grasped a verity of this election: The Buchanan voters might actually move to the Democrats, or even sit it out. “I should be saying I’ll rally around Bush,” says Burton Pines of the conservative Heritage Foundation. “But I’m not. It’s too early to decide.”

See Bush lose. Fratricide is never a healthy party activity. Yet GOP consultant David Keene says “a lot of conservatives believe it would be in the interests of the movement and the party for Bush to lose.” The anti-Bush rationale: Con-



Bush's bodyguard. Gingrich calls Buchanan's

servatives cannot afford to be blamed for Bush's failures; it is better then to regroup and recharge out of office, just as the movement did in 1977, abetting Jimmy Carter's victory while preparing for its own conquest in 1980. Gingrich dismisses anyone willing to assist in Bush's



1's challenge only a "momentary aberration."

defeat as “crazy” because it might, among other things, allow the appointment of liberals to the Supreme Court. These turncoats are “off the wall,” bristles Republican Sen. Warren Rudman, “where they usually are.”

While the intellectual activists wage

war, many voters may decide to leave Bush on their own. So far, the White House has lost fully a third of its support. “How long do you wait to decide that the policies, not the people, are wrong?” asks former Delaware Governor du Pont, who decided not to run against Bush. The defections are potentially lethal for Republicans, helping the Democrats win just as the defection of Democrat George Wallace's supporters in 1968 helped elect Republican Richard Nixon.

New-look Democrats. In this election, unlike others, the unhappy Republican voters have a place to go: to Democratic candidates who sound halfway Republican on issues like tax policy (Bill Clinton's tax cuts for the middle class), trade (Paul Tsongas's tough-sounding economic nationalism) and health care (insurance for all). The abortion issue might be enough to keep Southern evangelicals and Northeastern Catholics with Bush, but other Republicans could turn to the Democrats for the first time since the Reagan years.

What's a president to do? Conservatives are calling for some definition—and fast. Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council suggests a push for the line-item veto on budget matters, a

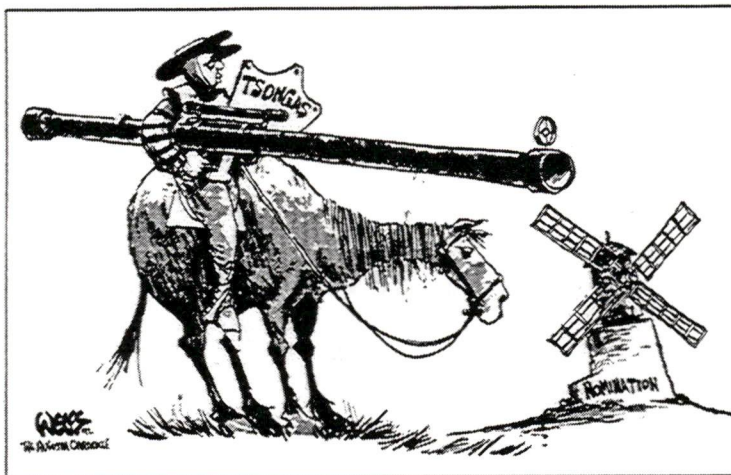
friendly call to the Republican National Committee to reiterate his support for the antiabortion plank in the platform, a directive to the Treasury to index the capital-gains tax. Then maybe a firing or two, including budget chief Richard Darman, a key architect of the despised 1990 budget deal that raised taxes. Bennett talks of “re-establishing the bond of trust” with his own party and the voters, waging a “Pennsylvania Avenue strategy” in which he takes on Congress and promotes term limits and educational choice. “The president cannot concede conservatives to Pat,” says Bennett. “And he can't fly without his right wing.”

But Buchanan is no Ronald Reagan. True, like the early Reagan, he has a crisp, gut-level appeal to grassroots voters who feel betrayed and want change now. However, the other half of Reagan—the optimistic, inclusive politician who dreamed of national party realignment—is sorely missing. So the conservatives continue to fragment, in search of their next national leader after love feasts with Barry Goldwater and Reagan. At the moment, no similar hero sits on the horizon.

BY GLORIA BORGER

TSONGAS

Stahler Thompson Cullum MacNelly Handelsman Wells



CLINTON

Stephanos Ohman Danziger Wells



Capital Briefs

★ Irving Kristol writes in the current *National Review* that Pat Buchanan is not a conservative but a "reactionary." But when it comes to administering litmus tests on conservatism, Kristol's credentials are suspect. Many will recall that it was he who, writing in the *Wall Street Journal* not long ago, pronounced George Bush, of all people, the new "leader of the conservative movement."

★ Although President Bush finally forced the resignation of National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer, Pat Buchanan is not dropping the issue.

★ A Buchanan TV commercial which aired last week in Georgia showed scenes from an explicit NEA-subsidized "documentary" on black homosexuals. "The Bush Administration has invested our tax dollars in pornographic and blasphemous art too shocking to show," said the commercial. "This so-called art has glorified homosexuality, exploited children and perverted the image of Jesus Christ. Even after good people protested, Bush continued to fund this kind of art."

★ Liberal Texas columnist Molly Ivins thinks that Buchanan will do well in the Southern primaries. "The President is supposed to have a lock on the Southern white male vote," says Ivins, "but I'll put my money on the proposition that Bubba is going to like Buchanan."

★ The Tom Harkin campaign was forced last week to disavow one of its own commercials. The ad, which was supposed to run on black radio stations in Georgia, charged that "Bill Clinton did his own version of Willie Horton."

★ The commercial claimed that Clinton "made a big deal of going home to Arkansas to oversee the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a brain-damaged man who didn't even know he was being executed. Bill Clinton used a black man's death to boost his campaign."

★ Harkin spokeswoman Lorraine Voles claimed that the ad, which had been produced by the candidate's Southern political coordinator Kevin Gray, was "never authorized by the campaign." Gray is a former staffer for Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

★ TV comic Dennis Miller: "President Bush has finally mentioned Buchanan by name. Bush is getting better, though. It only took him six months to say Buchanan. It took him a year to use the word 'recession.'"

★ Do all Greek-Americans from Massachusetts look alike? House Speaker Tom Foley, referring to Paul Tsongas the other day, called him "Sen. Dukakis."

★ Tsongas portrays himself as the only "pro-business Democrat" in the race for President. But he has just signed up left-wing activist Gerald Austin as senior adviser. Austin was Jesse Jackson's campaign manager in 1988 and played a key role in the election of ultra-liberal Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) in 1990.

★ There was good news and bad for Bill Clinton in a Texas poll released last week by the University of Houston's Center for Public Policy. The good news was that among Democratic voters, Clinton led Paul Tsongas 40% to 9%, with the other candidates at 3% to 6%. Among Democrats, Clinton holds a healthy favorable-unfavorable ratio of 48-14. Among all voters, however, Clinton gets a negative rating: 35-36.

★ What a difference a year makes. Last week marked the anniversary of the historic 90% approval rating racked up by George Bush in the wake of Operation Desert Storm. Now a USA Today/CNN poll shows Bush's approval rating has plummeted to 39%.

★ The Supreme Court's newest justice, Clarence Thomas, served notice last week that he is certainly among its most dependable conservatives. The court ruled 7 to 2 that excessive force by a prison guard may violate the Constitution even if it does not result in serious injury to the prisoner. Thomas dissented, saying that the 8th Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment "is not, and should not be turned into a national code of prison regulation." Thomas was joined by Antonin Scalia in his dissent.

★ There are 3,158 counties in the U.S., and the U.S. Department of Agriculture apparently has offices in 2,977 of them, or 94%. This despite the fact that in only 516 counties, or 16%, is there any farming. "On the face of it," Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) told the *Washington Post*, "some of these offices need to be closed."

★ Lugar has tried for the better part of a year to get from the Agriculture Department the precise number of USDA offices around the country. "We have tried to get a straight answer," the department finally told Lugar February 3. "Our staff still cannot give us an accurate number."

★ Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.) stunned the White House last week with a Senate speech in which he called for the resignation of Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady. And House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) pointedly announced that Treasury staff members would no longer be allowed to attend House Republican leadership meetings.

★ Gingrich said flatly that "the Treasury Department is not serving the interests of the President." Gingrich ally Rep. Bob Walker (R-Pa.) accused Treasury of dropping "poison pills" in Bush's budget proposals, adding, "We are not convinced that Treasury is on our team."

Politics '92

California

As *Human Events* has bemoaned repeatedly, conservatives have an unhappy history of cutting off the proverbial nose to spite their face—that is, stubbornly remaining in contested primaries against their philosophical brethren even after it is clear that only one conservative is a viable contender. The end result, of course, is the nomination of more moderate Republicans—in other words, a case of “We divide and they conquer.”

In 1992, however, conservatives seem to have seen the light in a number of contests. In the race for the seat of retiring Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), for example, conservatives who divided the GOP primary vote six years ago and brought about the defeat of conservative stalwart Bruce Herschensohn have now almost completely united behind the former TV commentator and made him the front-runner in the June nomination battle with liberal Rep. Tom Campbell.

Similarly, in Oregon's open 1st District, Portland businessman and ardent pro-lifer Bill Witt abandoned his own promising candidacy to support a fellow conservative when it seemed clear that to continue would bring about the nomination of a pro-abortion moderate (see *Politics '92*, January 4).

The latest conservative office-seeker to follow the path of Charles Darnay in Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* and do “a far, far better thing” is John Eastman, who has scotched his bid for the Republican primary for the Golden State's new Inland Valley-based (and heavily Republican) 41st District.

His exodus brought sighs of relief from area and national conservative leaders, who feared that the simultaneous bids of Eastman and fellow conservative activist Jim Lacy would almost certainly result in a June victory by more moderate former Assemblyman Chuck Bader.

“Our assessment was that we can't run a winning campaign,” said the 31-year-old Eastman, a former spokesman for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission during the Reagan Administration. “But we could finish a close second. So I will not be filing.”

For Eastman, this decision was particularly painful. Two years ago, the West Covina author and consultant carried the GOP banner against Rep. Esteban Torres (D.) in the old 34th District, drawing an unexpectedly high 40 per cent of the vote on a bare-bones budget. With the creation of the new 41st (which lies only blocks from Eastman's residence) and his enthusiastic organization and campaign newsletter intact since 1990, Eastman clearly had high hopes for '92.

In encountering Lacy's eyebrow-raising exchequer (nearly \$100,000 taken in by January) and early-bird endorsements from conservative GOP Representatives Duncan Hunter, Bob Dornan, Dana Rohrabacher and Chris Cox, Eastman opted for what he deemed “the honorable thing” and chose not to run.

The resultant Lacy-Bader showdown is clearly one to watch, a smaller version of the statewide battle between anti-tax conservative activists and moderate establishment types of the Gov. Pete Wilson (R.) stripe.

An attorney and former official at both the Consumer Product Safety Commission and the U.S. Commerce Department, the 39-year-old Lacy has literally devoted his adult life to the conservative movement. He has served as a Reagan delegate to



LACY



EASTMAN

the 1976 GOP national convention, national chairman of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, top aide to the late anti-tax crusader Howard Jarvis during his celebrated (and successful) effort to enact Proposition 13 in 1978, and current board member of the American Conservative Union.

Ronald Reagan himself once hailed the Yorba Linda lawyer as being “among the true leaders of the second American Revolution.”

In recognition of that role, Lacy has received early donations and endorsements from such right-of-center luminaries as American Conservative Union National Chairman David Keene, State Sen. John Lewis of Orange County, Heritage Foundation Vice President Terry Scanlon, *Reader's Digest* Managing Editor William Schulz and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayer Association (which boasts 17,000 members and recently gave Lacy the maximum \$5,000 legal contribution).

At a time when conservatives are outraged at Gov. Wilson for his record \$7-billion tax increase, the spirit of Proposition 13 and Lacy's role in helping to pass it 14 years ago could play a pivotal role in the June primary. Proud of his early association with the cap on state property taxes, Lacy recently filed an *amicus curiae* brief with the U.S. Supreme Court supporting “13” in the upcoming case to determine its constitutionality.

In contrast, Bader opposed “13” while mayor of Pomona in 1978, leading Lacy to brand him a “tax-and-spend liberal.”

“But for the past 13 years,” Bader insisted, “I have upheld the letter of the law on Proposition 13, as a mayor and state legislator.” Lacy remains relentless in making the issue a focal point of the campaign. “If someone who's been in public office for 20 years [until Bader lost a State Senate bid in 1990] does a flip-flop on an issue such as this, voters should not trust him,” Lacy told our *Politics* reporter during a recent lunch.

The significance of “13” in a Republican primary should not be underestimated, according to Sherry Bebitch-Jeffe of the Claremont Graduate School, an expert on California politics.

In her words, “It [Proposition 13] is an easy litmus test and voting cue, and in a large field it's not an insignificant voting cue.”

Along with Lacy and Bader, the GOP field includes three other candidates—albeit all with far less resources—the best-known being Diamond Bar's pro-abortion Mayor Jay Kim. (Jim Lacy for Congress, 21520-G Yorba Linda Blvd., #542, Yorba Linda, Calif. 92687.)

Pennsylvania

The latest to join the ongoing exodus of members of Congress in 1992 is liberal GOP Rep. Larry

Coughlin of Pennsylvania's 13th District (Montgomery County). Coughlin (lifetime American Conservative Union rating: 48 per cent) opted for retirement from the safely Republican seat in which he succeeded Senator (1969-81) and HHS Secretary (1981-83)-to-be Richard Schweiker in 1968 even before new district lines had been drawn.

Within hours of Coughlin's announcement, sources in the district told *Human Events* that the county GOP organization had given its unofficial blessings to former State Representative and County Commissioner Jon Fox as the congressman's successor.

The 44-year-old bachelor and moderate-to-liberal Fox, however, could be a controversial candidate in what is certain to be a heated primary against stalwart conservative and Montgomery County Observer Editor Susan Boyer. Backed by the large network of pro-family and pro-life groups in the area, Boyer had already declared her candidacy, even if Coughlin ran again.

In addition to his pro-abortion and anti-school-choice stands, Fox could be placed on the defensive for becoming a U.S. House candidate only one month after assuming his county post (and unsuccessfully seeking the chairmanship of the county governing body).

Whoever wins the April primary could be in for a rougher-than-usual fall battle, as Democrats have reportedly recruited their first formidable standard-bearer in recent years: TV newscaster Marjorie Margulies Mezzinsky, wife of former State Democratic Chairman Ed Mezzinsky.

Also in Pennsylvania: Less than three months after he was trounced in a special U.S. Senate election, former Governor (1979-87) and U.S. Attorney General (1988-91) Dick Thornburgh (R.) got a consolation prize: He was named under secretary general for administration and management at the United Nations by just-elected Secretary General Boutros Ghali at the recommendation of President Bush.

In discussing his new position with popular Washington TV anchorman Tim White, Thornburgh did not rule out a future run for office when his stint at Turtle Bay is over, saying only that “24 hours is a lifetime in politics.”

In response to White's query whether he had been in touch with Democratic Sen. Harris Wofford since their nationally watched bout, Thornburgh—who once publicly joshed that he couldn't even pronounce his opponent's name—replied: “Oh, yes. He's an old friend and he ran a very good campaign that took advantage of the [economic] situation.”

R.I.P.: One of California's most memorable (and quotable) public figures died last week at age 85. Former Sen. (1976-82) S. I. Hayakawa (R.), who initially earned distinction as a semanticist, later became a conservative folk hero as president of San Francisco State College in the late '60s, when he faced down student protestors and at one point ripped the wires out of their obscenity-spewing sound truck. In 1976, sporting his trade-mark tam o'shanter, Democrat-turned-Republican Hayakawa defeated liberal Sen. John V. Tunney (D.) under the slogan “Sayonara, Tunney.” Perhaps the most quoted of his quips from the campaign was Hayakawa's reply when asked if the U.S. should maintain the Panama Canal: “Sure. We stole it, fair and square.” (Two years later, Sen. Hayakawa voted to give the Canal back to Panama.)

NOTEBOOK

GIVE THAT GUY AN NEA GRANT: "Ours is a great state, and we don't like limits of any kind. Ricky Clunn is one of the great bass fishermen. He's a Texas young guy, and he's a very competitive fisherman, and he talked about learning to fish wading in the creeks behind his dad. He in his underwear went wading in the creeks behind his father, and he said—as a fisherman he said it's great to grow up in a country with no limits..." —Bushism of the week, February 28, at a Houston rodeo

TSLEAZE: The award for most misleading ad of the week goes to Mr. Squeaky Clean himself, Paul Tsongas, whose spot capitalizing on a Bill Clinton gaffe set a new low in the campaign for cynicism. Clinton had lambasted Jesse Jackson on an open microphone, when he was (erroneously) informed that Jackson had endorsed Tom Harkin. Jackson had promised Clinton he would stay neutral. When the mistake was pointed out, even Jackson brushed it off, but Tsongas shamelessly exploited it, pandering to the black vote, and subtly implying by the order of sentences that Jackson had even endorsed Tsongas: "He didn't wait for the facts. No. Bill Clinton didn't wait to find out if it were true. He just attacked.... All because Bill Clinton heard a rumor that Jesse Jackson might have endorsed someone else for president. Paul Tsongas. Paul Tsongas is running for president." It's the kind of ad one might expect of one of the least principled, most politics-as-usual candidates. Paul Tsongas. Paul Tsongas sure is running for president.

MACULATE CONCEPTION: There's at least one healthy unborn child in the world that many pro-life advocates would rather didn't exist. It's the one developing in the womb of a 14-year-old Irish girl, raped by her best friend's father. Despite a decision by the Irish Supreme Court to allow the girl to have the operation in England, her plight has put pro-lifers in an excruciating—but revealing—quandary: either they support the Irish government's official position, which forces even rape victims to give birth, or they must reconcile themselves to the notion that, in some cases, there's an overwhelming humanitarian case to place limits on the fetus's absolute right to life. So far, few have acknowledged the dilemma. If they do—and we hope the Irish case prompts such a reflection—the chances for a more constructive moral dialogue improve.

EXCESS MAIL: We offer our own personal experience of congressional abuse of the franking privilege. On one day (Monday, March 2), TNR received *eighteen*

franked press releases from Colorado Senator Hank Brown. Two of the addressees are deceased; another hasn't worked here for over a decade. What were these vital bulletins about? "Brown Introduces Bill to Cut \$1.5 Billion in Porkbarrel Products," said one. Economy, senator, begins at home.

RISE AND FALL:

"In the European republics of the former Soviet Union the statues of Lenin have all been toppled from their pedestals...." —*The New York Times*, February 16

"DONETSK, Ukraine—... Lenin's statues and Communist symbols and slogans still adorn this town, as they do Kiev, Ukraine's capital.... 'Not one statue has been removed in the entire region,' said an engineer." —same paper, same page, same day
(thanks to Guenter Lewy, Washington, D.C.)

RULES ARE RULES: A man is convicted of murder and condemned to death. Suddenly, days before his scheduled execution, new evidence emerges casting serious doubt on the credibility of the original conviction. So the execution is delayed while the court considers the new evidence, right? Not so fast. According to a recent ruling by an appellate panel in the case of Texas death-row inmate Leonel T. Herrera, "Herrera's 'actual innocence' claim does not allege a ground upon which habeas relief can be granted." In other words, from a procedural standpoint, Herrera's guilt or innocence is irrelevant. If this opinion is upheld by the Supreme Court, a possibly innocent man will die for the sake of the integrity of the Texas criminal justice system. We are all called upon to make sacrifices for the public good. This one seems a bit extreme. •

The truth about Japan's teens.

CLIFF NOTES

By Bruce S. Feiler

During a recent cross-country tour to promote a book about my year as a teacher in rural Japan, the largest number of questions I received revolved around the topic of death. What Americans wanted to know was if Japanese companies are so efficient, why do their employees work themselves to death? And if Japanese schools are so successful, why do their students commit suicide so often?

You can understand why Americans might think Japan's deadly work habits a problem. The news media are constantly running stories about the Japanese phenomenon of *karoshi*, literally translated as death from excessive work. This term, invented by the Ministry of Labor in the late 1980s, allows the government to provide compensation to the families of workers who die from heart attacks or other diseases caused by working long hours. But despite the outpouring in the American press, including recent stories on CNN, "20/20," and in *The Washington Post*, only thirty cases qualified as *karoshi* in 1990, a figure that U.S. Labor Department researchers suggest pales in comparison to the number of Americans who die from work-related stress every year.

But the more persistent myth is the suicidal tendencies of Japan's overpressured students. The supposedly excessive work habits of the Japanese are believed to be fostered in schools, where students attend classes five-and-a-half days a week, up to 250 days a year. Students in the system are widely depicted as being under such pressure to perform and pass university entrance exams that they kill themselves at inhuman rates. Again, press reports corroborate these impressions. In Japan "teen suicides and the relentless pressure to succeed are well-documented," declares *The New York Times* (March 24, 1991). "Japan's demanding education system causes teen suicides," agrees *The Washington Post* (March 9, 1990). The suicide rate in Japan is "unusually high," warns *The Seattle Times* (June 11, 1990). Whenever so many people agree on a story without citing a source, a simple check of the facts is in order.

According to the World Health Organization, the overall suicide rate in Japan is one-third higher than in the United States, placing it just under the top ten countries in the world in self-inflicted death. Among juveniles, however, the figures tell a different story. In 1989, 1,407 Japanese between the ages of 15 and 24 committed suicide, for a rate of 7.5 for every 100,000. In the United States, 4,929 people in this age group took their own lives, producing a rate that is 75 percent higher than in Japan. Among those under 15, the U.S. rate was twice as high. In a broader comparison, China, the Soviet Union, Germany (FRG), Denmark, Bulgaria, and Ecuador all had higher rates of youth suicides than Japan. Canada, Australia, Switzerland, Norway, Hungary, and Austria had rates more than double those in Japan. The Finnish figure was three times higher, and Sri Lankan juveniles took their own lives at a rate ten times higher than their counterparts in Japan.

If these figures are so clear, why does the image of the suicidal Japanese prevail? One reason is the myth of the kamikaze spirit. Like their prototype General Tojo and their hero Yukio Mishima, the Japanese are often portrayed as warriors, schemers, and group fanatics who devote themselves obsessively to achieving their goals and kill themselves if their plans are thwarted or their company stock loses value. A second reason, closely related to the first, is that most of the American media seem content to rehash these outdated images of Japan

without regard to the facts of a changing population. A recent article by Colman McCarthy in *The Washington Post*, for example, derided the Japanese as "eighty-hour-a-week stiff" and said the result was "workplace hari-kari." This turn of phrase neatly tried to combine both Japanese stereotypes.

Finally, and most troubling, Americans seem to use images like these to perpetuate the myth that the Japanese are exotic and so inextricably different from us that we could not possibly learn from them. Japanese schools in particular have many problems, including excessive regulations and a lingering disrespect for diversity, but turning students into hard-working, productive citizens is one of their undisputed strengths. Producing stereotypes is one of ours.

BRUCE S. FEILER is the author of *Learning to Bow: An American Teacher in a Japanese School* (Ticknor & Fields).

Paul Tsongas's will to power.

THE PURITAN

By Sidney Blumenthal

Paul Tsongas, the self-proclaimed moderate, is a zealot. He is on a mission of personal redemption that holds out redemption to the voters as well if only they will recognize his superior virtue. "At least I'm honest," he replied to Bill Clinton, who had accused him of being "perfect." By pulling the lever for Tsongas, by offering up the gesture of belief in him and his thin bible, we can ascend to a new level of "spirituality," as the candidate promised in his New Hampshire victory speech. With his wins in Maryland and Washington state on March 3, his narrow messianism tailored for the suburbs has now carried him further than anyone, even Tsongas himself, had ever expected.

From the moment of its initial success, Tsongas's campaign has been wrapped in a mythology: his recovery from cancer leading to both personal and intellectual renewal. Thus he presented his post-cancer epiphany, his insight that the Democratic Party could be revived only if it swallowed his "pro-business" prescription. Not only the Democrats, but America itself, needed to be put into an intensive care unit.

But the essence of this mythology—his revelation brought by suffering that can lead to salvation—is only half true. No one can deny or fail to be moved by Tsongas's psychological renewal in the face of illness. But it did not have any political or intellectual parallel. Today's Tsongas is yesterday's Tsongas with a more compelling personal history. I remember visiting him eleven

years ago, in his large Victorian house in Lowell, and listening as he spelled out his views, which are virtually identical to what they are now: hostility to the Democrats' "disrespect for the private sector" and mild disapproval of Reagan. "If you could have had Reagan elected and Carter sworn in," he said, "you would have had the best of both worlds." Tsongas's entrance into presidential politics is not so much the act of someone who has glimpsed a prophetic light as it is Rip Van Winkle-like—an awakening into a strange world. Tsongas missed much of the 1980s, and he wishes to restage it on his own terms. He is certain that he is the better manager than Bush, a truer successor to both Reagan and Carter.

Tsongas presents himself as the tolerant wise man. But in fact, his unassuming demeanor and self-deprecating wit are the mask of puritanism. The son of immigrants who assumed the mantle of the Yankee legacy is what Randolph Bourne once described as "a true Puritan." "The true Puritan," he wrote in 1917 in "The Puritan's Will to Power," "is at once the most unselfish and the most self-righteous of men. To the true Puritan the beauty of unselfishness lies in his being able to enforce it on others." Tsongas's self-effacement is a form of domination. His goal is not the pursuit of happiness, but the pursuit of pride. The others, obvious in their ambition, are profane by comparison. And the cancer makes his strategic moral positioning almost unassailable. He uses his illness not only as metaphor but as a passive aggressive defense. When pressed about his pro-nuclear power stand by a student, Tsongas snapped, "Don't lecture me about cancer"—a peculiar appeal to authority.

"The problem with Paul is not his insincerity. It's his sincerity," said William Taupier, the former city manager of Lowell, who is now a real estate broker. "He really believes he has the answer. The implication is that the others are not honest. That's the one thing in Paul's political personality that's most repugnant. I find it difficult to deal with the fact that when you disagree with Paul, it's immoral."

Tsongas is part of an unexamined realignment. As working-class whites defected from the Democrats, upscale liberal Republicans, like Tsongas, entered. He has been a very lucky politician, winning races for the House and the Senate against wounded opponents. In the constellation of Massachusetts politicians, Tsongas was allowed to occupy a unique slot as a contrarian. Unlike Dukakis, he did not have to struggle to build coalitions of the urban and suburban, the blue and white collars, to govern a fractious state. Dukakis's defeat in 1982 had forced him to reconstruct the party, even if his approach was mechanical. His underlying rigidity remained, but he was a far more politically encompassing figure than Tsongas, who, despite his humor, is as arrogant as Dukakis. Unlike Ted Kennedy, Tsongas carried no burden of the fragmenting national party. And he never had to deal directly with the tangled politics of race, like Boston Mayors Kevin White and Ray Flynn. Rather, Tsongas cast himself as the "pro-

business" gadfly, positioned beyond the muddle of the others, whose labors allowed him the luxury of his stance. The Democratic Party was largely irrelevant to him, except as a foil.

Whatever publicity he gained nationally, he remained the most important politician in Lowell. Even as a senator, he embroiled himself in the minutiae of the city council and school board. His claim to have single-handedly revitalized the aged mill town, particularly through his sponsorship of the Lowell National Urban Park, was his ultimate point of pride. After his recovery, anxious about his family's financial security if he were to die, Tsongas joined a State Street law firm, Foley, Hoag & Eliot, which paid him more than \$200,000 a year, according to *The Wall Street Journal*. His fund-raiser, Nick Rizzo, acted as his agent in getting the distinguished former senator appointments to a number of corporate boards, which brought him more than \$120,000 a year in director's fees, according to *The New York Times*. As a lobbyist, Tsongas exercised his influence for a wide range of corporate clients. For \$3,000 a month, he was hired by Michael Milken's Drexel Burnham Lambert to introduce Drexel to Massachusetts officials, according to the *Journal*.

Running for the presidency had been Tsongas's plan since he had come into the Senate. He was more ambitious than most, though he shrouded his drive with moralism. With his recovery from cancer, he felt the urgency of time. Though no one really gave him a chance, he was hailed for his courage. But his profession as a lobbyist casts in a different light his decision to run early. Tsongas is no longer "pro-business" in a disinterested way; he is in business. It is indeed easy for a lobbyist to run because it is an advertisement, especially if the platform is "pro-business." Yet there is also an integrity to what Tsongas is saying that has greatly helped him. Voters immediately sense that he is natural in his rhetoric, not having contrived it for this purpose. What they have not fully grasped is that he now has the clients to match his convictions and that this provides his underlying consistency.

Even before the onset of Clinton's adversities, Tsongas had cast himself as the one who tells the hard truths. His "Call to Economic Arms" was an emblem of his thoughtfulness, though it was written in a didactic, simple, even sometimes simpleminded manner. In contrast to the consummate politician Clinton, Tsongas has emerged as the anti-politics candidate. In this he is a symbolic candidate, a triumph of imagery—riding the slick wave of the new simplicity. The candidate who, in a televised debate, asked all the others to "raise your hand" to renounce negative advertising was the first to use it. For a Democrat, his pro-business stance seems fresh, but it is as polished a stance as any of Clinton's. If Tsongas's lines emanated from Bush's mouth, he would be excoriated as a Hoover. If any Republican had Tsongas's client list, he would be hounded by the press for conflicts of interest. But Tsongas has succeeded in mystifying the demystified. With him, less is more.

His vision for the country's future is prosaic: Lowell,

his own Massachusetts miracle. His hometown reflects his own story, a city with "what had seemed a marginal future" that is now "a national model of urban renaissance." But since 1985, when trouble hit the high-tech industries, Lowell has faced the same problems of decline that have plagued the rest of Massachusetts. All the economic projects that Tsongas worked on in Lowell, from the downtown hotel to the Wang training center, have in fact failed. Tsongasism in one city is a curious, downsized parody of Dukakisism in one state.

Tsongas's wins are premised on a narrow constituency of affluent, suburban new class voters. He is not a coalition candidate, never having built a political coalition in his long career. When he describes a coalition he uses the familiar categories of primarily upper-middle-class constituency groups: feminists, environmentalists, business, gays. Tsongas, however, makes little effort to build a broader coalition because he has little idea of a broader party. His opposition to a middle-class tax cut may appeal to his base but shows disdain for those who might marginally benefit from the measure and for the notion of more economic equality. He also fails to grasp the politics behind it, the need to win back alienated working-class voters, especially whites. The cut may not amount to much as economics, but it may be that only by means of politics that society can be made more whole.

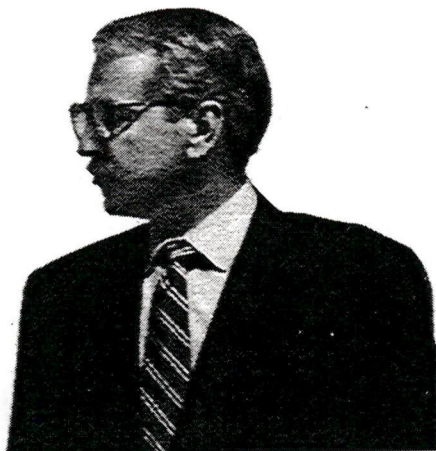
Tsongas's attraction for the affluent is that he is more honest, more real, more thoughtful—all signs that he is less political. But on race, welfare, crime, and class inequality—all the truly formidable issues that must be at the center of any debate about reforming the country—Tsongas has little to say. He permits his rhetoric of sacrifice to do his political work. Uttering his sound bite—"No more Santa Claus"—has been enough to turn many of the well-educated into believers. His minimal idea of the party's role in remaking society is equaled by his minimal conception of the presidency. "My only job as president is to make the economy grow," he has said. His pinched sense of the social compact—which he presents as novel—is traditional in its anti-political subtext. It is what Republican businessmen have always held against the Democrats since Roosevelt.

Like Pat Buchanan, Tsongas is running against Bush as a betrayer of his legacy. For the liberal Republican, however, it is a different and earlier legacy: that of the old Yankee. Tsongas assails Bush as inauthentic; he promises to be Bush with a rudder. Unlike George, he has mounted a campaign that Prescott Bush would have been proud of. But, in the end, the social problems of the country are not subject to sheer management. The ultimate contest, moreover, is not even of plan versus plan; nor is it a test of personal virtue. Individual reform—personal redemption—will not be sufficient. Only the unholy practice of politics offers the slightest hope of salvation. But it may be that the suburban Democratic electorate, in a demonstration of collective rectitude, will prefer to seek shelter with the Puritan who holds out the illusion of the hard truth. •

AMERICAN SURVEY

And then there were three

WASHINGTON, DC



Clinton gets blacks, Tsongas the suburbs...

ELEVEN states have now chosen their delegates to the Democratic convention in New York in July. The winner has yet to emerge, but the race for the nomination is beginning to throw up clear patterns of voting across the nation, from Utah to Georgia. These tell their own story.

The Democratic party may be divided into four components—blacks, white blue-collar voters in the north-east and mid-west, white blue-collar voters in the south (the “Bubbas”, of whom the 1992 race has already heard too much), and white suburban liberals. On the evidence so far, it is plain that Bill Clinton is sweeping the votes of those blacks who turn out (he is also, if Colorado is a guide, sweeping the Hispanic vote). In Georgia, where he gained 58% of the total vote—the biggest share won by a single candidate in any race so far—he also, according to exit polls, won more than 70% of the black vote, compared with around 25% for Paul Tsongas. In Maryland, where Mr Tsongas won statewide by six points, Mr Clinton seems to have won about 50% of the black vote to around 30% for Mr Tsongas.

Since the next primaries are mainly in the south (South Carolina on March 7th and five other southern states on March 10th, Super Tuesday), where blacks make up a large proportion of the Democratic vote, Mr Clinton can look forward to more good times. Similarly, if Georgia is typical of the south, Mr Clinton is going to do well among the Bubbas and win Texas on Super Tues-

day in a canter.

Mr Tsongas's strength is no less easy to divine; it is among suburban white liberals. He won their vote in New Hampshire and again in Maryland. In Montgomery county, Maryland (the affluent northern suburbs of Washington, DC), Mr Tsongas beat Mr Clinton by 50% to 24%. Across the state, exit polls show that he beat Mr Clinton by large margins among voters with annual incomes over \$50,000.

In Gwinnett county, Atlanta's white northern suburbs, Mr Tsongas got 34% of the vote, within shouting distance of Mr Clinton's 45%. His performance in Atlanta's suburbs gives his campaign hope that it can



... Brown, what he can

upset Mr Clinton in Florida, whose Democratic voters tend to be whiter, richer and more liberal than anywhere else in the south. A new poll in the *Miami Herald* has Mr Tsongas closing to within five points of Mr Clinton in the state, although Mr Clinton has long been better organised.

The bad news for Mr Tsongas is that the white suburban vote may no longer be his alone. In Colorado, Jerry Brown, the victor, ran virtually even with Mr Tsongas among voters with a graduate degree. He beat Mr Tsongas easily among younger, affluent voters in the state. It is probable, for example, that he got the votes of the younger academics at the University of Colorado in Boulder, where Mr Brown's spaciness would be considered quite tame. Their older colleagues probably voted for Mr Tsongas.

Mr Brown campaigned hard in Colorado. With its crowd of Californian exiles and its vaguely alternative culture, at least among Democratic voters, this was natural territory for him. On March 3rd there was not much evidence outside Colorado that he was doing well in the suburbs (he was hammered in Gwinnett and Montgomery counties). But his anti-establishment politics, coupled with his green tinge (he has wounded Mr Tsongas by painting him as a booster of nuclear power), will find supporters elsewhere, especially in the overwhelmingly white and liberal “northern tier” states of the mid-west and west. He did surprisingly well in the Washington state caucuses, and can look forward to good results in Wisconsin on April 7th and Oregon on May 19th—all of which is likely to keep him alive for the California primary on June 2nd, when he and Mr Tsongas could split the suburban vote.

That leaves the white blue-collar workers of the north-east and mid-west. These voters are still unionised but, at least in the 1980s, increasingly “conservative” on economic issues. Many defected to Ronald Reagan; under George Bush they have started to drift back. This is the part of the old Democratic coalition that has barely been heard from so far. In both New Hampshire and Maryland they seem to have preferred Mr Clinton to Mr Tsongas, but neither state is an adequate test. That is why the primaries on March 17th in Michigan and Illinois are now so crucial; it is there that white ethnic voters will hold the key. In neither state is Mr Tsongas or Mr Clinton a natural favourite.

Two months ago, before New Hampshire, Mr Harkin might have been expected to do well in Michigan, where he has the backing of big industrial trade unions. He has kept his challenge alive, just, by tapping

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union support in Minnesota, where he won the caucuses on March 3rd. But his campaign is running out of money, and he will have a lousy Super Tuesday; it is hard to see him making much of a showing from now on.

The same is true of Bob Kerrey. The party's golden boy of old is now the "vulture" candidate, waiting for something to ruin either Mr Clinton or Mr Tsongas. Mr Kerrey spent a day in Georgia telling everyone that Mr Clinton was unelectable; then trumpeted a "western" strategy, which imploded when he ran a poor fourth in Colorado; then predicted that he could win the Arizona caucuses on March 7th; and has now returned to Washington, DC, with all his appointments cancelled, a clear sign that his campaign may soon end.

Exit polls show, nonetheless, that Mr Kerrey's message about Mr Clinton's weakness has some force. The long month that Mr Clinton spent fighting allegations about infidelity and draft-dodging has taken its toll. People may not be voting against him, but in poll after poll it is clear that perhaps 40% of those who support him do so with no great enthusiasm. As Mr Clinton starts to plan his move from the south to the Great Lakes, it will be worth seeing whether he tries to win support by appealing to old-fashioned New Deal and protectionist sentiment there. The more cynical Clinton-

watchers have been expecting this move for weeks; to be fair to him, he has not yet made it. But Mr Clinton never met a voter whom he did not like, nor one whose deepest concerns were not, quite by chance, his own.

The Buchanan campaign California, here we come?

ATLANTA

"THE lights, my friends," Patrick Buchanan told the admirers of his performance in Georgia's Republican primary, "are burning late in the chanceries of the eastern liberal establishment tonight." No doubt they were. Mr Buchanan and his rebel right-wing campaign are jubilant over the 36% of the Republican vote he won on March 3rd, just one percentage point short of his extraordinary showing in New Hampshire two weeks earlier.

As he headed off, bull-like, for the southern Super Tuesday states, the talk was even of winning one of them—maybe Louisiana, or Mississippi. This, Mr Buchanan's boosters maintain, would keep his campaign going into the summer. Then, the race's most tempting fruit—the California primary—



That rebel smirk

would be there for the plucking.

California's conservatives have long treated Mr Bush with disdain. Now the state's favourite conservative, Ronald Reagan, seems to do so as well. ("Sources close to" Mr Reagan tell newspapers that Mr Bush does not stand for anything; he has endorsed Mr Bush only grudgingly.) In the 1988 presidential election Mr Bush beat Michael Dukakis in California by a mere 300,000 votes. Mr Buchanan's men dream that a strong showing by their hero in the primary might send Mr Bush crashing.

Nonetheless, Mr Buchanan's high-water mark has probably come with his showing in the primaries on March 3rd. He has won few convention delegates. Despite his description of Mr Bush's policies as "near beer" (the stuff they used to serve in the bars of St Louis when Mr Buchanan was a cub reporter), success for the president in the south's two most populous states, Texas and Florida, is certain and his nomination in August still seems all but assured.

Even Mr Buchanan's successes can tarnish when examined. In South Dakota, where Mr Buchanan was not running, 31% of Republicans marked their ballots as "uncommitted". In Georgia Mr Buchanan spent \$390,000 (nearly twice as much as Mr Bush) broadcasting his message. In one television advertisement he railed against the latest civil-rights bill. In another he lambasted homosexuality and state-subsidised "pornographic" work. ("I don't care what they do in their garrets," he told the state legislature, "with their precious bodily fluids and their bull-whips.")

Despite these efforts, he won only a few more percentage points in Georgia than Mr Uncommitted in South Dakota. Again, in the Colorado and Maryland primaries on March 3rd, where he did not campaign, Mr Buchanan won 30% of the Republican vote. His success seems to rest on protest rather than his own message.

The question the Bush camp must ask itself is how much of the Buchanan protest vote will transfer to a Democrat in Novem-

Polo-neck politics

DENVER AND LOS ANGELES

ONLY Jerry Brown could claim that his campaign "has the momentum of a bullet train". Hyperbole has served him well in the past. Now the voters of Colorado have given his "insurgent campaign to take back America" a pat on the back. He won Tuesday's primary there with 32% of the vote, and came second in Utah with 28%.

These results are worth noting. Mr Brown, who refuses to accept contributions above \$100, has spent little on advertising, and the "free" media have hardly treated him with respect. Even the *Los Angeles Times* put the announcement of his candidacy on its inside pages. No politician of standing in Colorado (or, for that matter, in America) has endorsed him.

To go further, Mr Brown now has to conquer two formidable disadvantages: his "moonbeam" image and his lack of organisation. The polo-neck sweaters remain, together with the endless repetition of his free 800 number. But he has broadened his message, with fewer rants about Washington's "cancerous politics" and more references to his two

terms as governor of California, the nation's biggest state, where he "created more new jobs than all my opponents, Democrat and Republican, combined."

Organisation is a bigger problem. Mr Brown's headquarters in Santa Monica have an amateurish air. When cheques come in, they sometimes go uncashed. There is plenty of wide-eyed enthusiasm, but precious little planning. For instance, Mr Brown, who championed minorities during his governorship, has so far failed to win much of the black vote, despite saying that he would ask Jesse Jackson to be his running-mate.

Indeed, mimicking Mr Jackson's achievement in 1988 might prove to be Mr Brown's most realistic goal. Like Mr Jackson, he cannot win the nomination; but he can build a constituency big enough to push an issue (political reform) into the election. If no front-runner emerges for the convention in New York, Mr Brown, no stranger to backroom politics, could be a powerbroker of sorts. If he does not get what he wants, he might even run as a third-party candidate.

ber. They can draw some comfort, even from Georgia. With his 64% in the Georgia primary, Mr Bush won more votes than he did in the 1988 general election. Georgia has never had a Republican governor, and only one (one-term) senator. On March 3rd, however, nearly half of the state's primary voters chose the Republican ballot, compared with 34% in 1980. This should alarm Democrats thinking about November.

Yet in Maryland there were also danger signs for Mr Bush. According to one Democratic consultant, an exit-poll there showed 85% of Buchanan voters favouring any Democrat over Mr Bush in a general election in November. Once Mr Bush's team gets to work on "defining" his Democratic opponent, those numbers will surely go down. But they will remind the president of the fate of two recent predecessors—Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter—who both fought off strong challenges for their party's nomination, only to lose the November election.

Tax breaks

Dismal swamp

WASHINGTON, DC

IT HAS become a cynical ritual, full of sound bites, signifying nothing. Both Congress and the Bush administration promise tax breaks for the beloved "middle class". Each knows its preferred measure will not get past the other. Both think they will thereby have scored a political point.

The ritual began with George Bush's "state of the union" speech in late January. Mr Bush announced various measures to stimulate America's economy, not least by putting some money back into the pockets of the middle class. Central to the plan was a \$500-a-year tax credit for every child a fam-

ily has—in effect, a child benefit. He challenged Congress to enact his plans by March 20th. Advantage Bush.

The president's mistake was to exclude the credit from the tax bill that loyal Republicans introduced in Congress. Mr Bush's men saw, rightly, that getting the credit past Congress without raising taxes on the rich to pay for it would scupper his other, less contentious, proposals. But this allowed Patrick Buchanan to seize upon Mr Bush's supposed turnabout and make it a central, and successful, theme of his campaign.

The Democrats too, were anxious to reclaim the issue of "tax fairness" for themselves. Dan Rostenkowski, the Democratic chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and a man no tax bill may bypass, faces an uncomfortable primary election on March 17th in his Chicago district. His constituents had told him they would like more money, and Mr Rostenkowski is alert to their desires. So he fashioned a national tax bill, which promised a middle-class tax break of \$200 for individuals and \$400 for families.

On March 3rd a tax plan also emerged from the Senate Finance Committee, which is headed by a conservative Democrat, Lloyd Bentsen. This bore a striking likeness to Mr Bush's proposals. For instance, the committee backs tax breaks for investment and proposes a cut in the capital-gains tax (by indexing capital gains to inflation). The Senate's plan, like the one from the White House, gives a tax break to families with children, rather than to all middle-income taxpayers. Indeed its tax credit—at \$300 a family—is smaller than Mr Bush's. And it does not benefit those poor Americans who do not pay enough tax from which to be exempted.

Both the House and Senate proposals, however, contain an element that is pure poison to an election-year White House.

They soak the rich to pay for tax credits—principally by raising the top rate of income tax from 31% to 35-36%. The president could not possibly agree to that. In his new confessional mood, Mr Bush has admitted that raising taxes in the 1990 budget deal was a ghastly political mistake. The minimum tax increase that Congress and the Democrats now say they will hold out for is a 10% extra tax surcharge on millionaires, which would impoverish the latter collectively by a mere \$7 billion over five years. Mr Bush would not dare agree even to that. So he will veto any bill Congress passes, which is just what Congress wants in order to paint Mr Bush as the enemy of the plain American.

There is only one way now for a "middle-class" tax break to get enacted this year: collusion between Congress and the administration to scrap the few disciplines of the 1990 budget agreement. Then savings from defence cuts could go to pay for tax breaks. Currently, such savings would have to go towards cutting the budget deficit. The danger of scrapping the 1990 deal, as many conservatives see it, is that an orgy of spending—and then taxing—would follow. Next week the two most powerful people in the budget process—Richard Darman, the administration's budget director, and Robert Byrd, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee—are due to get together. These men were the architects of the 1990 deal. Will they scrap it now, and risk making conservatives even angrier?

Industrial policy

Competitive again

WASHINGTON, DC

EVEN competitiveness councils have to compete. That is why America has three of them, all beavering away on schemes to keep the country up with the international Joneses—or, rather, the Toyotas. One, bringing together government officials, is headed by Dan Quayle; another, the first of the species, was started by Ronald Reagan in 1986, and comes from the private sector. It is the third, however, that promises to be the most influential: the Competitiveness Policy Council, set up jointly by the President and Congress, and consisting of a 12-strong group from business, government, universities and labour organisations. On March 4th it released its first annual report. This could well mark the return to respectability of two words that became dirty in the 1980s: industrial policy.

The council is chaired by Fred Bergsten, an economist who worked at the Treasury under Jimmy Carter and now runs his own think-tank, the Institute for International



And \$500 a year for you, right?

Economics. He provides the intellectual credibility, while practical men are represented by people like Rand Araskog, chairman of ITT, a big conglomerate, and Lynn Williams, head of the steelworkers' union. In part, the council's report—explained this week to every politician Mr Bergsten could find in Washington—is reacting to what it thinks is a changed public mood about economic policy; a rejection of quick fixes in preference for longer-term yet still interventionist measures. Inevitably, it is also an attempt to shape that mood.

Mr Bergsten's report is refreshingly clear about what the test of competitiveness is and where efforts to improve it must begin. Unconventionally, it rejects the trade deficit as a test: after all, that could easily be balanced by methods that would make Americans poorer. The council's chosen test is a rising and sustainable standard of living for Americans, provided by strong growth in productivity. Deliberately, it makes trade the last of its seven areas for action on the ground that America's problems originate at home, not abroad and that protectionism will worsen those problems, not solve them.

Macroeconomic policy is where the basic solutions begin. The council favours not just cutting the federal budget deficit but moving to a surplus to help rebuild national savings and release the resources for investment. After that imaginative leap, it advocates changes in tax policies to remove "perverse incentives" that discourage private savings and that, in the 1980s, pushed money into unproductive areas like property. It wants more government spending on infrastructure and tighter standards in education.

The most controversial proposal, however, is for an industrial policy. The report is somewhat vague about what this might consist of, but it uses phrases familiar from the Democratic primary campaigns of Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas. Currently, government policies towards industry are ad hoc; they must become more coherent and so less prone to arbitrary decisions made on political grounds.

To achieve this goal, the council wants the government to hand industrial policy to a specific agency, rather than dispersing it as at present; it suggests a reinforced Commerce Department, or the International Trade Commission. Quite what this body would do is left vague: lots of research; projections of the future course of important industries; the production of "visions" of what a better course might be. The only proposal for concrete action is to put government money into some "pre-competitive" technologies, to help industry develop products it might otherwise neglect.

As is usually pointed out in such reports, America has long had successful industrial policies for defence and space. So why not for other industries? The trouble is that in

those cases there were and are clear objectives and a single, identifiable client for the policy: the government itself. In other industries the special pleading is special; however coherent the administrative view, fragmented politics is prone to take over. It is on this problem that Mr Bergsten's council, along with other industrial-policy advocates, will have to be convincing.

Policing

Black and blue

LOS ANGELES

EVERY American has the right to a fair trial; but what if most of the country thinks it has witnessed the accused committing the crime? That is the justification for the extraordinary course of the trial of four Los Angeles policemen accused of assaulting Rodney King, a black motorist. One year ago, an amateur cameraman filmed Mr King being clubbed, kicked and attacked with a stun gun by several policemen, all white, in a Los Angeles street. The scenes were shown repeatedly on national television.

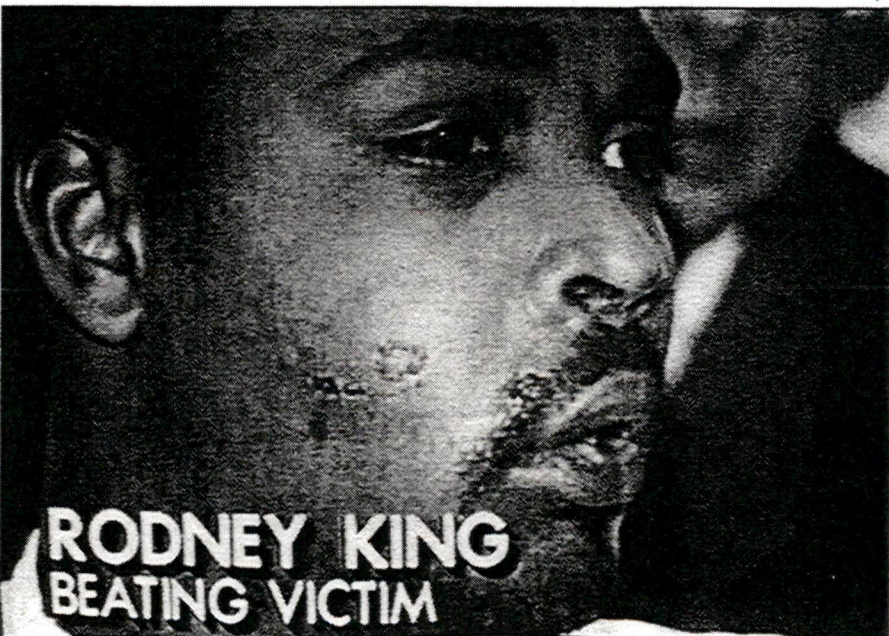
The trial, which begins on March 5th, has been moved to Ventura county, a prosperous suburb, where only one in 50 of the inhabitants is black (against one in 10 in Los Angeles county). Questionnaires were sent to 250 potential jurors, asking them about their reactions to the videotape, the Los Angeles Police Department and its controversial chief, Daryl Gates. The seven men and five women eventually selected include one Hispanic woman, whose young son hopes

to become a policeman, and one Filipina woman.

Both the defence and the prosecution say they are happy with the result. The trial, which should last at least a month, may involve 175 witnesses and is sure to generate more controversy. The defence case may not be as hopeless as it first seems. The film recorded only the later stages of the arrest of Mr King, who was both drunk and on parole at the time. (The police maintained he was speeding, but no charges were ever brought.) Most of the apparent blows were delivered by only two of the officers. One of the accused was commended earlier in his career for giving the kiss of life to a black carrier of AIDS.

At the heart of the trial will be the culture of the Los Angeles Police Department and its effect on the city's deteriorating race relations. Under Mr Gates, the department became one of the most efficient crime fighters in America; it also picked up a reputation for brutality and racism, which has already been investigated. Its insularity was helped by provisions in the city charter that made Mr Gates virtually unsackable.

To the relief of most politicians, Mr Gates—who refused to step down after the beating—has now agreed to go. The succession has been narrowed down to six men, two of them black, and all of them more liberal than the departing chief. Mr Gates will stay on until June, hoping to defeat a ballot initiative which would limit the police chief's term to ten years and would give the mayor and council more power to sack him. One senior councilman fears privately that if the initiative is defeated, and if the policemen are acquitted in Ventura, racial violence will soon erupt again.



Surgeons took the gravel out



And lest we forget

Three memos for Super Tuesday

DALLAS, MIAMI AND BOSTON

ON MARCH 10th, "Super Tuesday", 11 states will choose their delegates to the national conventions. Texas, Florida and Massachusetts matter most. We offer some hints for the candidates.

Texas

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES: 121, the second biggest group to be won. Best tip for a Republican candidate: make Texas your home. George Bush has done so, simply by spending a dozen nights a year in Suite 271 at the Houstonian Hotel in Houston. Two days after the New Hampshire primary, the Houstonian filed for bankruptcy; but the president is still comfortable, and among friends. Recent polls show more than 80% support for him. Unless he can appeal to unemployed defence workers, disgruntled by the peace dividend, Patrick Buchanan will not make much of a showing.

DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES: 196. Best tip for a Democratic candidate: first, go to the Alamo, the sacred ground where early Texans defied the Mexicans in 1836; and second, pay a call on Jess Hay, king of the Democratic fund-raisers, whose Rolodex, it is said, should be cast in gold. Unhelpful fact: Bill Clinton has got there first. Mr Clinton has already captured the key endorsement of Henry Cisneros, the former mayor of San Antonio, where sits the Alamo; and Mr Hay is solid in Mr Clinton's corner because he likes a pro-business man as gover-

nor of next-door Arkansas.

Third, get the endorsement of the Mexican-American Democrats. Mr Clinton did so early, attending the MAD convention in mid-January when everyone else was in New Hampshire. Hispanic voters comprise about a quarter of the state's electorate. Only labour remains up for grabs.

Lastly, if you favour a petrol tax, don't mention it. Paul Tsongas would do well to blank out that passage in his "Call to Economic Arms".

Florida

The following tips apply to all candidates. Be nice to old folk; do whatever you can to get on television; and, in general, win New Hampshire. The winner in that primary usually rolls on through Florida on a wave of exposure on the network news, although "Junior Tuesday" has altered the scene a bit.

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES: 97. Best tip for a Republican candidate: put your son in Miami, where he can build up a political network. Jeb Bush has done a good job. Here, once again, Mr Bush is safe among friends. In north Florida, a region bristling with military installations and voters, the president still gets credit for Desert Storm.

Mr Buchanan's constituency, Republicans earning below \$15,000 a year, is barely a sliver in Florida outside the Panhandle. His only soulmates are the Cuban exiles in Miami, who are furious with Mr Bush over reports that the administration routinely

warned the Castro regime when exiles were about to raid the island. Returning to the first rule of Florida politics, the Bush campaign is circulating copies of a column Mr Buchanan wrote in 1983 suggesting that contributing to social security (pensions) should be made optional. That should fix him.



DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES: 148. Best tip for a Democratic candidate who has not won New Hampshire: get the votes of Florida Democratic activists at their party convention in December, and hang on to them. Mr Clinton has done so, and his juggernaut—despite some lurches—remains on the road. Not only is his state effort headed by Florida's popular lieutenant-governor, Kenneth "Buddy" MacKay, but Mr Clinton has the still-solid backing of 50 of the state's 67 local party chiefs. Caveat: party organisations in the state are notoriously weak. Walter Mondale also had such support when he was hammered by Gary Hart in 1984.

Best tip for a Democrat who has won New Hampshire, but has also suggested (that "Call to Economic Arms" again) that federal spending might be cut by reducing automatic cost-of-living increases for social security by 1%: aim at small, potentially friendly areas (districts in the liberal south-east, or university towns where the young hang out) and blanket them with 30-second television commercials.

Do not go overboard on the swimming.

Massachusetts

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES: 38. Republican tip: take it easy. Missouri (47) and Tennessee (45) each offer more Super-Tuesday delegates. Mr Buchanan has the endorsement of the tabloid *Boston Herald*; but Massachusetts Republicans are notoriously moderate and satisfied with Mr Bush, who conveniently comes from New England as well as Texas.



DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES: 94. The third prize on Super Tuesday, but still worth winning. Democratic tip: oil that machine. In 1988, as the sitting governor, Michael Dukakis had instant organisation. Mr Tsongas, by contrast, has run only one statewide race, for the Senate 14 years ago. State Democratic leaders have not rallied to him, and he does not seem to fire the blood. The drubbing Mr Dukakis received in 1988 remains a painful memory. Mr Tsongas may have to prove to the rest of the country that he is not just another "Greek from Massachusetts"; but he will have to work harder than most favourite sons to do as well at home as everyone expects.

Jesse Jackson's long shadow

THE scene is a New York courtroom. John Gotti, the head of the Gambino Mafia family, is on trial. Salvatore Gravano, once his *consigliere*, now a stool-pigeon, is testifying against him. Mr Gotti cracks—"It's an outrage, it's a dirty double-crossing back-stabbing thing to do. For him to do this to me is an act of dishonour," he yells.

Right quote, wrong person. The man with the Mafiosi mouth was not the Dapper Don at all, but Slick Willie: Bill Clinton, the governor of Arkansas and candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. And why did he come so close to saying that the object of his rage would soon sleep with the fishes? Because he thought he was in danger of losing the black vote in the Democratic primaries, that's why.

Mr Clinton's outburst came before an open microphone in a television studio, after an interviewer had erroneously given him the impression that Tom Harkin, a rival of his for the nomination, had been endorsed by Jesse Jackson. In 1984 and (especially) 1988, when he won nearly 7m votes in Democratic primaries, Mr Jackson had shown himself able to mobilise blacks for a presidential campaign like no one else. Mr Clinton's outburst was twice revealing: first, in showing how important black support is to him; and second, in showing how long a shadow Mr Jackson still casts.

The unspoken assumption behind Mr Clinton's anger was that, although Mr Jackson is not running this year, the black vote was his to dispose of—or, at the least, that an endorsement by Mr Jackson of someone else would be so powerful that it would do Mr Clinton harm. This assumption of Mr Jackson's importance was not Mr Clinton's alone. No sooner had he stuck his foot in his mouth than St. Paul Tsongas, his main rival for the nomination, was airing commercials on black radio stations saying, among much else, "Paul Tsongas doesn't go around attacking respected national leaders like Jesse Jackson." As for Mr Harkin himself, he has tried to rescue his flagging campaign by padding through South Carolina in Mr Jackson's footsteps. And Jerry Brown has said that, if nominated, he would ask Mr Jackson to be his running mate ("Jerry and Jesse"—it has a ring to it).

In the event, the impact of Mr Clinton's gaffe was far smaller than many pundits had predicted. Mr Clinton was endorsed by Kurt Schmoke, the black mayor of Baltimore, and by the whole of the black political establishment in Atlanta. In both Maryland and Georgia he won the black vote easily. Offending Mr Jackson (which Mr Clinton has done many times before) does not seem to have done the governor much obvious harm.

Working out why that might be is a fascinating exercise. In the absence of Mr Jackson, the message sent to black voters by the

Democratic campaign is very different from that sent when he led his poor people's crusades in 1984 and 1988. Both Mr Clinton and Mr Tsongas believe that economic growth must precede the elimination of inequality; both rail against a Washington party establishment which they see as pledged to liberal special-interest groups (code, in some parts of the country, for a party that is too kind to blacks). Both have had associations with groups that are less than popular among Mr Jackson's supporters. Mr Clinton used to be chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, a self-styled "moderate" pressure group. Mr Tsongas is a board-room lawyer.

At the same time, both Mr Tsongas (with his message that all Americans are part of "the same team") and Mr Clinton (with his stress on the American "community") use language that is designed to convince blacks that they have not been forgotten.

Stirring up apathy

Both men have made vehement and undoubtedly sincere condemnations of the racism that they believe is at the heart of the candidacy of Pat Buchanan: racism which they suspect will be a part of George Bush's own campaign in the autumn, just as it became a subliminal part of it in the autumn of 1988. In essence, both men are saying to blacks: "Economically, we are more conservative than the Democratic candidates, white or black, whom you have supported in the past—men like Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale and Jesse Jackson. We are not promising anything special for you; we think that what is good for the American economy as a whole is also good for blacks. But we are

no less committed to civil rights or opposed to racism than your heroes of years past."

How this line sells among blacks is going to be one of the most intriguing questions of 1992. It is hard to see how it is going to bring in many more black votes for the Democrats than in 1988, when Michael Dukakis won about 90% of the black vote. It may woo a few economically conservative blacks who voted for Mr Bush or abstained in 1988, but those numbers are not significant.

Of course, this year's strategy may appeal (indeed, may be designed to appeal) to white voters who did not much like Mr Bush but did not support Mr Dukakis either, because he was the candidate of Mr Jackson's party. But this boost from white voters could come at a price: its reverse may be that blacks simply do not go to the polls in the numbers that Democrats need to win the presidential election. Without Mr Jackson in the field, the turnout in Georgia on March 3rd was significantly lower than in 1988. If that is an omen for November—if large numbers of black voters just withdraw from politics entirely this year—it would be bad for the Democratic Party. It would be worse for America.



PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Clinton, Brown Taste First Wins; Bush-Buchanan Duel Rolls On

Caucus states respond to Tsongas and Harkin; Kerrey fades, then makes a graceful exit

At first glance, the results of primaries and caucuses held March 3 did little more than maintain the status quo in each party's presidential race.

President Bush went on beating conservative Republican challenger Patrick J. Buchanan but still could not dispatch him. The Democrats had another day of multiple winners and maximum confusion.

But on closer review, Buchanan could be seen scoring his first real victories by carrying counties — something he had failed to do in February.

And in Democratic voting, the primary and caucus action in seven states brought far more clarity to the race than had all the preceding events.

The day's three primaries produced three different winners — Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in Georgia, former Sen. Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts in Maryland and former California Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. in Colorado. For good measure, Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa won caucuses in Minnesota and Idaho, and Tsongas won the other two in Utah and Washington.

But the day's voting also began to shrink the field. The lone non-winner on March 3, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, quit the race two days later. (Story, p. 556)

And neither Brown nor Harkin is in position to contest many of the myriad vote tests to take place over the next two weeks. Brown is a poorly financed guerrilla candidate who has succeeded by picking and choosing his spots. Harkin is relying on labor backers to keep him afloat for a last shot at a primary victory in Illinois or Michigan on March 17.

In the meantime, Clinton and Tsongas have emerged as the clear front-runners, each fashioning a message that plays to a different constitu-



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Candidate Edmund G. 'Jerry' Brown

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ency within the party.

Tsongas' pro-business "I'm no Santa Claus" liberalism appeals to upscale "Volvo Democrats." Clinton's pitch to a "forgotten middle class" appeals to "Chevy Democrats." Whichever wins the key contests in Florida and Texas on March 10 and Illinois on March 17 should be well along the road to nomination. (Story, p. 555)

Clinton looks to be in the driver's seat for the battle ahead. He scored an impressive landslide victory in Georgia, which almost certainly sets the stage for his dominance of primary voting in South Carolina on March 7 and most, if not all, of six other Southern states that cast ballots March 10.

But he also showed vote-getting appeal outside Dixie on March 3 by finishing a respectable second in Maryland and Colorado. In both states, he did well by combining the ballots of urban minorities and small-town whites.

That left Tsongas with the upscale suburbs, enough of a constituency to carry Maryland but not enough to win Colorado — where Brown's burgeoning strength came largely at Tsongas' expense.

On the Republican side, Bush continued to win everywhere. But, as has been the case since New Hampshire, he has not won that impressively anywhere.

There has been a numbing consistency to the Republican primary vote, with Bush regularly losing 25 percent to 35 percent in almost every type of constituency — affluent suburbs, blue-collar mill towns, academic communities or rural farm country.

That significant anti-Bush protest vote has appeared in primaries in every part of the country and in every voting system. It has appeared in primaries restricted to Republicans only (Maryland) and also in primaries open to include independents (Colorado) or open to any registered voter (Georgia).

Still, Bush swept every county that voted in a Republican primary or caucus in February — all 10 counties in New Hampshire, all 16 in Maine and all 66 in South Dakota.

And on March 3, he carried all 63 counties in Colorado and all 23 counties plus the independent city of Baltimore in Maryland.

By Rhodes Cook

Eleven Days in March

And now, the presidential race hits full stride. In the 11 days from March 7 through March 17, 18 states will conduct primaries or caucuses.

The prizes available include more than 1,200 delegates for Democrats (more than twice the number allocated by voters to date) and about 600 for Republicans (more than three times the number committed to date). (See national tally, p. 562)

If the existing Republican pattern persists and President Bush wins two-thirds of the vote throughout this period, conservative columnist Patrick J. Buchanan will come under increasing pressure to leave the field.

But if Buchanan can win a state — or even come close — it will be hard to chase him out of the later primaries.

These two weeks will also ascertain what appeal former Louisiana state Rep. David Duke may have outside his home state. The former Ku Klux Klan leader will be on many March ballots, beginning with South Carolina's on March 7. (See chart, *Weekly Report*, p. 422)

Polls in the first week of March indicated that President Bush would continue to pull two-thirds of the vote or more, with Buchanan and Duke dividing the remainder.

On the Democratic side, any one candidate who can dominate the action over these two weeks will clearly become the front-runner, if not the presumptive nominee.

Some see Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in that role. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo was quoted March 6 as saying Clinton "will be the nominee in two weeks."

If Clinton is to be stopped, the three places to do it are Florida on March 10 (Super Tuesday) and Illinois and Michigan on March 17. Florida is the second-largest of the 11 states voting or holding party caucuses on Super Tuesday, and it holds the greatest potential for surprise.

Closing fast, former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas pulled even with Clinton at 24 percent in a poll published March 6 in Florida newspapers affiliated with *The New York Times*. One-third of the survey respondents said they remained undecided.

The Florida electorate differs from that of other Southern states, making it more difficult for Clinton to play his regional affinity card. Florida has fewer minority voters, more Jews and Catholics, and more voters with household incomes higher than \$40,000. Florida

Democrats are also more likely to be over 60, and four out of five Floridians were not born there.

Florida Democrats went for Massachusetts' Michael S. Dukakis in 1988 and for Colorado's Gary Hart in 1984; neither had a Southern connection, but both were hot after winning New Hampshire.

Florida is also attractive to Tsongas in that Clinton's organization has left few openings elsewhere in Dixie. In Texas, Clinton has sustained a wide lead in polls, although Tsongas may close the gap with late TV ads.

Polls have shown Clinton in control in Texas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Mississippi. And a procedural problem has kept Tsongas off the ballot entirely in Oklahoma.

Tsongas also has some Super Tuesday states in the bag. Massachusetts will vote heavily for its former senator, and should be joined by primary voters in neighboring Rhode Island. The caucuses in Delaware are harder to call, as are the Missouri caucuses.

But Tsongas' strategy is to win Florida and wave that trophy, distracting attention from what will likely be a big day for Clinton at the delegate window.

The spin from Super Tuesday's outcome can be at least as important as the results. Hart won Florida and Massachusetts in 1988 but was deemed to have disappointed expectations by losing Georgia and Alabama.

This year, perceived momentum may trigger a double-barreled payoff in the Midwest on March 17. Illinois has long held a primary in March that bridged the early and late events in other states. This year, Michigan joined in after holding caucuses in 1988 that attracted a small turnout.

After March 17, there will not be another big-state primary until New York's on April 7.

Also bidding for attention going into Illinois and Michigan will be former California Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. A thin wallet has forced Brown to concentrate on caucuses in four Western states where the magic of his Colorado primary win might just rub off: Arizona, Wyoming, Nevada and Hawaii. But each of the other candidates has been contesting at least some of these events as well.

Local caucus activity will also be continuing throughout this period in North Dakota, where it lasts from March 5 through 19.

—Ronald D. Elving



Clinton



Tsongas

But Buchanan made a pitched effort in Georgia and punched a few holes in the president's Southern fire wall. When he was sweeping Dixie on Super Tuesday in 1988, Bush won all 159 counties in Georgia and carried nearly three-fourths of them by a ratio of at least 2 to 1 over his nearest rival.

But on March 3, Buchanan took 15 Georgia counties from the president and

held Bush below a 2-to-1 victory margin in more than three-fourths of the others.

Bush maintained the strength that he demonstrated in 1988 among white-collar "country club" Republicans in the Atlanta area, winning 68 percent of the vote in the six counties (Fulton, Clayton, Cobb, De Kalb, Fayette and Gwinnett) that constitute metropolitan Atlanta.

But outside the Atlanta area, where Buchanan concentrated his search for conservative swing voters, Bush's vote share dropped to 62 percent. And it was lower than that in much of rural south Georgia, where Buchanan won almost all of his counties.

Buchanan's New Tack

Buchanan shifted gears from New

Kerrey Quits Race

The presidential campaign of Democratic Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska ended March 5, leaving many puzzled as to why the personable Midwesterner had failed to pique voters' interest.

When asked what he would have done differently, Kerrey replied simply: "Something."

And when asked if he expected to try for the White House again, he was brief and direct: "Yes," he said.

The last phase of the Kerrey campaign illustrated the adage that those whom the gods would destroy, they first favor. Kerrey, 48, had enjoyed his best day of the campaign just nine days before dropping out, winning the South Dakota primary Feb. 25 with 40 percent of the vote.

South Dakota prompted media and political professionals to re-evaluate Kerrey. Previously, his campaign had been disparaged as short on substance and long on personal story line.

Winner of the Medal of Honor for his heroism during combat, Kerrey was injured in Vietnam and lost part of one leg. After a lengthy rehabilitation, he entered business in Omaha and became a millionaire, then he entered politics at the statewide level and was elected to the offices of governor and senator.

Announcing officially in Lincoln, Neb., on Sept. 30, Kerrey offered himself as a symbol of a new generation of leaders. He called for "fundamental change," but he seemed reluctant to define that message or identify substantive positions beyond his trademark issue of national health care.

He also lacked a consistent style. He changed campaign managers in January and shifted to a get-tough-on-trade theme in TV ads that he soon discontinued, complaining that they had not "worked."

Yet in this season of weak front-runners, a single primary victory in a small-stakes state was enough to rejuvenate Kerrey's appeal. After South Dakota, Kerrey seemed to set the pace of the race and the tone of the debate. He charged from state to state, trying first to make a mark in Georgia and then shifting his focus to Colorado.

In Georgia he attacked Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's lack of a war record, saying the GOP would use that issue to "open him up like a soft peanut." In Colorado, he went after former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas, saying he sounded like "the Grinch who stole Christmas."

But on March 3, Kerrey finished fourth in both Georgia and Colorado and sixth in Maryland, where he lost to all other candidates and the line for uncommitted. Moreover, he trailed the pack in Minnesota, Utah, Idaho and Washington, which held caucuses the same day. (*Results*, p. 557)

The Colorado primary and the caucuses may have been the most discouraging, as Kerrey had hoped to find friendlier responses once he had crossed the Mississippi River.

But with no encouragement from any quarter and the cost of campaigning coast-to-coast piling up debt, Kerrey got out while he could do so with some gallantry.

In bowing out, Kerrey said he could support any of the Democrats in the fall. Asked if he could be enthusiastic about Clinton, in particular, Kerrey said, "Very."

Referring to his remarks about Clinton's electability, Kerrey dismissed them as "political hyperbole" and added, "If he's the nominee of the party, I will campaign feverishly to make certain that he wins."

Kerrey was the second major declared candidate to leave the race. Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder had withdrawn as a candidate on Jan. 8.

—Ronald D. Elving



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Hampshire, dropping the economic emphasis for a tough line on social issues. He painted Bush as soft on pornography and irresolute in his resistance to racial hiring quotas.

Buchanan was "playing more to the cultural stereotype of the South than the economy," says Emory University political scientist Merle Black.

Black speculates that Buchanan might have won more votes in Georgia if he had kept his focus on the economy. The state's economic condition is not as bad as New Hampshire's, Black says, but "it's still in recession," and there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with Bush on economic grounds.

Buchanan's social issue attacks appeared to have been pitched more to conservative independents and Democrats of small-town Georgia rather than the tens of thousands of white-collar Republicans in the Atlanta suburbs.

And they drew a hard Bush counterattack that had been absent in New Hampshire. Bush media ads singled out some of Buchanan's past statements, including one that questioned the ability of women to compete in the marketplace.

That particular stab sought to exploit a wide gender gap that had developed between the two candidates in early contests. March 3 exit polls in Georgia by a television network consortium showed that Bush ran ahead of Buchanan by barely 10 percentage points among men but by nearly 50 points among women.

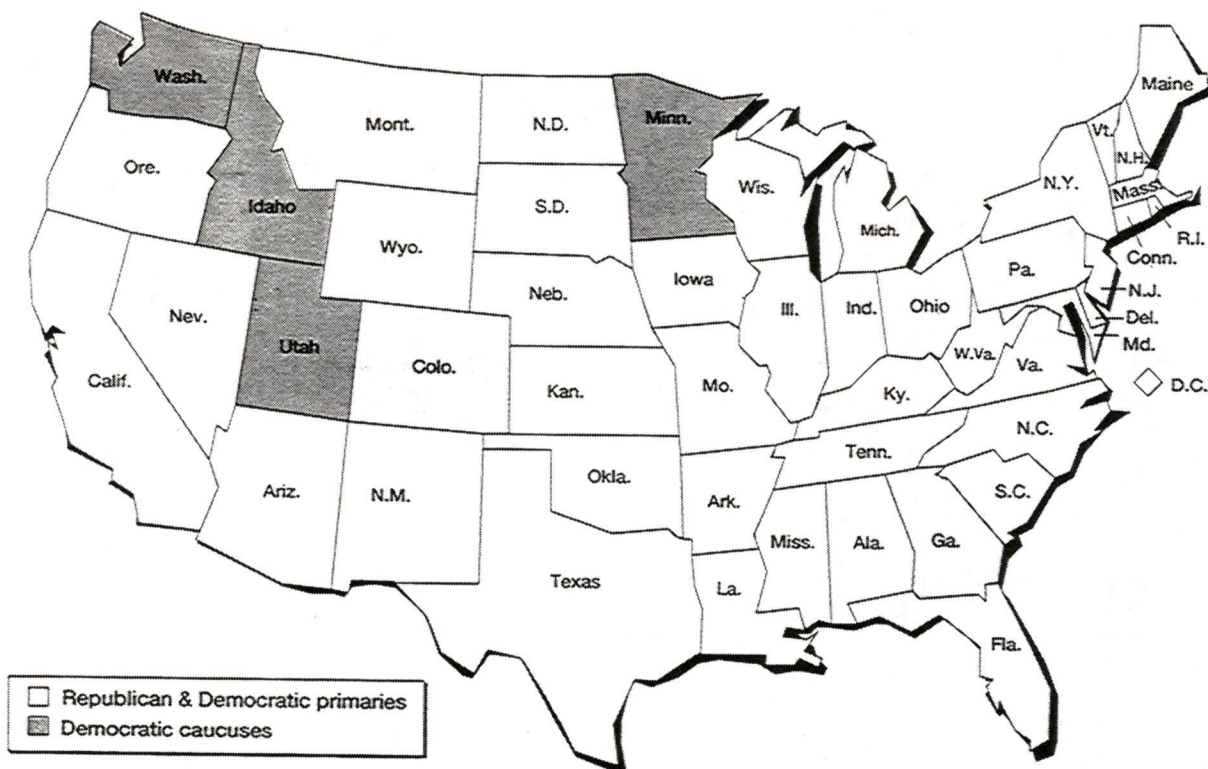
Less clear in its effect was another tough Bush ad that questioned Buchanan's patriotism. That ad featured former Marine Corps Commandant P. X. Kelley taking umbrage at Buchanan's early opposition to the Persian Gulf conflict. In Muscogee County, which includes Fort Benning, Bush won easily. But Buchanan won Houston County, which includes Robins Air Force Base.

On the Ground

Both candidates blanketed the state. Buchanan barnstormed rural Georgia in a bus dubbed "Asphalt One." Bush flew to major population centers in Air Force One and climaxed his campaign in Atlanta by conspicuously worshipping the Sunday before the primary at one of the largest Southern Baptist churches in the region.

Still, Buchanan's weeklong blitz netted 36 percent of the vote, only 1 percentage point less than he had drawn in New Hampshire after 10

March 3rd Primary & Caucus Results



Democrats

Republicans

	Turnout	Brown	Clinton	Harkin	Kerrey	Tsongas	Others/ Uncommitted	Turnout	Buchanan	Bush	Others/ Uncommitted
PRIMARIES											
Colorado	239,441	28.8	26.8	2.4	12.3	25.6	4.0	195,673	30.0	67.5	2.5
Georgia	452,570	8.1	57.1	2.2	4.9	24.0	3.7	451,059	35.7	64.3	—
Maryland	555,184	8.2	33.7	5.8	4.7	40.5	7.1	240,895	30.1	69.9	—
CAUCUSES											
Idaho ¹	3,090	4.5	11.4	29.7	8.0	28.4	18.0	Primary May 26			
Minnesota ²	50,000- 60,000 (est.)	8.2	10.3	26.7	7.6	19.2	28.2	Primary April 7			
Utah ³	31,638	28.4	18.3	4.0	10.9	33.4	5.0	Caucuses April 27			
Washington ⁴	75,000- 80,000 (est.)	20.8	14.1	7.7	4.5	29.7	23.2	Primary May 19			

NOTE: Primary results based on nearly complete but unofficial returns.

¹ Percentage of delegates elected to state convention.

² Results from 135 sample precincts. Others/uncommitted breaks down 24.3% uncommitted, 3.9% others.

³ Results of primary-like balloting conducted by the state party.

⁴ Percentage of delegates elected to second tier of caucus process. Results are incomplete.

weeks of campaigning.

It is an open question, though, whether Buchanan can do better in the upcoming Southern vote-fest. In Georgia, he had Bush one-on-one. In South Carolina on March 7 and five of the six Southern primaries that vote Super Tuesday, Bush and Buchanan will be joined on the GOP ballot by former Louisiana state Rep. David Duke.

Duke's presence on the ballot is unlikely to dramatically enlarge the GOP primary electorate. Polls to date show his support coming from the same lode of anti-Bush votes that Buchanan has been mining. On March 10, only Florida will provide Buchanan with a clear shot at Bush (a court allowed the GOP to bar Duke from the ballot).

To compound the problem for Buchanan, Republican winner-take-all primaries are beginning to dominate the calendar.

In the February contests in New Hampshire and South Dakota, delegates were divided in proportion to the vote. But in the March 3 primaries, delegates were allocated proportionately only in Colorado.

March 3 Primaries: 1992 Sample Cities/Towns

(All figures are percentages, which may not add to 100 due to rounding; highest votes are in **boldface**)

	Democrats					Republicans			
	Brown	Clinton	Harkin	Kerrey	Tsongas	1988 Winner	Buchanan	Bush	1988 Winner
LEADING URBAN CENTERS									
Denver, Colo.	32	26	2	10	27	Jackson (45) *	28	68	Bush (79) *
Fulton (Atlanta), Ga.	9	51	1	4	31	Jackson (65)	28	72	Bush (57)
Baltimore, Md.	8	46	6	3	33	Jackson (53)	33	67	Bush (50)
AFFLUENT SUBURBS									
Arapahoe, Colo.	28	24	2	13	30	Dukakis (50) *	29	68	Bush (80) *
Cobb, Ga.	10	44	2	7	35	Gore (46)	33	67	Bush (52)
Montgomery, Md.	7	24	6	5	50	Dukakis (51)	30	70	Bush (53)
LESS AFFLUENT SUBURBS									
Adams, Colo.	25	33	3	14	21	Dukakis (44) *	31	66	Bush (73) *
Prince George's, Md.	7	41	6	4	35	Jackson (51)	33	67	Bush (54)
HIGH-GROWTH SUBURBS/EXURBS									
Gwinnett, Ga.	10	44	2	7	35	Gore (46)	34	66	Bush (49)
Howard, Md.	9	25	6	5	54	Dukakis (48)	30	70	Bush (48)
ACADEMIC INFLUENCE									
Boulder (U. of Colorado)	43	15	2	10	27	Dukakis (47) *	30	67	N/A
Clarke (U. of Georgia at Athens)	17	34	3	7	37	Jackson (34)	35	65	Bush (45)
LIBERAL ARTS									
Pitkin (Aspen), Colo.	39	12	2	12	29	Jackson (61) *	28	69	N/A
SMALLER INDUSTRIAL									
Pueblo, Colo.	16	51	2	13	16	Uncommitted (79) *	24	73	N/A
Whitfield (Dalton), Ga.	6	60	2	4	24	Gore (59)	39	61	Bush (54)
STRONG MILITARY INFLUENCE									
El Paso (Colorado Springs), Colo.	23	29	2	11	30	Jackson (44) *	32	67	Bush (86) *
Houston (Warner Robins — Robins Air Force Base), Ga.	5	65	2	6	16	Gore (44)	52	48	Bush (42)
Muscogee (Columbus — Fort Benning), Ga.	4	74	2	3	14	Jackson (50)	31	69	Bush (56)
RURAL BLACK MAJORITY									
Hancock, Ga.	10	69	2	2	14	Jackson (80)	41	59	Bush (72)
Taliaferro, Ga.	7	75	4	4	10	Jackson (65)	35	65	Bush (74)
HISPANIC MAJORITY									
Costilla, Colo.	10	72	1	5	8	Dukakis, Jackson (37) *	33	62	Bush (100) *
MOUNTAIN REPUBLICAN									
Hinsdale, Colo.	35	11	0	16	36	Uncommitted (57) *	39	58	N/A
Fannin, Ga.	7	69	2	5	15	Gore (58)	29	71	Bush (67)
Garrett, Md.	9	37	7	5	31	Dukakis (47)	29	71	Bush (63)
WALLACE COUNTRY									
Echols, Ga.	9	70	2	6	10	Gore (42)	27	73	Bush (58)
Dorchester, Md.	7	43	7	6	28	Dukakis (46)	27	73	Bush (62)

* Based on caucus tally. There was no primary in Colorado in 1988.

N/A indicates counties for which results were not available.

As a result, Bush swept all 52 delegates in Georgia and all 42 in Maryland. That meant that Buchanan won only 8 percent of the delegates (11 of 131) who were at stake March 3 despite drawing one-third of the day's Republican primary vote overall.

The delegate tally could be just as lopsided on Super Tuesday. Three states have proportional representation — Massachusetts, Rhode Island

and Tennessee. But Florida, Mississippi and Oklahoma do not, and winner-take-all applies in Louisiana and Texas if one candidate wins the majority of the vote.

By the end of Super Tuesday in 1988, Bush had acquired most of the delegates he needed to win the nomination and he could be in a similar position after March 10 this year. (*Super Tuesday rules*, p. 560)

Higher GOP Turnout

The increasingly bare-knuckled nature of the Republican nominating contest, though, has attracted voter interest. In New Hampshire, the GOP turnout was more than 15,000 votes higher than in 1988; in Maryland, the increase was 40,000 votes, and in Georgia the number of GOP primary ballots cast was 50,000 votes higher than in 1988. Only in South

Dakota has the Republican turnout decreased from 1988, and that was the one state where Buchanan did not make the ballot. (The other primary state that has voted so far this year, Colorado, was holding its first primary ever.)

Meanwhile, the Democratic primary turnout was up from 1988 in New Hampshire and Maryland but down in South Dakota and Georgia. Nearly complete but unofficial returns showed 170,000 fewer votes were cast in the Georgia Democratic primary than were cast four years ago.

The turnout of barely 450,000 on March 3 was the lowest for a Georgia Democratic presidential primary since 1980 and was less than half the number that participated in Georgia's Democratic gubernatorial primary two years ago.

For the first time ever, nearly as many votes were cast for president in the Republican primary in Georgia as in the Democratic primary.

The statewide Democratic turnout was lower in part because the Fulton County (Atlanta) turnout was down. Half of Fulton's population, and most of its Democrats, are black, and the county gave more votes to Jackson alone in 1988 than it gave the entire field of Democrats this year. (*In Search of the Black Vote, this page*)

The story was similar in Georgia's rural black belt. In Hancock County, where the population is nearly 80 percent black, Jackson drew 1,336 votes in 1988; the entire Democratic field drew barely 900 votes this year.

Clinton won in Hancock and Fulton March 3, but in each the turnout was down by more than one-third from 1988.

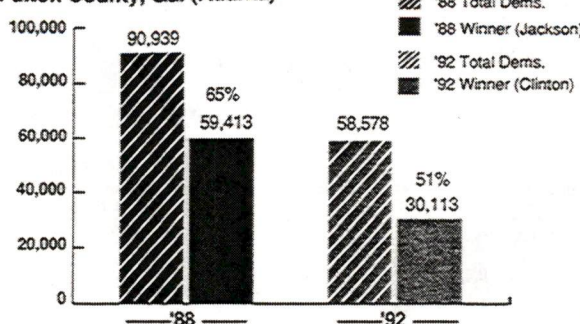
ABC-TV News exit polls in 1988 estimated that 36 percent of the Democratic presidential primary vote in Georgia was cast by blacks. This time, exit polls (by a network consortium) estimated that share was 29 percent.

But not all of the decrease in turnout was attributable to blacks. Using the same exit polls, the number of

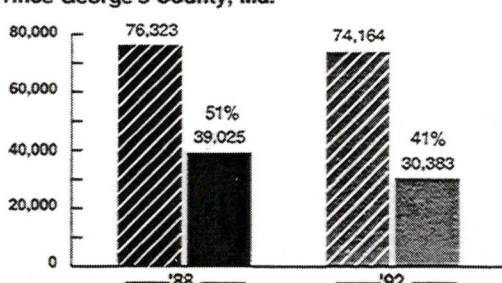
In Search of the Black Vote

Primary votes in thousands

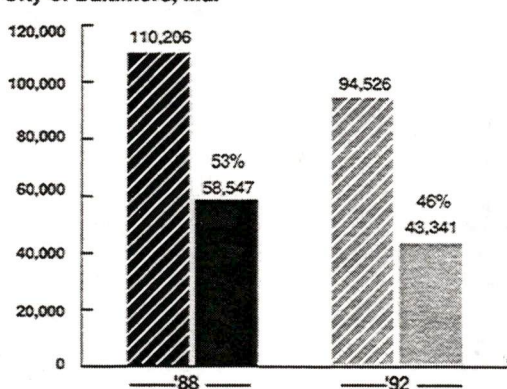
Fulton County, Ga. (Atlanta)



Prince George's County, Md.



City of Baltimore, Md.



Jesse Jackson easily won all three of these population centers in the 1988 Democratic primaries. Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton carried all three March 3, although he drew a smaller vote and a smaller percentage of the vote than Jackson. The number of ballots cast decreased by one-third from the 1988 level in Fulton County and was down by nearly 15 percent in Baltimore. Only in Prince George's County was the turnout virtually the same as in 1988, and that was due in large part to a hotly contested House primary in Maryland's new 4th District.

white primary participants also declined from 1988 by more than 50,000.

"For white conservatives in Georgia," says Black, "there's no choice in the Democratic race." (*Primary Demographics, chart, p. 561*)

In sum, Clinton's smashing Georgia victory could be read two ways. He fashioned a strong biracial coalition, but turnout was down among voters in

both of the coalition's elements.

Something to Celebrate

Still, Clinton had reason to celebrate his first primary victory. He won nearly 60 percent of the vote among those who turned out, and he successfully weathered pointed attacks on the personal character issues that have dogged his campaign.

Kerrey came to Atlanta after his South Dakota primary victory and aggressively played up the contrast between his Vietnam service (for which he won the Medal of Honor) and Clinton's draft avoidance.

Tsongas ran radio ads that contrasted his own respect for Jackson with Clinton's show of temper when mistakenly informed that Jackson had endorsed another candidate.

Yet Clinton swept all parts of Georgia — the majority-black counties as well as those with a military orientation. Tsongas finished a distant second statewide with less than one-fourth of the vote. Kerrey, who at one point seemed to have the résumé to mount a challenge to Clinton in the South, made little effort in Georgia and ran a distant fourth. (*March 3 Results, chart, p. 557*)

Tsongas ran reasonably close to Clinton in the Atlanta area, where non-Georgia natives are most numerous. Clinton still won there, but his edge over Tsongas was only 15 percentage points (48 percent to 33 percent).

But outside metropolitan Atlanta, it was no contest. In the cities and towns of rural Georgia, Clinton could brag that he was the only candidate without an accent, and he ran ahead of Tsongas there

by 45 percentage points (63 percent to 18 percent). The only Georgia county that Tsongas won was the academic enclave of Clarke County, home of the University of Georgia at Athens.

Maryland Story

The black turnout was not off so dramatically in Maryland. In Baltimore, the number of Democratic bal-

Super Tuesday Primaries, Caucuses

Super Tuesday (March 10) is the biggest day of the presidential primary season. Each party will have primaries in eight states — six in the South, two in New England. Democrats in four states will also have caucuses, including Texas, where there is both a primary and caucuses.

The ability of voters to participate in a primary or caucus varies from state to state, as follows:

Open — Voters may participate in either party's event. There is no registration by party.

Closed — Voters are registered by party and may only take part in their party's primary or caucus.

Open* — Independents may participate in either party's primary. Voters registered by party may only take part in their party's primary or caucus.

As for winning delegates, Democrats have proportional representation in all states, with 15 percent of the vote needed to win a share of the district and statewide delegates. Republicans have more variety:

PR — **Proportional representation**; delegates allocated to reflect candidates' share of popular vote

WTA — **Winner-take-all**; At-large delegates go to statewide winner and district delegates to top vote-getter in congressional district

NFS — **No formal system**; Delegate allocation determined by participants in GOP caucus process

The Democratic delegate total from each state does not include uncommitted "superdelegates," who are awarded automatic delegate slots by virtue of their party or elected position. Republicans do not have superdelegates.

	Delegates at Stake		Voting	GOP Delegate
	Dem.	GOP	Procedure	Allocation
Delaware caucuses	14	1	Closed	NFS
Florida primary	148	97	Closed	WTA
Hawaii caucuses	20	14 ²	Closed	NFS
Louisiana primary	60	38	Closed	WTA ³
Massachusetts primary	94	38	Open*	PR
Mississippi primary	39	33	Open	WTA
Missouri caucuses	77	4	Open	NFS
Oklahoma primary	45	34	Closed	WTA
Rhode Island primary	22	15	Open*	PR
Tennessee primary	68	45	Open	PR
Texas primary/caucuses (D)	196 ⁴	121	Open	WTA ⁵

¹ Delaware Republicans begin their caucus process with regional caucuses in April.

² Hawaii Republicans held precinct caucuses in late January. No straw vote was taken.

³ Winner-take-all applies if a candidate wins a majority of the vote; otherwise, delegates are uncommitted in Louisiana; they are divided proportionally in Texas.

⁴ Missouri Republicans begin their caucus process with mass meetings April 14.

⁵ A total of 127 Democratic delegates are at stake in the primary; 69 delegates are to be chosen to reflect the results of a caucus process beginning March 10.

lots cast was down about 15 percent from four years ago. But in Prince George's County, on the outskirts of Washington, a lively congressional primary in the new 4th District kept turnout roughly equivalent with 1988. Both jurisdictions are majority-black, and Clinton won both comfortably — albeit with fewer votes than Jackson had.

Clinton also won rural Maryland — the mountainous western panhandle that is a part of Appalachia — and southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore,

which have a cultural affinity with Dixie.

But these diverse sectors of the state did not provide Clinton with enough votes to offset Tsongas' big lead in Maryland's populous suburban corridor. That swath stretches south from Baltimore County to Montgomery County (outside Washington), with Howard and Anne Arundel counties in between. Tsongas won them all, routing Clinton by ratios of more than 2 to 1 in Montgomery and Howard counties. Altogether, the suburban

core provided Tsongas with a majority of more than 50,000 votes, and he carried the state by less than 40,000.

Out in the Rockies

It was widely expected that a similar constituency would enable Tsongas to carry Colorado. But in the major surprise of the day, Brown rallied past Clinton and Tsongas to win his first primary since 1976.

A week before the vote, Colorado polls pointed to a Tsongas victory and placed Brown in the low teens. The polls also showed Brown on the move as he intensively campaigned in liberal strongholds such as the college town of Boulder, where one Brown rally reportedly attracted 4,000 people.

But it is doubtful that Brown would have won if several events had not broken in his direction, shifting a number of liberal votes from Tsongas to Brown in the closing days of the campaign.

First, the Democratic debate in Denver on Feb. 29 highlighted the division between Brown and Tsongas on the nuclear power issue.

Second, Brown marshaled his limited resources for a late advertising effort that underscored his pro-environment credentials.

Third, Kerrey mounted a sharp negative advertising campaign against Tsongas that pounded away at his weakness on the nuclear power issue.

It was perhaps emblematic of Kerrey's hard luck that this last-ditch effort helped Brown more than it helped him. The Californian swept the "granola belt" that extends westward from Denver through Boulder and the skiing communities on Colorado's Western Slope such as Aspen (Pitkin County), Vail (Eagle), Breckenridge (Summit), Steamboat Springs (Routt), Durango (La Plata) and Telluride (San Miguel).

Brown won, says former Democratic state Chairman Floyd Ciruli, "with the colleges and the ski vote, with a little suburbs thrown in."

Brown carried 21 counties, with Tsongas second in almost all of them. Tsongas suffered defeat in a most unusual place: a large academic-oriented county (Boulder).

Tsongas carried only the Denver suburbs of Arapahoe and Douglas County, high-tech, military-oriented El Paso County (Colorado Springs) and small Hinsdale County on the Western slope.

Clinton won the rural counties of the High Plains, Hispanic counties of

Vastly Different Electorates

In the primaries to be held in the first two weeks of March, Democratic and Republican candidates will compete for votes in vastly different electorates. ABC News exit polling from 1988 paints a GOP primary electorate in these states that is "lily white" and dominated by self-described conservatives. The Democratic primary elector-

ate, especially below the Mason-Dixon line, has a large minority component and is dominated by self-described moderates and liberals. Exit polling data is not available for Colorado, which held its first primary ever March 3, or for South Carolina Democrats, who also held a primary for the first time March 7. *Amounts are in percentages.*

State	White D%/R%	Black D%/R%	Hispanic D%/R%	Self-Described Conservative D%/R%	High School Education or Less D%/R%	'88 Primary Winner Democrat	GOP
Georgia (3/3)	60/97	36/2	3/2	27/63	45/33	Jackson (40)	Bush (54)
Maryland (3/3)	71/95	26/4	2/1	18/54	27/23	Dukakis (46)	Bush (53)
South Carolina (3/7)*	-/97	-/2	-/-	-/70	-/24	Jackson (55)	Bush (49)
Florida (3/10)	81/91	14/1	4/7	29/60	36/29	Dukakis (41)	Bush (62)
Louisiana (3/10)	55/99	41/1	3/2	35/68	50/19	Jackson (36)	Bush (58)
Massachusetts (3/10)	93/98	3/1	1/1	20/55	31/22	Dukakis (59)	Bush (58)
Mississippi (3/10)	50/98	46/2	4/3	28/65	43/29	Jackson (45)	Bush (66)
Oklahoma (3/10)	85/97	8/1	4/3	33/65	39/25	Gore (41)	Bush (37)
Rhode Island (3/10)	92/97	5/2	1/1	18/48	35/27	Dukakis (70)	Bush (65)
Tennessee (3/10)	75/98	23/1	2/2	27/59	45/37	Gore (72)	Bush (60)
Texas (3/10)	67/96	18/1	14/3	28/65	35/16	Dukakis (33)	Bush (64)

* Democrats held a caucus in 1988.
SOURCE: ABC News exit polls

southern Colorado, blue-collar strongholds such as Pueblo and Adams counties (in the Denver suburbs) and the conservative ranching country of the Western Slope.

Brown unified the left in Colorado, says Ciruli, and "established himself as the candidate of the disgruntled and environmentally concerned." But Ciruli adds that Colorado is relatively small in population and dominated by a single media market (Denver). The same cannot be said of the target states of Florida, Texas, Illinois and Michigan that are likely to determine the nomination in the days ahead.

The Caucus Scene

While Harkin was an also-ran in the March 3 primary voting, his appeal to liberal party activists enabled him to pick up victories in two of the day's four caucus states, Idaho and Minnesota.

Those wins probably were enough to keep Harkin's struggling campaign alive, at least until the opening round of Rust Bowl primaries March 17 in Illinois and Michigan.

Tsongas ran ahead in the other March 3 caucus action in Washington and Utah, showing appeal among the upscale, issue-conscious voters that caucuses tend to attract.

Brown's populist message and

environmental issues also found a constituency among the day's caucus-goers. It took only a dedicated cadre of voters to make an impact, and Brown was able to crack the 20 percent mark in Utah and Washington.

But Clinton failed to win 20 percent of the tally in any of the March 3 caucuses and finished as high as third in only one of them (Utah). His centrist appeal has yet to motivate much support among the activists who tend to dominate caucus action.

The day's big loser was Kerrey, who finished no better than fourth in any of the caucus states and reached 10 percent only in Utah.

All was quiet on the GOP side. Republicans in Idaho, Minnesota and Washington will use primaries this spring to allocate their national convention delegates, while in Utah the GOP caucus process will not begin until April 27.

Minnesota and Washington were the focal points of the Democratic caucus activity March 3. Both states launched a process that will culminate in the selection of national convention delegates at district and state conventions — 78 in Minnesota, 71 in Washington — in the spring.

Results from the precinct caucuses in both states, though, were murky. The Minnesota returns were based on

what the state party described as "a scientifically selected sample" of caucus participants in 135 of the state's 4,100 precincts. That limited sampling showed Harkin with 27 percent, barely exceeding the 24 percent who chose to remain uncommitted. Tsongas was next with 19 percent and the other candidates trailed far behind. (*Results, chart, p. 557*)

The state party estimated statewide caucus attendance at 50,000 to 60,000. That was about half the number who turned out in 1988 and represented only 2 percent of the state's registered voters (Minnesota does not have party registration).

Harkin had big advantages in Minnesota. His home state of Iowa shares its longest border with Minnesota, and Harkin's rivals largely ignored the state. It has a base of liberal Democratic activists who stood ready to validate Harkin's standing as a Hubert Humphrey Democrat. And Harkin had the backing of the state's free-spirited freshman senator, Paul Wellstone, who developed a broad statewide network running for the Senate in 1990 and as a co-chairman of Jackson's 1988 Minnesota campaign.

Harkin also had strong union support, endorsements from more than half of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party members in the state

The National Tally

The aggregate primary vote and delegate count includes the contests held on March 3. The primary tally was compiled by Congressional Quarterly and is based on official returns from New Hampshire and South Dakota and nearly complete but unofficial results from the March 3 primaries in Colorado, Georgia and Maryland.

The delegate count was compiled by The Associated Press on March 4. For the Democrats, it includes "superdelegates" and projected caucus results as well as delegates allocated by the primary voting.

A total of 2,145 delegates is needed to win the Democratic nomination, 1,105 delegates to win the Republican nomination.

Democrats	Primary Votes	Delegates
Bill Clinton	562,442 (38.1%)	198.00
Paul E. Tsongas	455,993 (30.9)	110.00
Edmund G. Brown Jr.	167,319 (11.3)	35.25
Bob Kerrey	120,228 (8.2)	22.25
Tom Harkin	80,220 (5.4)	79.25
Uncommitted/Others	88,315 (6.0)	223.75
Republicans		
George Bush	713,735 (64.5%)	148
Patrick J. Buchanan	357,282 (32.3)	20
Uncommitted/Others	35,446 (3.2)	5

House, a dozen or so DFL state senators and Reps. Collin C. Peterson and James L. Oberstar. Oberstar represents the Iron Range, a labor stronghold in the northeast corner of the state.

Given his extensive support and backyard familiarity, it surprised some that Harkin did not do better.

Tsongas made a late effort in Minnesota, airing television ads for a few days before the caucuses. It paid off with numbers that surprised many. Tsongas showed strength among yuppie suburban voters. But according to the state DFL, the one district where Tsongas beat Harkin was the 1st District, a primarily rural area in southeast Minnesota that borders Iowa.

Cloudy in Pacific Northwest

In Washington state, results were still slowly trickling in to Democratic headquarters days after the caucuses. A tally on March 4 showed Tsongas with 30 percent, while 22 percent wished to remain uncommitted. Brown was the next candidate at 21 percent.

Tsongas' success here was not a surprise. Washington Democrats had given another Greek-American from Massachusetts who sought the Democratic nomination, Michael S. Dukakis, a comfortable caucus victory in March 1988. Washington was one of

only 10 states that Dukakis carried that fall.

Like Dukakis, Tsongas cultivated the state. He began visiting in 1991 and found that his economic themes resonated well. "He had an economic message that people supported," said Democratic state Chairman Karen Marchioro. "He's for free trade, and trade is important here."

Jackson won more than one-third of the caucus vote in 1988, defining a liberal base that Brown was able to tap. The state provided Brown a forum for both his anti-nuclear power message (Washington has several plants in the Hanford-Richland area) and his campaign reform theme (there was a term-limit referendum on the state ballot last fall that Brown campaigned for). And he was able to note his ties to the Pacific West in general.

Clinton had the backing of Rep. Norm Dicks and was described by Marchioro as the "very best" candidate. But the insider ties did not translate into much caucus support. Clinton was running fourth with 14 percent.

Labor Carries Day in Idaho

Harkin's labor-backed campaign in Washington was overwhelmed by other elements of the party's largely suburban, white-collar constituency.

Harkin failed to reach the 10 percent mark. But in the smaller Democratic electorate in Idaho, labor helped Harkin carry the day. He got an early start in Idaho and forged a coalition that included health-care advocates and environmental groups such as the Snake River Alliance.

It was barely enough to hold off a late charge from Tsongas, who sent a state director into Idaho less than a week before the caucuses. According to the state party's tally, Harkin won 30 percent of the 377 state convention delegates at stake, and Tsongas took 28 percent. About 17 percent went uncommitted. Eighteen national convention delegates will be chosen at the state convention in June.

Tsongas won Ada, Bonneville (Idaho Falls) and Latah counties (which includes the University of Idaho at Moscow). Harkin barely offset that with a strong showing in the populated southern tier of the state, where he carried Bannock (Pocatello), Canyon (Nampa) and Twin Falls counties.

Turnout for the Idaho county caucuses was barely 3,000, less than 1 percent of the state's registered voters (Idaho does not have party registration).

In neighboring Utah, the turnout was 10 times larger. More than 31,000 voters cast ballots at 100 polling places across the state.

Salt Lake for Tsongas

Tsongas tended to treat the Utah event as if it were a high-turnout primary, running television ads to reach a mass audience. The effort paid off; he won the state with 33 percent of the vote to Brown's 28 percent and Clinton's 18 percent. Brown made two appearances in Utah in the week before the voting, but none of the candidates came close to matching Tsongas' media expenditure.

Tsongas swept the populous Salt Lake City area — carrying the counties of Salt Lake, where more than half the vote was cast, suburban Davis and Weber (Ogden). Brown and Clinton each won a handful of counties in the "vast wasteland" to the south and east.

The Utah vote locked in the state's pledged delegates; Tsongas and Brown each got nine, and Clinton took five, according to The Associated Press.

Several time zones to the west, Democrats in American Samoa completed the March 3 caucus action by electing delegates to cast three votes at the national convention in New York. The delegates at the Pago Pago gathering were elected as uncommitted. ■

THE VOTERS

New 'Majority Minority' Districts May Mean Lower Black Turnout

Black voting strength in Congress will reach a record level next year, but the cost of that increase could be a decline of black power at the polls.

Thanks to Voting Rights Act mandates to maximize minority representation in the House, more districts with heavily black populations are being created in redistricting. When the 103rd Congress convenes next January, blacks could hold as many as 41 seats, up from the 26 they hold today.

But as blacks nationwide are concentrated into fewer "majority minority" districts, it could exacerbate an existing trend of declining black voter participation.

Political and cultural factors already combine to depress voter turnout in districts with large black majorities.

The potential for shrinking turnout among blacks has important implications for the Democratic Party.

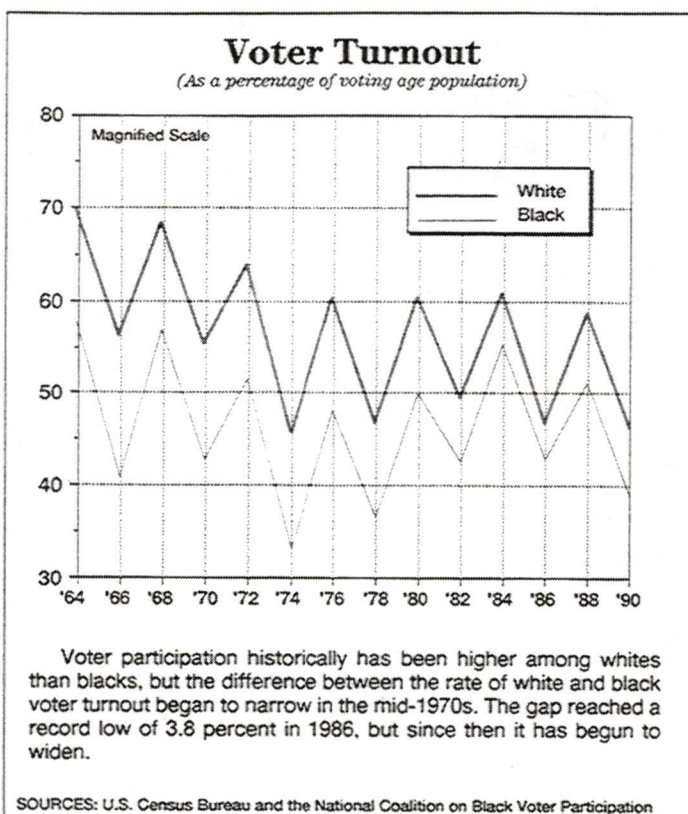
If its candidates cannot continue to rely on a sizable vote from the black community, the Republican Party could gain an advantage in elections for state and federal offices. In Washington, black members of Congress could find they have fewer Democratic Party allies to help enact their legislative priorities.

Tepid Turnout in Maryland

Though mapmakers across the country are creating many new black-majority House districts, this may not spur dramatically increased interest in voting among blacks.

"We haven't seen a surge of registration in the new districts," says Sonia R. Jarvis, who heads the National Coalition on Black Voter Participa-

By Beth Donovan



tion. "And that raises serious questions about what kind of turnout we're likely to see."

Jarvis says that candidates and parties this year are not placing enough emphasis on voter registration and education.

In Prince George's County, Maryland, where the new black-majority 4th District is based, overall voter turnout for the combined presidential and congressional primaries March 3 was 3 percent lower than turnout for the primary in 1988 — even though this year's ballot featured a competitive Democratic primary for the new House seat.

1988 turnout in Prince George's was high in part because Jesse Jackson was on the Democratic presidential primary ballot.

But this year, most local Democrats expected that the hotly contested 4th District Democratic primary — eventually won by state Sen.

Albert R. Wynn — would bring enough voters to the polls to compensate for Jackson's absence from the presidential contest. (Story, *Weekly Report*, p. 554)

The tepid turnout in Prince George's is especially noteworthy because the suburban county's black population is a national leader among minorities in areas such as educational attainment, rate of home ownership and rate of minority business formation.

Those factors suggest that voter participation in the 4th will likely be higher than in most other black-majority districts, whose populations tend to be less educated and poorer.

Lower Urban Vote

Baltimore voters, who anchor Maryland's 7th District, are more typical of those in black-majority districts across the country. The 7th, represented by Democrat Kweisi Mfume, is urban, with many poor. In this year's primary, turnout in Baltimore was 14 percent lower than in the 1988 primary.

Mfume drew minor opposition for renomination, and there were complaints among blacks that the Democratic presidential contenders were not doing enough to address the problems of the black community.

Of potential concern to statewide Democratic candidates in Maryland was the difference between primary voter turnout in Mfume's district and in the neighboring white-majority 3rd District.

Turnout in the 3rd was 26 percent higher than in the 7th, even though 3rd District Democratic Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin, like Mfume, did not face a significant primary.

If this differential holds come November, the impact on presidential

voting could be significant: In 1988, Democrat Michael S. Dukakis got 76 percent in the area that makes up the new black-majority 7th, but he won only 52 percent in the new 3rd.

Whatever the turnout is this year in the new black-majority districts, voter participation almost certainly will drop in subsequent elections, as incumbents in these districts entrench themselves.

"The pattern has been that voter turnout falls, sometimes substantially, [in black-majority districts] after the first election," says Ronald Walters, chairman of Howard University's political science department.

In most districts where a House incumbent is favored for re-election, the voter turnout rate is often low. But since most black-majority districts are lopsidedly Democratic, the general election rarely offers any suspense at all, and voter turnout tends to be even lower.

Some blacks say other cultural factors work to discourage electoral competition and attendant higher turnout in black-majority districts: "Blacks have a higher regard for unity and for defending black officeholders," says Ed Brown, head of the Voter Education Project, "because there is a perception that these officials operate in a hostile environment."

Another consideration in the turnout equation is the size of the black majority in a district: The higher the black majority a district has, the more likely it is to elect a black. But a larger majority is also likely to depress voter turnout. "You get high turnout when voters feel their interests are at stake," says Walters of Howard University. "That happens when blacks hold a smaller majority."

Black Vote Can Be Decisive

For white Democrats seeking statewide office, black voter turnout can be a make-or-break matter. Democratic nominees routinely collect better than 80 percent of the black vote in November, but a high turnout of black voters can be decisive in electing Democrats in many Southern and industrial states.

It was more than a decade after passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act that the gap between black and white voter participation finally began to close. The difference averaged more than 12 percent in presidential elections until 1976, but it dropped to 10.4 percent that year, as Jimmy Carter won the presidency. (Graph, p. 563)



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Maryland State Sen. Albert R. Wynn

The next significant increase in black voting occurred in 1982, when the gap between white and black voter turnout closed by nearly four points, to 6.9 percent.

That year the economic recession and President Ronald Reagan's conservative policies drew more black voters to the polls than in any previous off-year election, and Democrats picked up 26 seats in the House.

The difference between white and black voter turnout reached a historic low of 3.8 percent in 1986. The votes cast that November by blacks in several Southern states were critical in allowing Democrats to take control of the Senate after six years of Republican rule.

That year, Democratic Senate candidates Richard C. Shelby (Ala.), Wyche Fowler Jr. (Ga.), John B. Breaux (La.) and Terry Sanford (N.C.) all lost the white vote, but they won election anyway, boosted by a large black voter turnout that went better than 80 percent Democratic.

(See Box, this page)

While any number of factors can be decisive in close elections, no one disputes the importance of the black vote in those four races.

Elsewhere, some suggest that a higher black turnout in the 1990 gubernatorial elections in Illinois and Michigan might have prevented Republican upsets there. The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation also contends that Democratic Gov. Ray Mabus would have won re-election in 1991 had black voter turnout been as high as it was in 1987, when he was first elected.

Disengaged

This year, the size of black voter turnout may influence the outcome of Senate elections in several states. Fowler and Sanford, now seeking second terms, could have competitive Republican challengers, and so could South Carolina Democratic Sen. Ernest F. Hollings.

But so far this year the Democratic presidential contest has not engaged black voters as much as it did in 1984 and 1988, when Jackson was a candidate. Black turnout in Georgia's March 3 presidential primary fell by 20 percent compared with 1988, according to exit polls. (The congressional primary will be held July 21.)

Some black political activists say black voter turnout this November could be low because white Democrats are not talking enough about issues of concern to the black community.

"The Democrats' attitude is that blacks have nowhere else to go," says Brown, whose 30-year-old Voter Education Project is closing for lack of funds. "It's not true. They can go fishing."

A Decisive Factor

The impact of a large black vote was starkly evident in several 1986 Senate elections. That year, a historically high turnout of black voters helped four Southern Democrats score narrow victories. None of the Democrats came close to carrying a majority of the white vote.

State	Democratic Winner	Winner's Percentage	Black Vote	White Vote	Black Vote Percentage Of Total
Alabama	Richard C. Shelby	50%	88%	38%	21%
Georgia	Wyche Fowler Jr.	51	76	40	25
Louisiana	John B. Breaux	53	85	39	29
North Carolina	Terry Sanford	52	88	42	16

SOURCE: America Votes and CBS News exit polls

THE SENATE

Competition for Adams Seat Heats Up After Withdrawal

Senator quits his campaign for re-election after allegations of sexual misconduct

Following a Seattle Times account that portrayed him as habitually prone to sexual misconduct, Democratic Sen. Brock Adams of Washington ended his bid for a second term March 1.

"This is the saddest day of my life," said the former House member and Transportation secretary at an emotional news conference in Seattle. "I have ... never harmed anyone."

Adams' announcement touched off a flurry of activity in Washington state. Adams, rated recently by Congressional Quarterly as the most vulnerable Democratic senator facing re-election in 1992, already had drawn Democratic and Republican challengers. With his sudden retirement, the open-seat contest could be even more competitive.

Some in the state were not satisfied with Adams' announcement that he would not run again; debate began over whether he should resign immediately from the Senate. The Democratic State Central Committee was scheduled to consider that at a meeting March 7.

In Washington, D.C., however, the reaction was more subdued. While some senators expressed quiet anxiety over how the episode would reflect on the institution, colleagues issued no calls for his resignation or even an Ethics Committee investigation.

Senate rules allow for an official inquiry in cases of violations of law or Senate rules, or of improper conduct that reflects upon the Senate. But the alleged offending activity must be related to a senator's official duties.

Media Allegations

In a copyrighted March 1 story, the Seattle Times presented detailed and similar accounts by eight women who

said Adams had made unwanted and inappropriate sexual advances toward them. Some women accused him of drugging them. One woman, described as a Democratic activist, said that in the early 1970s Adams drugged and raped her, leaving \$200 as he departed.

While the Times did not name the women, it provided considerable detail as to their identities. One woman, for instance, was identified as being 23 in 1978 when she was a secretary for Adams at the Department of Transportation. The Times said that seven of the women had agreed to testify in court if Adams sued the paper.

The Times report dramatically capped a stream of negative publicity that has plagued Adams since September 1988, when he publicly aired and strongly denied rumors that in 1987 he had drugged and molested Kari Tupper, a 26-year-old family friend, at his Washington, D.C., home. (*Background, 1988 Weekly Report, p. 2711*)

Tupper filed a formal complaint with the District of Columbia police in July 1987. The department conducted an investigation and referred its findings to the U.S. attorney's office, which decided not to prosecute.

In 1988, Adams got wind that D.C.'s Washingtonian magazine was about to publish an article based on Tupper's allegations. Staging a pre-emptive strike, he called Tupper's charges "absolutely false," but said he made an "error in judgment" in allowing the woman to spend the night at his home.

Resignation Debate

After the Tupper incident became public, Adams had trouble restoring his political standing. Labor unions, women's groups and other Democratic activists who had supported Adams in his 1986 Senate race held back on committing to him for 1992 — even though in the Senate he had been loyal to their liberal legislative agenda.

Adams' decision to drop his candidacy got these Democratic activists

out of their dilemma. "This was a relief that he's definitely not running," said Norleen Koponen, president of the Washington National Organization for Women (NOW). "I was sorry he had decided to run initially because I knew we would be put in a difficult political position," she said.

Koponen said the Washington group would not try to force Adams' resignation but would recommend to the national NOW that support be given to state Sen. Patty Murray, the only Democrat now campaigning for Adams' seat. Former Democratic Rep. Mike Lowry has opened a campaign office but has not formally launched his Senate bid. Other potential Democratic candidates include Gov. Booth Gardner, who had announced previously that he would not seek re-election to his office, and former Democratic Rep. Don Bonker, an unsuccessful candidate in the 1988 Senate primary. Gardner said he would not make a decision on a Senate campaign until the Legislature's session ends March 12.

Republican Rep. Rod Chandler, his party's leading Senate candidate, called on Adams to resign, saying he could no longer be effective. "Because of the seriousness of these allegations, I seriously doubt that Sen. Adams will be able to fully focus his attention on those issues that are of utmost importance to the people of Washington," Chandler said.

Soon after the Times story was published, several of the state's newspapers and state Democratic Party leaders, including state party Chairwoman Karen Marchioro, also called on Adams to resign. But as the week wore on, there was a softening in the stance of Marchioro and some other Democratic leaders, perhaps a sign that they were reassessing what position would most contribute to keeping the Senate seat in Democratic hands.

Under state law, if Adams were to resign more than six months before the general election, Gardner would have to set a special election at least 90 days later to fill the vacancy.

Both Democratic and Republican strategists have expressed concerns about their party's chances in an early Senate election. Democrats say they could be hurt by anti-Adams sentiment in an early vote. Republicans, mindful that Gardner would appoint a Democrat in Adams' place, fear that in a quick campaign that appointee would enjoy many of the advantages of incumbency with few of its liabilities.



Adams

By Beth Donovan
and Ines Pinto Alicea

ILLINOIS

Old Chicago Friends Now Foes, Lipinski and Russo Do Battle

*GOP-controlled redistricting set these Democrats scrambling
after Illinois lost two House seats*

CHICAGO — Until a few weeks ago, Democratic Reps. Marty Russo and William O. Lipinski were political allies, sometimes sharing friendly plane rides from Washington back to their neighboring Chicago House districts.

But then fate intervened, in the form of a redistricting map that made them opponents in Illinois' March 17 primary. Suddenly each has discovered — and is loudly informing the public — that his erstwhile ally is a crumb.

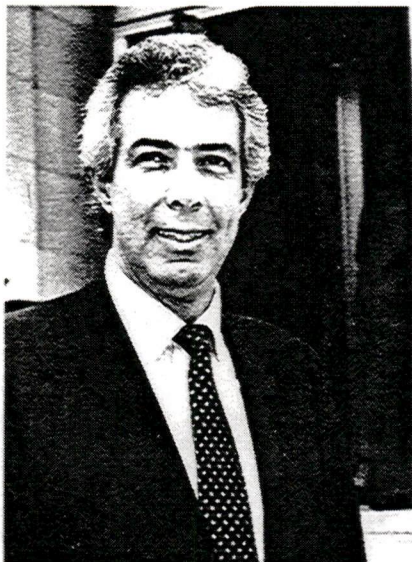
Lipinski says in his direct-mail pieces that Russo pals with lobbyists and does favors for big business. He also contrasts his own modest brick bungalow on the Southwest Side with Russo's spacious home, which is located well outside the boundaries of the redrawn 3rd District.

Russo has responded in kind, accusing Lipinski of illegally hitting up his House staff for campaign contributions. He also is telling voters that while Lipinski calls for a five-year ban on Japanese auto sales in the United States, he tools around Washington in an Italian-made sports car.

This uncivil war is damaging the images of the two members, who are used to more favorable reviews.

Lipinski is credited for his nuts-and-bolts work on hometown projects as a member of the House Public Works Committee. Russo is an active member of the Ways and Means panel; his proposal for a "Canadian-style" national health insurance plan has made him a major player in the health-care debate. He is also a noted vote-counter and occasional arm-twister in the Democratic whip structure.

Lipinski and Russo have similar voting records on many issues. Although both oppose President Bush more often than they support him (59 percent of the time for Lipinski in 1991, 68 percent for Russo), they both take stands that appeal to southwest



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Russo: "Everything I do has an effect locally. . . . You made the tax code fairer, you affected everybody in your district."

Cook County's large, socially conservative "ethnic" constituency. Both oppose abortion, and they were among the few Northern Democrats who voted against the 1991 Civil Rights Act (fewer than 2 percent of the new 3rd District's residents are black).

The blood match between Russo and Lipinski has also raised Republican hopes for November. Five candidates are seeking the GOP nomination, but none are widely known across the district, and the party is starting cold in most of the 3rd; throughout the 1980s, Republicans never made a serious effort to dislodge either Lipinski or Russo.

Two other Democrats, former Chicago Alderman Aloysius A. Majerczyk and teacher Paul J. Del Debbio of suburban Oak Lawn, are on the ballot with Russo and Lipinski, but neither has been a major factor in the campaign.

Two Seats Lost

The war between Russo and Lipinski is an indirect result of Illi-

nois' slow population growth during the 1980s.

The state, which had a mere net gain of 4,084 people during the decade, lost two House seats in the 1990 reapportionment. At the same time, Chicago's Hispanic population continued to expand, giving momentum to a successful effort to carve a new Hispanic-majority district out of territory currently held by white Democratic House members. (*Background, 1991 Weekly Report*, p. 3702)

Last November, a federal court panel accepted a GOP-drawn map that carved away much of Lipinski's current base. Well over half the constituents of Lipinski's current 5th District live in Chicago; in the new 3rd, where Lipinski's home was placed, 75 percent of the people live in the suburbs.

A Polish-Irish American who has long been a spokesman for working-class Chicagoans of European heritage, Lipinski lost some key turf, including the south Chicago home base of Mayor Richard M. Daley. A Lipinski ally (though officially neutral in the race), Daley is the son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, who was Lipinski's mentor.

The new map did an even harsher number on Russo. Under the plan, the black-majority 2nd District moves south to absorb some suburban area from Russo's current 3rd District; in doing so, it separates Russo's hometown of South Holland from the body of the new 3rd District.

Russo's house was placed in the new 11th District. But there was not much else in the 11th that Russo could call his: He has represented only 8 percent of the constituents within its new boundaries.

On the other hand, 43 percent of the residents in the new 3rd come from Russo's current territory, about equal to the 40 percent who come from Lipinski's turf.

Russo thus decided to stake his claim as the 3rd District incumbent,

By Bob Benenson

setting up a showdown with an angry Lipinski. "If we were such very good friends, why does he choose to come into a district where he does not live and run against me?" Lipinski asks. "I would have played only with the cards that were dealt me; I would have run in the district in which I lived."

Who Can Win?

Russo, who has mainly represented Chicago suburbanites during his House career, contends that he is more capable than Lipinski of holding the new 3rd for the Democrats. "I think [Lipinski] has a serious problem winning in this district in the fall," Russo says. "This district is overwhelmingly suburban, and it is very difficult for a Chicago committeeman to convince suburban voters that he cares about them."

Lipinski complains that with such rhetoric, Russo is trying to convince suburban voters that Lipinski is a shady Chicago pol. But Lipinski unleashed the first overt campaign salvo in a mailer in early February. The cover of the four-page piece harps on the fact that Russo's house is in the new 11th District, "which means that Russo can't even vote for himself." The point is illustrated with photos that contrast Lipinski's modest house with Russo's posher spread.

Within days, Russo returned fire by revealing that Lipinski drives a Fiat. Standing in front of a Ford dealership, Russo described Lipinski as "disingenuous and hypocritical" for owning a foreign car while advocating a phased-in five-year moratorium on the sale of Japanese-made automobiles in the United States.

Lipinski's next blast was over campaign money. Members of leading, high-profile committees such as Ways and Means typically have a significant fundraising advantage over other members, and that is the case in this campaign: As of Dec. 31, Russo had a nearly 4-to-1 fundraising advantage over Lipinski. Lipinski has tried to compensate for that disparity by portraying Russo as a tool of corporate special interests.

A Lipinski direct-mail piece depicts Russo as the man in the moon, looming over the U.S. Capitol. "At 4 o'clock in the morning on Sept. 26, 1986, Marty Russo used his influence as a congressman to help some lobbyists," reads the text. It goes on to allege that Russo was behind a transition rule in the 1986 Tax Reform Act that gave a tax break totaling \$119

million to 15 insurance companies.

The logic behind the charge is stretched. It is based on congressional testimony that during late-night negotiations on the tax bill, Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., requested the tax break on behalf of an unnamed person. Lipinski presumes that the anonymous player was Russo.

Russo angrily calls the charge a lie. "I had nothing to do with that transition rule; he knows that," Russo says. "I didn't ask for this relief on be-



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Lipinski: "If we were such very good friends, why does he choose to come into a district where he does not live and run against me?"

half of the insurance companies. I don't represent the insurance companies."

Who's To Blame

Russo blames Lipinski for the decaying tone of the campaign and has chastised the news media for focusing on Lipinski's attacks. He says he intended to focus only on his own record, which he portrays as one of increasing legislative leadership on such issues as health care and tax reform.

But on Feb. 25, Russo unleashed the most serious charge yet: that Lipinski broke federal law by taking 150 contributions since 1982, amounting to \$45,000, from congressional staffers and their families. Almost all of the money went to Lipinski's 23rd Ward Democratic campaign fund.

In response, Lipinski's campaign manager Joe Novak held a news conference to deny there was anything illegal about the fundraising and said none of it was required of Lipinski's

staff. Novak also fired another broadside on campaign finance, alleging that Russo was receiving excessive contributions from certain individuals during the primary campaign.

Daley Differences

It is no wonder that Lipinski and Russo are primed for political hardball. Both began their political careers in the 1970s under the aegis of the Democratic machine of Mayor Richard J. Daley.

But the two have taken different career paths and have sharply contrasting images. When the mud being slung in this campaign is cleared away, what's left is an interesting clash of personal styles and legislative priorities that could well decide the primary outcome.

Lipinski, 54, served a lengthy apprenticeship in the Daley organization. Like many of the ethnic, working-class Southwest Siders, he joined the city payroll without a college degree. He climbed through the ranks in the city's parks department for 17 years, beginning as a weekend athletic instructor and rising to administrator of several parks. After long laboring behind the scenes in the Chicago Democratic precinct organization, Lipinski in 1975 moved to the forefront, winning concurrent elections for city alderman and party ward committeeman.

While the machine withered in much of Chicago following Daley's death in December 1976, it remained intact on the Southwest Side. In 1982, the organization backed Lipinski in his primary challenge to Democratic Rep. John G. Fary, and Lipinski won with more than 60 percent of the vote.

During his decade in the House, Lipinski's interests have not moved far from home. His efforts on the Public Works Committee have helped bring numerous federal projects to the district, including his prize: the soon-to-open Southwest Transit light-rail line, running from downtown to near Midway Airport.

Lipinski has worked to obtain money for improvements to Midway, which is smack in the middle of his 23rd Ward. Lipinski also takes credit for spearheading efforts in 1990 to allow Chicago to charge a \$3 fee to airline passengers passing through O'Hare and Midway airports. The revenues form the financing base for a huge new airport planned for the Lake Calumet site on Chicago's Southeast Side, a pet project of Mayor Richard M. Daley.

To Lipinski, his emphasis on parochial issues that have a direct impact on his district is the key to his electability. "I believe that in half the amount of time [in Congress], I have done five times as much [for constituents] as Marty Russo has done," Lipinski says.

Lipinski also contends that he has maintained closer ties with the ethnic communities that can provide an important block of votes in a Democratic primary. And he says this applies not only to the city portion of the district but also to such near-in suburban "Bungalow Belt" communities as Cicero and Berwyn.

"The district economically, socially, culturally, is very similar," Lipinski says. "I see no real severe differences between most of the suburban area and the city."

Lipinski's longstanding ties to the Chicago Democratic Party structure could be his most important credential in the primary. He comes in with his own army of precinct captains in the 23rd Ward. Perhaps more importantly, he has garnered the support of powerful state House Speaker Michael J. Madigan, a Democratic committeeman from the neighboring 13th Ward, which until redistricting was wholly within Russo's own district.

The Fast Track

Unlike Lipinski, Russo, 48, took a fast track to Congress, then moved easily onto the insider track. He works more at the behest of the House Democratic leadership than on behalf of the Chicago party organization, and his issues agenda is national in scope.

A DePaul University law school graduate and Democratic Party workers in the 1960s, Russo developed ties to the Daley organization that helped him gain the post of assistant Cook County state's attorney, which he held from 1971 to 1973. When he ran for the House in 1974 at age 30, he looked like a sacrificial candidate against GOP Rep. Robert Hanrahan. Instead, he became a "Watergate baby" — one of the huge class of Democrats swept into office in the aftermath of President Richard M. Nixon's resignation.

Russo established himself as a protégé of fellow Rostenkowski, who helped him get a seat on Ways and Means in 1980. With the move came a focus on national issues. He was active in debate on the 1986 tax reform bill, arguing for a minimum tax on corporations and the wealthy. He also was on the Budget Committee.

Other Primary Contests

The Russo-Lipinski matchup is just one of an extensive slate of competitive contests in Illinois' March 17 primary. Detailed coverage of the following races can be found in the CQ Political Supplement published Feb. 29.

• **Senate:** Democratic Sen. Alan J. Dixon, bidding for a third term, is embroiled in a bitter primary with Al Hofeld — a wealthy Chicago lawyer who is spending freely on a series of hard-hitting anti-Dixon TV ads — and Cook County Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun, a former state legislator who is active on issues important to women and blacks.

• **1st District (Chicago — South and Southwest Sides):** Fifth-term Democratic Rep. Charles A. Hayes is being seriously tested by Chicago Alderman Bobby L. Rush, a former state Black Panther leader who is now a deputy chairman of the Illinois Democratic Party.

• **2nd District (Chicago — Far South Side; South Suburbs; Chicago Heights):** Democratic Rep. Gus Savage again faces educator Mel Reynolds. Savage, whose strong rhetoric on racial issues and confrontational manner have made him a controversial figure, beat Reynolds in 1990 by 51 percent to 43 percent; redistricting has stretched the district farther from Savage's inner-city base into the more-affluent suburbs. But a Chicago Tribune poll indicated that Reynolds still is not nearly as well-known.

• **4th District (Chicago — Parts of North Side, Southwest Side):** Chicago Alderman Luis V. Gutierrez, who has the solid support of the Chicago Democratic organization, is favored to defeat former Alderman Juan M. Soliz in the newly created Hispanic-majority 4th.

• **5th District (Chicago — North Side):** After years without serious election competition, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski is defending himself in the Democratic primary against a fierce "anti-insider" challenge by Dick Simpson, a veteran political reformer and former Chicago alderman.

• **8th District (Northwest Cook County — Schaumburg; Palatine):** Since first winning in 1969, GOP Rep. Philip M. Crane has compiled a staunchly conservative voting record on spending and tax issues and has had no political trouble in his affluent suburban base. But Crane faces a primary challenge from former state capital development director Gary Skoien, a more moderate Republican who says Crane does not take an active role in shaping federal fiscal policy.

• **10th District (North and Northwest Chicago Suburbs — Waukegan):** GOP Rep. John Porter, who combines a fiscally conservative image with a more liberal social policy agenda, is being challenged in the primary by Kathleen Sullivan, an opponent of abortion who is making a major issue of Porter's support for abortion rights.

• **11th District (South Chicago Suburbs and Exurbia — Joliet):** Six Republicans are vying to take on second-term Democratic Rep. George E. Sangmeister. None of the GOP candidates are well-known across the sprawling 11th, but because of the changes that redistricting wrought on Sangmeister's base, he could be a key GOP target.

• **16th District (Northwest — Rockford; McHenry):** GOP state Sen. Jack Schaffer appears to have an edge in his primary against lawyer Donald Manzullo. The winner will meet freshman Democratic Rep. John W. Cox Jr., who will again have to overcome the GOP leanings of the 16th.

• **19th District (Rural — Southern Illinois; Decatur):** Redistricting put Democratic Reps. Terry L. Bruce and Glenn Poshard into the same district, and both are running hard, trading shots over who has brought home more federal money and who is more loyal to concerns of the elderly. Bruce is running as an insider of rising legislative influence. Poshard describes himself as a "citizen legislator" who does not accept political action committee contributions.

Despite his close ties to Rostenkowski, Russo often goes his own way. In February, Russo voted against the tax bill crafted by the chairman, arguing that it gave too many tax breaks to businesses and wealthy individuals and not enough for the middle class. Russo has also cut his own path with his sweeping "single-payer" health insurance plan.

Russo argues that the dichotomy between his national focus and Lipinski's parochialism is imprecise. "Everything I do has an effect locally," Russo says. "You give somebody better health care, you affect everyone in your district. You made the tax code fairer, you affected everybody in your district."

But Russo also contends that his image as a legislative activist will give him broader appeal across the district. "I have the reputation of being able to get Republican crossover votes in the suburbs," Russo says.

A poll taken by the Chicago Tribune Feb. 19-21 indicated that Lipinski's vision of the district might be carrying the day. Of the 500 likely Democratic primary voters questioned, Lipinski was favored 47 percent to 31 percent. When asked which candidate cares more about the American worker, 44 percent said Lipinski, while 29 percent favored Russo. Lipinski also led Russo by 39 to 22 percent on the question of who does more to bring jobs to the Chicago area.

Lipinski also has the endorsement of the Tribune.

Working The Crowds

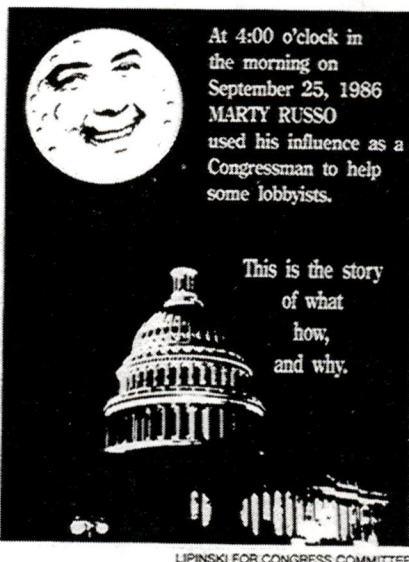
Lipinski is not ignoring the more suburban areas of his community; he spent a frigid Friday morning recently greeting commuters at a train station in Oak Lawn, a suburb that comes from Russo's congressional territory.

However, Lipinski spent the rest of the day in his element. At one stop, just across the Chicago line in middle-class Burbank, he called a round of bingo for a roomful of elderly, mostly ethnic constituents at an event sponsored by his campaign. On the way back up Cicero Avenue, Lipinski pointed to two of the public facilities that drive his work in Congress: Midway Airport on one side on the street and the terminal for the Southwest Transit Line rising on the other side.

In the afternoon, Lipinski was back outside, shaking hands with shoppers at a Dominick's supermarket, hard by a KMart and a small factory. Several people told him that

either they or their children participated in recreational programs he staged during his years as a parks supervisor. One middle-aged woman ribbed him by saying she will vote for him, even though Russo is more handsome.

Like Lipinski, Russo is trying to demonstrate broad voter appeal. Born and raised in Chicago, Russo too does the urban precinct walks and the supermarket politicking. One of his campaign stops on a busy Saturday was in the smoke-filled basement of a South-west Chicago church; the event was a



A Lipinski mailer depicts Russo as the man in the moon, looming over the Capitol and using his influence to help high-priced lobbyists.

fundraising "Las Vegas Night," at which Russo's campaign had sponsored a table.

But Russo, with his well-tailored style and a smoother manner than Lipinski, mixes well with the more affluent constituency he has represented in the southern part of the new 3rd District. Speaking to a gathering of supporters at the clubhouse of an upscale, newly developed community in Palos Heights, Russo again emphasized efforts on such national issues as health care and tax relief. Several political allies noted Russo's strong ties to the suburbs in their remarks to the crowd.

Russo's efforts to maintain an image as an influential member can take him far afield. That Saturday began with a flight to the state capitol in Springfield, where he addressed a union audience on the health-care is-

sue. After driving back to the 3rd, he attended a health-care forum in Oak Lawn sponsored by the American Association of Retired Persons, which Lipinski also attended.

After a short precinct walk, a quick stop at his house in South Holland and the visit to the church fundraiser, Russo was off to downtown Chicago for an annual dinner held by the city's Asian-American community; there he made a short speech and hobnobbed with other political headliners in attendance, including Democratic Sen. Paul Simon. His day finished on Chicago's North Side, also far from his district, at a event held by an organization for the hearing-impaired.

The Republicans Move

Although Republicans have generally waived on challenging Russo and Lipinski in the past, the Democratic primary blood match has piqued the interest of GOP officials. Recent Republican presidential candidates have had an edge in the territory covered by the 3rd; GOP strategists dare to hope that this conservative tilt, along with the presence of a battered incumbent, might set the stage for a major upset this fall.

Jack O'Connor, 45, of Palos Heights, is the best known of the group: He is an executive with his family's chain of local auto dealerships. He emphasizes his experiences as a businessman and as a former Chicago police officer.

But he has to deal with a name-confusion problem in the primary: Bill O'Connor, 42, a lawyer from Riverside, is a major contender. This O'Connor served as chief legal counsel in the administration of former GOP Gov. James R. Thompson and has support from much of the district's Republican leadership.

One Republican candidate might actually benefit from name confusion. Harry C. Lepinske (spelled differently but pronounced the same as the Democratic incumbent) is an international marketing specialist. Lepinske, 63, also serves as a supervisor in suburban Lyons Township, which contains 18 percent of the district's population.

Barbara K. Purdy, 43, is from Riverside, where she is president of the Board of Education. She has gained credit for turning around the suburb's financially troubled school system.

Arthur J. Jones, 44, of Chicago, is an archconservative who has run unsuccessfully for the House, alderman and mayor of Chicago.

Congressional Departures

(as of March 6)

RETIRING

	Date Announced	Began Service	Age
Senate			
Brock Adams, D-Wash.	March 1, 1992	1987	65
Alan Cranston, D-Calif.	Nov. 8, 1990	1969	77
Jake Garn, R-Utah	May 29, 1991	1974	59
Steve Symms, R-Idaho	Aug. 7, 1991	1981	53
House			
Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif. (32)	Dec. 8, 1991	1969	79
Frank Annunzio, D-Ill. (11)	Dec. 2, 1991	1965	77
Doug Barnard Jr., D-Ga. (10)	Oct. 5, 1991	1977	69
Lawrence Coughlin, R-Pa. (13)	Feb. 20, 1992	1969	62
Mervyn M. Dymally, D-Calif. (31)	Feb. 10, 1992	1981	65
Dennis E. Eckart, D-Ohio (11)	Sept. 30, 1991	1981	41
Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pa. (20)	Jan. 14, 1992	1968	65
John Paul Hammerschmidt, R-Ark. (3)	March 2, 1992	1967	69
Larry J. Hopkins, R-Ky. (6)	Dec. 31, 1991	1979	58
Andy Ireland, R-Fla. (10)	Feb. 5, 1992	1977	61
Ed Jenkins, D-Ga. (9)	Jan. 22, 1992	1977	59
Walter B. Jones, D-N.C. (1)	Oct. 4, 1991	1966	78
William Lehman, D-Fla. (17)	Feb. 25, 1992	1973	78
John Miller, R-Wash. (1)	Jan. 17, 1992	1985	53
Jim Olin, D-Va. (6)	Dec. 16, 1991	1983	72
Don J. Pease, D-Ohio (13)	Oct. 3, 1991	1977	60
Carl C. Perkins, D-Ky. (7)	Jan. 22, 1992	1984	37
Edward R. Roybal, D-Calif. (25)	Feb. 10, 1992	1963	76
Lindsay Thomas, D-Ga. (1)	Jan. 9, 1992	1983	48
Gus Yatron, D-Pa. (6)	Jan. 7, 1992	1969	64

DEFEATED FOR RENOMINATION

	Began Service	Age
Beverly B. Byron, D-Md. (6)	1979	59

ANNOUNCED FOR OR LIKELY TO SEEK OTHER OFFICE

	Began Service	Age	Office
House			
Les AuCoin, D-Ore. (1)	1975	49	Senate
Barbara Boxer, D-Calif. (6)	1983	51	Senate
Tom Campbell, R-Calif. (12)	1989	39	Senate
Thomas R. Carper, D-Del. (AL)	1983	45	Governor
Rod Chandler, R-Wash. (8)	1983	49	Senate
William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif. (39)	1979	62	Senate
Mel Levine, D-Calif. (27)	1983	48	Senate
Jim Moody, D-Wis. (5)	1983	56	Senate
Sid Morrison, R-Wash. (4)	1981	58	Governor
Robert J. Mrazek, D-N.Y. (3)	1983	46	Senate
Wayne Owens, D-Utah (2) ¹	1987	54	Senate
Richard Stallings, D-Idaho (2)	1985	51	Senate

¹ Owens also served in 1973-75.

ARKANSAS

Hammerschmidt Plans To Retire

Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt's 3rd District in northwestern Arkansas is the GOP's only foothold in the state's four-member House delegation, and when he announced March 2 that he would not seek re-election, other Republicans quickly lined up for the May 26 primary.

The early favorite for the GOP nomination is state Rep. Dick Barclay of Rogers, who has backing from prominent figures in the area's economically influential poultry industry.

Barclay will face primary competition from state Rep. Tim Hutchinson of Bentonville. He is the brother of Asa Hutchinson, who as the GOP Senate nominee in 1986 took 38 percent of the vote against Democratic incumbent Dale Bumpers. The Hutchinsons have strong ties to more conservative elements in the Arkansas GOP.

Also, Dryden Pence, a Persian Gulf War veteran from Fort Smith who had planned a Senate challenge to Bumpers, is expected to enter the Republican primary in the 3rd.

Over the years, Democratic challengers made little headway against Hammerschmidt in the hilly and largely rural 3rd, which has been a GOP bastion since the Civil War era. Hammerschmidt's only close re-election was in 1974 against Democrat Bill Clinton, then a 28-year-old law professor, who took 48 percent of the vote.

But with the seat open, there is likely to be an interesting Democratic primary between Diane Blair, a leading expert on state politics at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, and state Sen. Luther Hardin, an anti-abortion Democrat from Russellville.

Hammerschmidt, 69, was first elected to the House in 1966. He is the ranking Republican on the Public Works and Transportation Committee and had been ranking member on the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

In Arkansas' Senate race, Democrat Bumpers officially gets a primary challenger March 7, when state Auditor Julia Hughes Jones is scheduled to formally announce her candidacy. Jones has won five statewide races since 1980, but she is not seen as a major power in the state Democratic Party. ■

By Beth Donovan

MARYLAND

Byron's Unhappy Distinction: First Incumbent To Lose

In all of 1990's primaries, only one House incumbent was defeated for renomination. This year, seven-term member Beverly B. Byron, D-Md., fell in the very first state to hold a congressional primary.

The defeat of Byron, chairwoman of an Armed Services subcommittee, by state Rep. Thomas H. Hattery in the March 3 party contest sent shivers through her many colleagues who face insurgent opponents in the 1992 election. Hattery ran on the sort of "anti-Washington" themes that dozens of House challengers are using in attempts to capitalize on a widespread sense of voter dissatisfaction with how the federal government is being run.

In his campaign, Hattery blasted Byron for accepting a \$35,000 pay raise when many residents of the factory towns and mountain villages of Western Maryland's 6th District were facing economic hardship. He described her as an entrenched incumbent who had lost touch with her constituents. And he won with 56 percent of the primary vote.

After the election, Byron predicted that other members would fall victim to anti-incumbent rhetoric, describing herself as "the tip of the iceberg."

But Hattery's campaign was not limited to an anti-incumbent theme. He also exploited vulnerabilities peculiar to Byron. Most prominent was her strongly conservative House voting record, which had alienated a number of Democratic Party activists in the 6th. Also Byron, 59, who had never faced a threatening challenge, showed slow campaign reflexes in responding to Hattery.

Populist vs. Boll Weevil

Hattery, 38, has come full circle with his primary win. He began his political career by running for the House against Byron as a precocious newcomer in 1980. Although he took just 12 percent of the Democratic primary vote that year, he captured a state House seat two years later and was re-elected in 1986 and 1990.

In the state House, Hattery serves as chairman of the Ways and Means



Hattery

Byron

Transportation Subcommittee. Although not an especially high-profile member, Hattery has been involved in a wide range of issues, including infrastructure development, anti-drunk driving efforts, education funding and energy conservation. He supports abortion rights legislation.

Although Hattery eschews the "liberal" label — he calls himself "progressive" and a "populist" — he clearly stood to the left of Byron in the primary. Byron was considered during the 1980s as one of the few Northern "Boll Weevils," an appellation applied mainly to Southern Democrats who often sided with the conservative policies of President Ronald Reagan. During most years of her tenure, Byron backed Presidents Reagan and Bush on more than half of the House votes on which they had taken a position.

There had been signals that Democratic activists, who play a major role in primaries, were increasingly unhappy with Byron. In 1990, challenger Anthony Patrick Puca, a furniture salesman little known to most district voters, won 36 percent of the primary vote; two years earlier, he had taken just 19 percent.

While Byron — whose father was a World War II aide to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and whose son Kimball, an Air Force reservist, served in the Persian Gulf War — expended most of her effort on defense-related issues, her critics noted that there are few military facilities or defense plants in the 6th District.

Since 1987 Byron has chaired the Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel and Compensation. Hattery argued that he would pursue issues more relevant to a district that combines burgeoning Baltimore-Washington exurbs in Frederick, Carroll and Howard counties;

poverty pockets in Maryland's Western Panhandle, where unemployment exceeds 10 percent; and the farmlands in between (Hattery, of Mount Airy in Frederick County, is a farmer).

Hattery packaged these issues as part of a hard-hitting media campaign that described Byron as out of touch with the district. In one effective radio ad that scored Byron for supporting the pay raise and for taking several congressional trips overseas, a Robin Leach imitator compared Byron's behavior to "The Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous."

Although Hattery established a districtwide grass-roots organization and had a longstanding political base in Byron's home territory of Frederick County, the incumbent showed signs of complacency. Puca's mild efforts were her toughest previous campaigns; her conservative voting record had insulated her from serious Republican challenges. Also, the Byron name has deep political roots in the 6th: In 1978, the incumbent succeeded her late husband Goodloe Byron Jr., whose father and mother both held the seat in the 1940s.

On the campaign trail, Byron defended her actions. For example, she said she supported the pay raise in exchange for a ban on honoraria and took overseas trips only on Armed Services Committee business. But she ran no ads refuting Hattery's charges. She did not respond in kind until the last days of the campaign, when she ran an ad calling Hattery "Taxing Tom" for supporting some state tax increases.

Hattery's win was sweeping. He won every county, carried Frederick County, the district's largest, with 57 percent of the vote.

Byron was not the only one surprised by the outcome; Maryland Republicans again had made little effort to recruit a candidate to run against the seemingly solid incumbent. In the lightly attended GOP primary, retired science professor Roscoe Bartlett edged satellite communications consultant Mike Downey by 43 percent to 41 percent.

This is a second try for the 66-year-old Bartlett, who took 26 percent of the vote as the Republican nominee against Byron in 1982. But with the more liberal Hattery replacing Byron on the Democratic ticket, the 1992 House race might draw some interest from national Republican strategists: The 6th District gave 66 percent of its presidential vote to Bush in 1988.

Wynn's Narrow Victory

Byron's defeat overshadowed what had been promoted as the seminal

By Bob Benenson

event in the congressional primary: the first election in the new black-majority 4th District, based in the Washington, D.C. suburbs of Prince George's and Montgomery counties. There, state Sen. Albert Wynn won a narrow victory.

The creation of the open seat, with a constituency that is 59 percent black, spurred a rush of 13 Democratic candidates, including Wynn; Prince George's County State's Attorney Alexander Williams Jr.; state Rep. Dana Lee Dembrow; and Prince George's County Commissioner Hilda Pemberton.

In bidding for a House seat, Wynn benefited from his 10 years in the state legislature, working on such issues as banking, crime and education. Aided by the support of organized labor, Wynn also raised the most campaign money.

What cinched the win for Wynn was his strategy of working both his Prince George's base and the Montgomery County part of the district. Williams hoped that his countywide recognition in Prince George's would carry him through; he in fact edged Wynn there by about 400 votes. But Wynn outran Williams in Montgomery County by nearly 1,700 votes.

Dembrow, a liberal who was the leading white candidate in the field, did not make race an issue; instead he

ran a regional campaign aimed at voters in his Montgomery County base. He succeeded at that, carrying the county with 38 percent. But he won just 4 percent in Prince George's for third place with 15 percent overall.

Pemberton had credentials on local issues, but she failed to raise enough money to run a competitive campaign. She lagged in fourth with 13 percent.

Wynn will be strongly favored to win his general election matchup with Republican businesswoman Michele Dyson in the heavily Democratic district.

The Rest of the Field

The anticipated 1st District incumbent-incumbent matchup between Democrat Tom McMillen and Republican Wayne T. Gilchrest, brought about by redistricting, became a reality; both staved off vigorous primary opponents.

McMillen was forced to run in the 1st by a redistricting map that carved up his 4th district in order to make way for the new black-majority seat. McMillen was initially angry about the map, which merged just part of his Anne Arundel County turf with the Eastern Shore region, where he had never run before. But he regained his footing enough to win 55 percent of the vote over two candidates with re-

gional bases: state Reps. Samuel Q. Johnson III of the Eastern Shore and John C. Astle of Anne Arundel.

Gilchrest, meanwhile, was held to 47 percent, while challenger Lisa G. Renshaw, a 30-year-old parking garage owner, took 30 percent. Renshaw ran on anti-insider themes similar to those Hattery used in the 6th District. But her campaign was more overtly ideological: The staunchly conservative Renshaw attacked the more moderate Gilchrest for supporting abortion rights and proposing stricter wetlands regulations than those favored by President Bush.

In the 5th District, Democratic Rep. Steny H. Hoyer faces a November battle with Republican primary winner Lawrence J. Hogan Jr., son of former Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan Sr.

In the Republican Senate primary, former Reagan administration foreign policy official and anti-tax campaigner Alan L. Keyes dominated a 15-candidate field and will face Democratic Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski this fall.

Keyes, one of a small but increasingly influential group of black conservative activists, was the unsuccessful 1988 Republican nominee against Democratic Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes. But he won the primary on a pledge to give the liberal Mikulski "the fight of her life."

SENATE

Candidate	Residence	Age	Occupation	Vote	%
* Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	Baltimore	55	Incumbent	366,494	76.6
Thomas M. Wheatley (D)	Silver Spring	36	Financial manager	30,600	6.4
Walter Boyd (D)	Lutherville	66	Retired parole administrator	25,994	5.4
Don Allensworth (D)	Hagerstown	57	Investor	19,314	4.0
Scott David Britt (D)	Beltsville	33	Lawyer	12,694	2.7
James Leonard White (D)	Baltimore	52	Professional hypnotist	12,339	2.6
B. Emerson Sweatt (D)	White Plains	48	Carpenter	10,992	2.3
* Alan L. Keyes (R)	Darnestown	41	Former diplomat	95,706	46.5
Martha Scanlan Klima (R)	Lutherville	53	State representative	20,075	9.7
Joseph I. Cassity (R)	Churchville	41	State's attorney	15,841	7.7
Ross Z. Pierpont (R)	Baltimore	74	Retired surgeon	12,305	6.0
S. Rob Sobhani (R)	Rockville	32	College lecturer	12,210	5.9
John J. Bishop (R)	Baltimore	43	State representative	9,122	4.4
Eugene R. Zarwell (R)	Riva	50	Marketing consultant	6,373	3.1
James Henry Berry (R)	Bethesda	50	Lawyer	6,152	3.0
Romie Allen Songer (R)	Pasadena	49	Self-employed businessman	5,936	2.9
Joyce Friend-Nalepka (R)	Silver Spring	55	Anti-drug activist	5,740	2.8
Edward Shannon (R)	Silver Spring	61	Lawyer	4,449	2.2
Scott L. Meredith (R)	Barclay	31	Electronics technician	4,286	2.1
Stuart Hopkins (R)	Preston	41	Consultant on disability issues	3,742	1.8
Herman J. Hannan (R)	Phoenix	54	Financial consultant	2,720	1.3
William H. Krehnbrink (R)	Perry Hall	44	Diesel truck mechanic	1,292	0.6

HOUSE

District	Location	Candidate	Residence	Age	Occupation	Vote	%
1	Cross Bay — Eastern Shore; Annapolis; Glen Burnie	* Tom McMillen (D)	Crofton	39	Incumbent	33,030	55.1
		Samuel Q. Johnson III (D)	Tyaskin	53	State representative	14,584	24.3
		John C. Astle (D)	Annapolis	48	State representative	8,417	14.0
		James Brown (D)	Denton	43	Counseling therapist	2,585	4.3
		Herbert Anthony Mamet (D)	Ocean City	71	Retired auctioneer	1,384	2.3

HOUSE

District	Location	Candidate	Residence	Age	Occupation	Vote	%
2	Baltimore and Harford counties	* Wayne T. Gilchrest (R)	Kennedyville	45	Incumbent	16,981	46.9
		Lisa G. Renshaw (R)	Severn	30	Parking garage owner	10,726	29.6
		Robert P. Duckworth (R)	Crofton	50	Circuit court clerk	6,791	18.8
		Edward F. Taylor (R)	Arnold	47	Teacher	1,237	3.4
		Michael P. Jackson (R)	Annapolis	25	Self-employed handyman	470	1.3
		* Michael C. Hickey Jr. (D)	Abingdon	45	Lawyer	16,539	32.0
		James DeLoach Jr. (D)	Baltimore	26	Realtor; newspaper distributor	11,884	23.0
		Joseph John Bish (D)	Bel Air	34	Programmer analyst	8,726	16.9
		Cornelius U. Morgan (D)	Baltimore	69	Retired chemist	7,584	14.7
		Paul D. Raschke (D)	Bel Air	36	Lawyer	6,972	13.4
3	Downtown and Ethnic Baltimore; Columbia	* Helen Delich Bentley (R)	Lutherville	68	Incumbent	28,216	86.8
		Robert T. Petr (R)	Baltimore	49	Insurance broker	4,292	13.2
		* Benjamin L. Cardin (D)	Baltimore	48	Incumbent	62,406	84.5
		Carl A. Mueller (D)	Baltimore	48	Bicycle store owner	11,434	15.5
		* William T. S. Bricker (R)	Towson	62	Lawyer	3,567	26.9
		Christopher Eric Bouchat (R)	Hanover	24	Welder	2,596	19.7
		Fredric M. Parker (R)	Columbia	31	Engineer	1,892	14.2
		Mark Kevin White (R)	Baltimore	33	Systems engineer	1,751	13.2
		Wyatt A. Rogers (R)	Baltimore	36	Sandwich shop owner	1,617	12.1
		Joseph M. Werner Jr. (R)	Fallston	31	Advertising firm owner	991	7.5
4	Inner Prince George's County; Silver Spring	Edward Lerp (R)	Randallstown	37	Stockbroker	856	6.4
		* Albert R. Wynn (D)	Largo	40	State senator	18,160	28.1
		Alexander Williams Jr. (D)	Cheverly	43	State's attorney	16,878	26.1
		Dana Lee Dembrow (D)	Silver Spring	38	State representative	9,712	15.0
		Hilda R. Pemberton (D)	Landover	51	County Council member	8,367	13.0
		Francis J. Aluisi (D)	District Heights	70	Engineering consultant	3,641	5.6
		Tommie L. Broadwater (D)	Glenarden	49	Former state senator	2,510	3.9
		Linda A. Kelly (D)	Takoma Park	43	Accountant	1,411	2.2
		Maria Turner (D)	Mount Rainier	60	Educator	1,302	2.0
		Robert Bates (D)	Silver Spring	65	Lawyer	891	1.4
5	Outer Prince George's County; Southern Maryland	Michael B. DuPuy (D)	Silver Spring	32	Computer consultant	671	1.0
		E. George Post (D)	Silver Spring	59	Radio engineer	468	0.7
		Claudio B. Pedery Jr. (D)	Fort Washington	55	Logistics specialist	439	0.7
		Horace Hillman (D)	Suitland	53	Minister	179	0.3
		* Michele Dyson (R)	Silver Spring	42	Information management consultant	5,127	47.8
		Herbert Stone Rosenberg (R)	Silver Spring	70	Sales representative	1,500	14.0
		John Mitchell Brown (R)	Upper Marlboro	62	Management consultant	1,471	13.7
		Roy L. Chambers (R)	Fort Washington	72	Scientific instrument salesman	900	8.4
		Andrew Arnold (R)	Hyattsville	32	Writer	840	7.8
		Claude Roxborough (R)	Temple Hills	44	Lawyer	446	4.2
6	Central and West — Frederick; Hagerstown	William R. Diamond (R)	Fort Washington	31	Computer consultant	434	4.1
		* Steny H. Hoyer (D)	Mitchellville	52	Incumbent	45,374	84.0
		Ricardo V. Johnson (D)	Beltsville	38	Management consultant	8,634	16.0
		* Lawrence J. Hogan Jr. (R)	Upper Marlboro	35	Real estate broker	12,247	48.2
		Gerald Schuster (R)	Accokeek	60	Physician	4,852	19.0
		John Douglas Parran (R)	St. Leonard	39	Electronics shop owner	3,931	15.5
		Theodore Henderson (R)	Greenbelt	49	Counseling psychologist	2,239	8.8
		Michael Swetnam (R)	Bowie	39	Information processing director	1,450	5.7
		John Michael Fleig (R)	Rosedale	25	Retail manager	703	2.8
		* Thomas H. Hattery (D)	Mount Airy	38	State representative	29,389	56.2
7	Inner-City Baltimore; Western Baltimore County	Beverly B. Byron (D)	Frederick	59	Incumbent	22,883	43.8
		* Roscoe G. Bartlett (R)	Frederick	66	Retired teacher	15,193	42.6
		Michael Downey (R)	Thurmont	65	Satellite technology consultant	14,481	40.6
		Frank K. Nethken (R)	Cumberland	61	Former mayor	6,004	16.8
		* Kweisi Mfume (D)	Baltimore	43	Incumbent	54,452	84.6
		Michael Vernon Dobson (D)	Baltimore	41	Insurance agent	9,945	15.4
		* Kenneth Kondner (R)	Baltimore	50	Dental technician	Unopposed	
		* Edward J. Heffernan (D)	Rockville	28	Congressional aide	10,746	19.8
		Anthony Patrick Puca (D)	Potomac	43	Furniture executive	10,122	18.7
		Sidney Altman (D)	Chevy Chase	70	Tax accountant	7,965	14.7
8	Montgomery County	Shelton Skolnick (D)	Derwood	48	Lawyer	6,695	12.3
		Dennis Ketterer (D)	College Park	36	Radio broadcaster	6,354	11.7
		James Walker Jr. (D)	Bethesda	44	Real estate broker	6,235	11.5
		Joseph S. Incarnato (D)	Silver Spring	64	Engineering consultant	3,507	6.5
		John Edward Boehm (D)	Silver Spring	51	Self-employed artist	2,620	4.8
		* Constance A. Morella (R)	Bethesda	61	Incumbent	Unopposed	

* Nominee

gation, Beville was the linchpin to the negotiations. His opposition to altering the court plan had stymied earlier efforts, and his acquiescence to a new map propelled it to passage.

The Democrats' map changes the 6th by removing from it heavily Republican Shelby County and strong GOP territory in Jefferson County (Birmingham), and adding to it most of Democratic Pickens County (from Beville's 4th District) and Sumter, Choctaw and Marengo counties (all from Harris' current 7th).

Montana's Day in Court

The state of Montana brought its challenge of congressional reapportionment to the Supreme Court on March 4, arguing that the formula used since 1941 to allocate House seats violates the constitutional principle of one person, one vote.

Montana, trying to avoid losing one of its two congressional seats, previously won a ruling by a three-judge federal panel. The Commerce Department appealed to the Supreme Court. (*Background, CQ Political Supplement, Feb. 29, 1992, p. 79*)

Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, the Bush administration's chief lawyer before the Supreme Court, argued that choosing the proper reapportionment formula should be left up to Congress because achieving perfect equality in the size of House districts is nearly impossible.

A decision is expected by July.

Most of the state officials advancing Montana's case are not optimistic about prevailing in the Supreme Court. The state's two House members, Republican Ron Marlenee and Democrat Pat Williams, already have started to run against one another for an at-large seat.

Montana's population growth over the past decade was only 1.6 percent. Under the current reapportionment formula, the state would be left with just one House seat with about 800,000 residents. That would be the most populous House constituency in the country, considerably larger than the ideal district size of 572,466 (calculated by dividing the nation's population by 435 House districts). However, providing the state with two districts would make them the nation's least populous districts.

Montana Attorney General Marc Racicot said Congress ought to adhere to the same principle of one person, one vote that applies to statewide and local redistricting. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia asked how his

position squared with the constitutional provision that guarantees each state at least one House member, no matter how small its population.

"Just because there is a basic inequity does not allow for further inequity," Racicot responded.

Officials in Massachusetts had also filed suit in federal court challenging the constitutionality of the reapportionment formula. A separate three-judge panel in Boston ruled against the state on that issue on Feb. 20.

However, that panel did favor Massachusetts on another matter, striking down the method of counting federal personnel overseas in the census for being "arbitrary and capricious." The panel's ruling would enable Massachusetts to keep its 11 seats, instead of losing one, and deprive Washington of increasing from eight to nine seats.

On March 5, the federal government filed a motion asking the three-judge panel to reconsider its decision and to stay its order pending reconsideration or a possible appeal. The motion claims that the judicial panel ignored important aspects of the administrative record favorable to the federal government. It says that even if the census of personnel overseas was improper, the only remedy available to the court would be to return the matter to the agency involved. And it questions whether the issue is even subject to judicial review.

Ohio Map Hits Bump Near End

Ohio legislators are one step away from approving a congressional redistricting plan. But dissension among Democrats forced state House Speaker Vernal G. Riffe Jr. to postpone a vote on a compromise plan until March 10.

The plan, approved by a bipartisan joint committee and passed 24-9 by the state Senate, would splinter Republican Rep. Clarence E. Miller's current 10th District among the new districts of GOP Reps. David L. Hobson, Michael G. Oxley and Bob McEwen. (*Background, CQ Political Supplement, Feb. 29, 1992, p. 91*)

House action snagged because of disagreement among the Cleveland area's three House members — Democrats Louis Stokes, Mary Rose Oakar and Edward F. Feighan — over how to divide downtown Cleveland and areas in surrounding Cuyahoga County. Stokes, dean of Ohio Democrats and the state's only black member, has threatened a voting-rights lawsuit if the percentage of minorities in his district is not increased. The House's 11

black Democrats oppose the plan.

Court Weighs Pennsylvania Plan

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court will hold its first hearing on congressional redistricting March 7. The court is reviewing a map submitted to it Feb. 24 by a commonwealth court judge. (*Background, Weekly Report, p. 487*)

Originally drawn by state Senate Democrats, the map has been widely viewed as favorable to Democrats. It pairs Republican Reps. Curt Weldon and Dick Schulze, and diminishes the re-election prospects of freshman GOP Rep. Rick Santorum.

But when briefs were filed with the state Supreme Court on March 2, both Democrats and Republicans raised objections.

"The plan is deadly to Democrats in the eastern half of the state," says Bob Priest, director of the state House Democrats' reapportionment office.

The court map gives Democratic Rep. Thomas M. Foglietta's Philadelphia-based district a black-majority population, and it lowers the black population in Rep. Lucien Blackwell's existing black-majority district. The plan also weakens the base of Democratic Rep. Robert A. Borski.

Reps. Foglietta, Borski, Weldon and Santorum submitted a letter to the Supreme Court asking it to enact an alternative plan similar to one considered by the legislature and backed by Democratic Rep. John P. Murtha and GOP Rep. Joseph M. McDade.

N.C. Filing Change; Ga. to Justice

A federal judge in North Carolina on Feb. 28 extended the state's filing period for House candidates.

The filing deadline, which was March 2, has been moved to March 10, or until a three-judge panel rules on a redistricting suit filed by the state Republican Party on Feb. 28. A hearing is scheduled for March 9.

The GOP charges that the new congressional map — which was drawn by Democrats and then approved by the Justice Department Feb. 6 — splinters communities of interest and is not compact.

Georgia has filed its latest redistricting plan with the Justice Department, which must "pre-clear" the map under provisions of the Voting Rights Act. Justice rejected Georgia's first remap Jan. 21, saying it diluted minority voting strength in southwestern Georgia. The legislature approved a revised plan Feb. 27. (*Background, Weekly Report, p. 487*)

AS THE DEMOCRATIC FIELD NARROWS . . .

The empty factories of the Midwest are more than just hulking monuments to the weakened condition of the industrial sector of the American economy. They could also serve as a vivid commentary on the political fitness of the nation's industrial-sector unions in the 1992 presidential campaign.

With all the bravado of the Light Brigade, several of the nation's major trade unions charged into the breach of the Democratic nominating contest on Feb. 19 to endorse Tom Harkin. That was the morning after the Iowa Senator had finished a disappointing fourth in the New Hampshire primary. "It struck me as funny we did it the day after New Hampshire," said a political operative whose union was among the nine that gathered in a Bal Harbour (Fla.) hotel room that morning to announce the formation of the National Labor Committee for Harkin.

"There was almost like a surge in people's feelings at that moment, that he's running on our program, he's getting stomped, we have to jump in this thing," said another union operative, whose boss also announced for Harkin in Bal Harbour, where the AFL-CIO executive committee was holding its annual winter meeting. The operative, who—like most interviewed—requested anonymity, said that the political directors of some of the unions lining up behind Harkin's flagging campaign had doubts about his prospects for success. But, the source added, "the union presidents are more idealistic and thought they could move things and turn this campaign around."

Nine unions declared that day: the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, the Communications Workers of America, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Transportation and Communication International Union, the United Auto Workers, the United Mine Workers of America and the United Steelworkers of America. They would have liked to start working for Harkin's campaign earlier. But AFL-CIO internal guidelines had prohibited them from formally siding with any candidate until its executive committee decided at the Bal Harbour meeting to allow individual unions to endorse a candidate. (See *NJ*, 2/15/92, p. 396.)

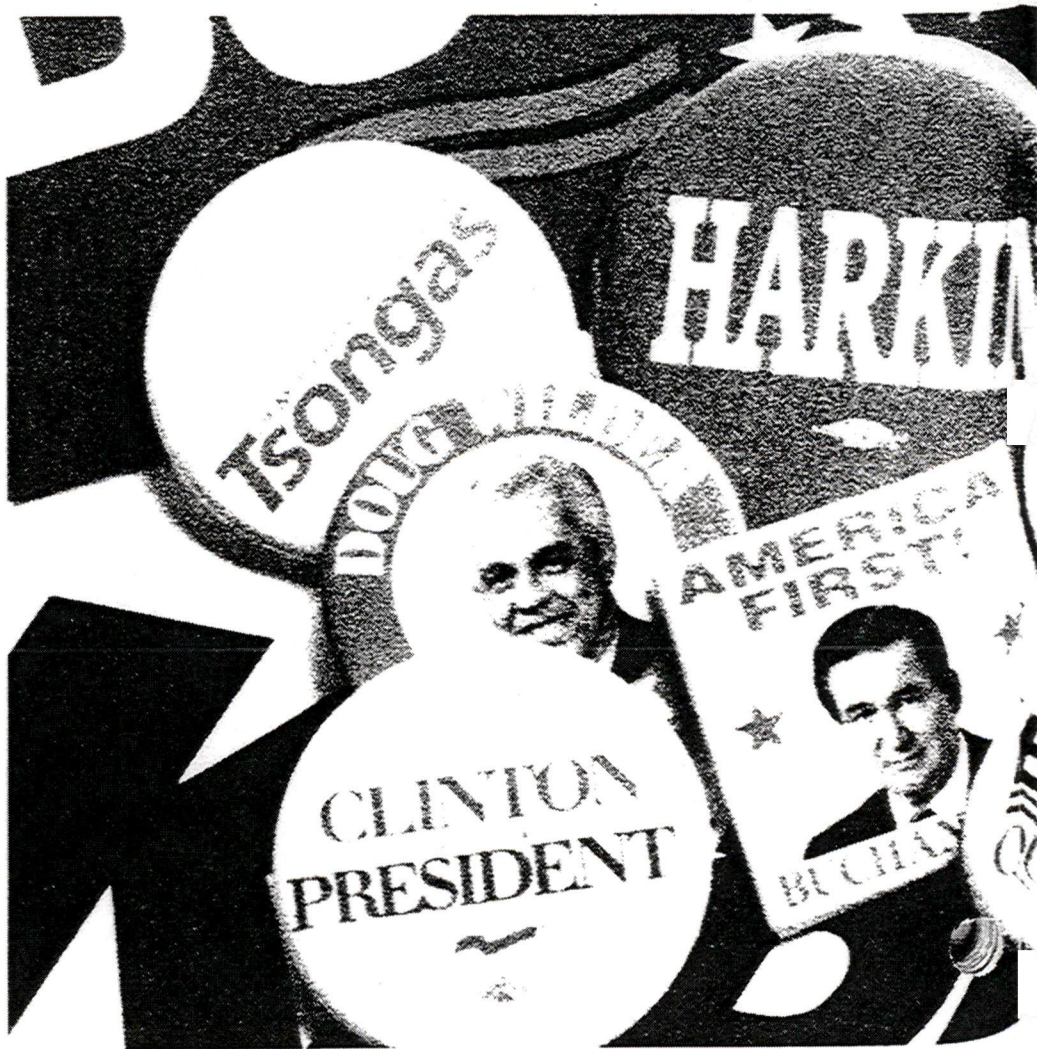
But give these unions their due. They stood by their man, or at least what he stood for, as Michigan AFL-CIO president Frank Garrison explained. "It's the message that these unions are supporting with [their endorsement of] Harkin, it's not necessarily the messenger," said Garrison, who, as an officer of a state federation, must remain neutral in Democratic primaries. Harkin, for instance, was the only Democratic candidate who stood fast with labor in its unsuccessful attempt to deny the Bush Administration "fast-track" authority to negotiate a free-trade agreement between the United States and Mexico.

Garrison also said that if the Iowa Senator is forced to end his campaign prematurely, he expects that at least one of the remaining candidates will adopt parts of

Harkin's message in hopes of picking up the support from the labor bloc that had embraced him.

"Clearly, the labor unions who are backing him think they have got to protect the message," said Rachelle Horowitz, political director of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), which is supporting Bill Clinton. Horowitz recalled that when the AFT and other unions endorsed Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy in his 1980 challenge to the renomination of President Carter, they felt they succeeded in moving Carter to the left on some key platform issues.

There was also some compelling legislative logic behind the decision of the nine industrial unions to jump aboard Harkin's presidential campaign, even



... LABOR MAY SWITCH HORSES QUICKLY

after it had been hobbled by his poor finish in New Hampshire. Harkin, after all, was espousing many of their key positions, from opposing a capital gains tax cut to supporting legislation that would forbid companies from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers. And on the stump, Harkin has repeatedly touted himself as a lifelong ally of organized labor and its biggest friend among the field of five Democratic presidential hopefuls.

Had labor not come to Harkin's side in his hour of need, several union operatives noted, the credibility of their lobbyists on Capitol Hill might have been called into question. "People looking at labor issues in Congress would say, 'Well, why should I get out front on a labor issue when I look at Tom Harkin and some of the

biggest unions turned their back on this guy?'" a labor official said.

Surprisingly, the unionists interviewed expressed no resentment over being placed in a box by Harkin's faltering candidacy, even though some had privately argued that politically it would have been wiser to endorse Clinton, as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the AFT did.

Ultimately, that's where many of the unions may end up: backing the governor of a right-to-work state (Arkansas) and the former chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist group not regarded fondly by many labor leaders.

"The rise of [Paul E.] Tsongas has caused people to reassess Clinton," a union operative backing Harkin said. "The more that Clinton runs as a populist

against Tsongas, Main Street versus Wall Street, it's going to appeal to labor, no question about it."

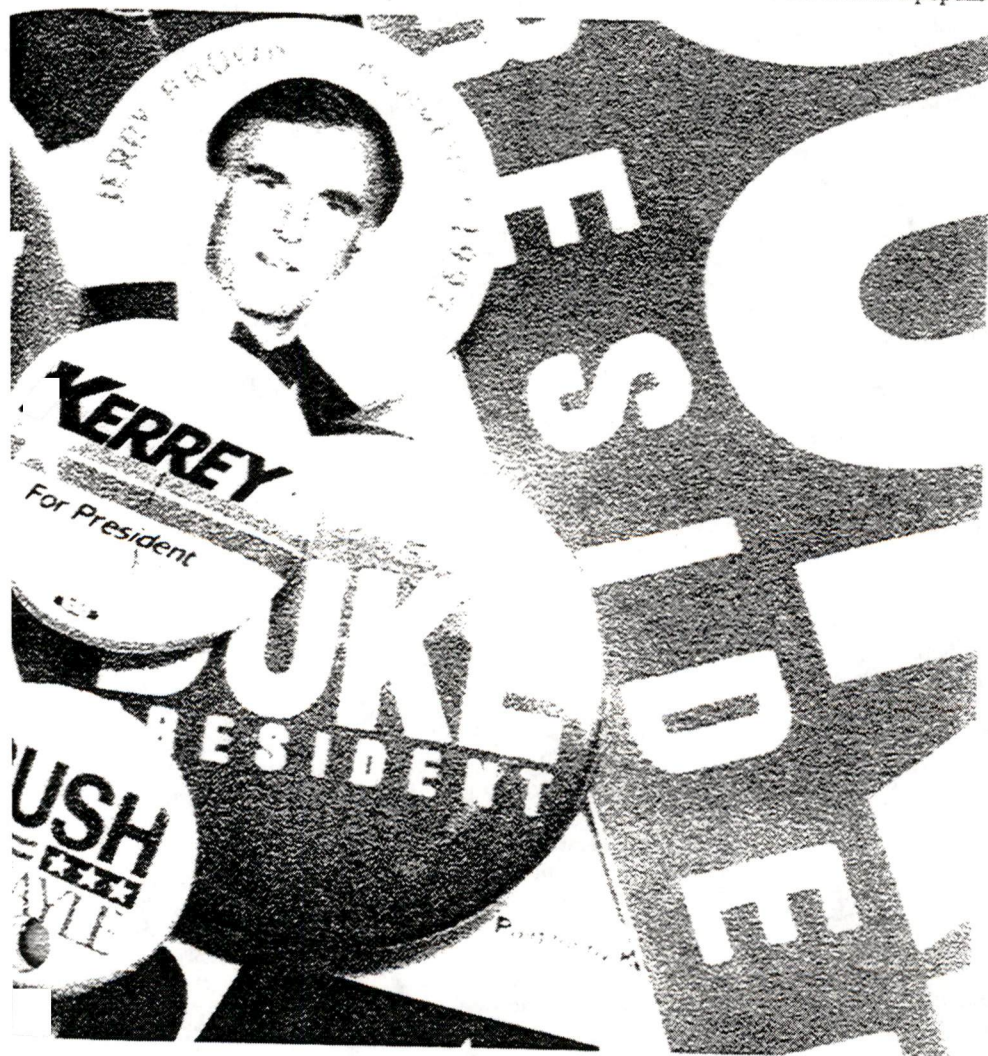
With key primaries in industrial Illinois and Michigan coming up on March 17, it's doubtful that unions will shift gears in time to significantly help Clinton in his showdown with Tsongas in two states where labor still has some political clout. Union officials understandably are reluctant to abandon Harkin after his wins in the Idaho and Minnesota caucuses on March 3 and with the autoworkers in Michigan still pledged to him. Pro-Harkin union officials met in Washington on March 4 and decided to stay the course, at least through Michigan. Fealty to Harkin and doubts about Clinton's electability seem to be guiding labor's actions for now.

If organized labor coalesces behind Clinton, that could heighten the potential for intraparty cleavage if Tsongas emerges as the candidate of the more-affluent suburban and independent Democrats and Clinton is seen as the candidate who draws his support from blacks and from whites who are financially less well off. (See this issue, p. 606.)

Ironically, Clinton's advisers had initially positioned his campaign to appeal to some of the moderate and upscale voters whom Tsongas is now attracting. At one point, they thought Clinton might be seen as an attractive alternative to the expected candidacy of New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a traditional liberal and a favorite of many trade unionists. When Cuomo declined to run, many Democrats breathed a sigh of relief that this year, their primary contest would not evolve into an ideological battle that would split the party along class lines.

Indeed, avoiding those kinds of divisions may have been what AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland had in mind when he took pains to remind the trade unionists meeting in Bal Harbour that Tsongas had a strong pro-labor voting record when he served in Congress.

If the Democrats as a presidential party are to avoid going the route of the Midwest's abandoned steel mills, they're going to need to avoid a fight that leaves scars. Clinton and Tsongas cannot afford to alienate each other's backers. And whichever candidate emerges as the nominee will need the enthusiastic backing of labor to have a chance at toppling President Bush in November.



LOOKING FOR A WINNER IN THE FALL

ATLANTA—Going into the Super Tuesday primaries, both parties must ask themselves the same question: How do we get there from here?

Or, put another way, is it possible for either party to arrive at a presidential nominee politically healthy enough to run a strong campaign in the general election?

For the Democrats, the early rounds of primaries and caucuses have cleared some of the underbrush of also-rans, only to set the stage for what appears likely to be a prolonged and potentially divisive war between Paul E. Tsongas and Bill Clinton, neither of whom fits the job description for the ideal candidate to run against an incumbent.

For the Republicans, the primaries have exposed a fundamental weakness in President Bush that makes him a far less formidable incumbent than the Democrats might have expected to face in November.

Both Clinton and Tsongas came away from the latest primaries and caucuses with some reason for encouragement. Each showed enough strength outside his home territory to neutralize the complaints about regional candidates. But it is equally true that neither has shown the kind of electrifying appeal to make him a reassuring front-runner in the eyes of Democratic professionals.

The calendar now clearly favors Clinton, at least in the short term. He is the obvious favorite in the big primaries in Texas and Florida on March 10. But the contest now changes to a competition for convention delegates, and the Democratic system of awarding delegates on a proportional basis points to a long war of attrition before anyone can lock up the nomination. Meanwhile, both candidates are showing a testiness that portends rough water ahead.

Bush has no such problem in accumulating the delegates to assure him the nomination for a second term. But Patrick J. Buchanan's success in replicating in Georgia his showing in New Hampshire means that the President must contend with his weaknesses being displayed for all to see for several more weeks.

There is still no reason to believe that Buchanan is a credible alternative to Bush for the nomination. But the conservative commentator's campaign has always been more of an ideological movement to determine the direction of the party than a rational attempt to capture the nomination. Buchanan keeps saying that his stronger-than-expected showings will mean the collapse of "the whole house of cards" that is the Bush campaign. But he is kidding himself if he believes Bush would ever step aside, even if Buchanan continues to make similar showings in some of the primaries just ahead.

The President is, however, paying a price. Neither he nor his advisers seem to have any notion of how to deal with a challenger who is not a serious threat to his renomination, let alone with a Democratic nominee in the general election. In New Hampshire, Bush ignored Buchanan; in Georgia, he assailed him. But the result was the same in both cases, suggesting that

there is a significant minority of Republicans who aren't willing to support their President, whatever the strategies employed.

What has been most intriguing has been the steady decline in Bush's approval ratings even as he has campaigned for reelection. The White House argues that this is a function of Bush's being constantly bashed by both the Democrats and Buchanan. But the President has been visibly and aggressively campaigning himself for almost a month now. So it is reasonable to wonder when that effort pays some dividends.

Bush and his apologists are taking the predictable line that voters are expressing their frustration with Washington in general.

But the real question is whether the President may not have turned off a significant element of the electorate with his failure to deal aggressively with domestic problems. That, of course, is the hope of the Democrats as they deal with their own troubles.

Despite their successes in the early rounds, neither Clinton nor Tsongas has dissolved the doubts within his party about his candidacy. The party professionals will not buy the argument that Clinton's military draft history will not be a political burden in the general election. Nor will they swallow the notion that Tsongas's special

charms as a candidate make him a marketable commodity in November.

Meanwhile, the chances of a "third man" alternative seem to have lessened. Quite aside from the question of gathering enough national convention delegates to be competitive, any late-running Democratic entrant could expect to engender fierce opposition from the strong partisans of Tsongas and Clinton who would complain about such an attempt to thwart the nominating process.

The question for the Democrats now is whether either of the front-runners can win the primary-caucus competition in a way that excites the imagination of the electorate at large. It may be jarring to recall it, but that did happen four years ago, as Michael S. Dukakis marched through the primaries to the Democratic nomination and a comfortable lead over candidate Bush that he later frittered away.

Oddly enough, the President may be more vulnerable as an incumbent than he was as Vice President running for the Oval Office. He now has a record on which he can be faulted, as well as praised. And the weakness of his performance against a candidate as extreme as Buchanan makes it clear that his personal style under pressure does not evoke unlimited zeal among Republicans.

Buchanan, meanwhile, will be under growing pressure from within the party to put aside his presidential ambitions in the name of saving the nation from a dreaded liberal Democrat in the White House. But the challenger still has the money to continue the race, and he has persuaded himself that he has good opportunities in Michigan on March 17 and in California on June 2. So long as his election losses are depicted as victories, he's not likely to quit.

Can either party come up with a presidential nominee politically healthy enough to run a strong campaign in the general election?

OPINION OUTLOOK

Views on National Security

WHITE HOUSE REPORT CARD

Do you think President Bush is doing a good job or a poor job handling foreign policy? (Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for CNN-Time magazine)

	8/90	11/90	3/91	8/91	11/91	2/92
Good job	72%	60%	84%	78%	71%	62%
Poor job	20	30	10	16	23	30
Not sure	8	10	6	6	6	8

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling foreign policy? (CBS News-The New York Times)

	2/92			
	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
Approve	51%	32%	73%	51%
Disapprove	42	59	23	41
Don't know, no answer	7	9	4	8

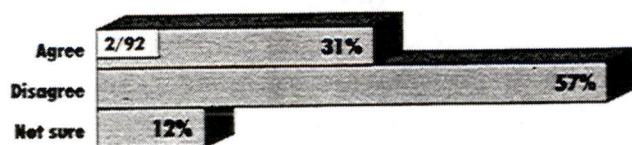
THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF

How important is it to you for a President to have served in the military—very important, somewhat important or not important at all? (CBS-Times)

	2/92			
	All	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.
Very important	17%	14%	19%	19%
Somewhat important	33	29	42	29
Not important at all	48	55	38	51
Don't know, no answer	2	2	1	1

DRAFT AVOIDANCE

Would you agree or disagree with the following statement: "I would never vote for a presidential candidate who I thought had evaded the draft during the Vietnam war." (Yankelovich for CNN-Time)



SIZING UP JAPAN

Is your over-all opinion of Japan very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable? (Gallup Organization Inc.)

	2/92
Very favorable	9%
Mostly favorable	38
Mostly unfavorable	28
Very unfavorable	22
Don't know	3

THE POWER BALANCE TODAY...

In your view, which country is the strongest economic power today—the United States, Japan or some other country? (asked in the United States by Yankelovich for CNN-Time, in Japan by Infoplan/Yankelovich International Network)

	1/92	
	Japanese	Americans
United States	17%	46%
Japan	68	43
Other	6	5
Not sure	9	6

... AND TOMORROW

And which country do you think will be the strongest economic power 10 years from now—the United States, Japan or some other country? (asked in the United States by Yankelovich for CNN-Time, in Japan by Infoplan/Yankelovich)

	1/92	
	Japanese	Americans
United States	14%	51%
Japan	35	27
Other	30	11
Not sure	21	11

EARNING RESPECT

Who's more likely to see to it that the United States is respected by other countries—Bush or a Democratic President? (CBS-Times)

	1/92
Bush	58%
Democratic President	26
Both (volunteered)	3
Neither (volunteered)	3
Don't know, no answer	10

THE COMPETENCE GAP

When it comes to dealing with foreign policy, which party do you think would do a better job—the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same or neither? (Peter D. Hart and Vincent Breglio for NBC News-The Wall Street Journal)

	1/92
Democratic Party	13%
Republican Party	42
Both about the same	31
Neither	6
Not sure	8

CLASS WARFARE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATS

The Democratic nominating contest is finally taking shape. And the shape it is taking isn't ideological or regional. It's class-based: downscale Clinton voters versus upscale Tsongas voters. By their primary choices this spring, Democrats will decide whether they will follow a populist strategy or a suburban strategy in the fall.

The populist strategy targets Reagan Democrats—southern whites and northern ethnics. This largely blue-collar constituency is Democratic by heritage, but it has abandoned the Democratic Party in presidential elections since the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The ideological profile of Reagan Democrats is mixed. They tend to be liberal on economics (labor and government) and conservative on social issues (race, religion and foreign policy). In other words, they are economic and social populists. Bill Clinton is becoming their candidate.

The suburban strategy targets the so-called new-collar baby boom voters. They are relatively affluent and well-educated, and therefore they tend to be fiscally conservative and socially liberal—the antithesis of populism. They are independent by heritage. They used to favor anti-Establishment Democrats such as Eugene J. McCarthy and George McGovern. But their suspicion of traditional tax-and-spend liberalism led many of them to vote Republican in the 1980s. Paul E. Tsongas is becoming their candidate.

Look at what happened in the Feb. 18 New Hampshire primary, where Tsongas and Clinton came in first and second. The exit polls show no ideological differences. Among liberal Democrats, Tsongas had a 9-point lead over Clinton. Among moderates, he had an 8-point lead. Among conservatives, he led by 7 points.

The class differences, however, were striking. Among Democrats who didn't finish high school, Clinton ran 28 points ahead of Tsongas. Among high school graduates, Clinton was 2 points ahead. Among Democrats with less than four years of college, Clinton and Tsongas were tied. But Tsongas was 14 points ahead among college graduates and 30 points ahead among the not-inconsiderable number of New Hampshire Democrats with postgraduate degrees (a fourth of the total).

The same differences show up by income. The poorest Democrats (family incomes of less than \$15,000) went for Clinton by 21 points. Those earning \$15,000-\$30,000 went for Clinton by 2 points. Tsongas carried the \$30,000-\$50,000 voters by 11 points. He carried the \$50,000-and-over crowd by almost 20 points.

Tsongas has defined himself as a "pro-business liberal." He has a prototypical suburban profile, fiscally conservative and socially liberal. The self-described candidate of economic pain and sacrifice, he delights in telling audiences, "I am not running to be Santa Claus." He opposes the middle-class tax cut that most House Democrats voted for last month. Instead, he favors a higher gasoline tax to encourage conservation.

Tsongas is anathema to organized labor because he opposes

labor-backed legislation that would prohibit companies from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers. He favors a reduction in the capital gains tax rate for certain long-term investments. After his New Hampshire primary victory, Tsongas said: "We must change our rhetoric. No more corporate bashing. No more protectionism. No more Japan bashing. No more class warfare." And, he might have added, no more populism.

Clinton saw his opening, and he took it. In a speech in Denver, he said, "If you want more corporate power with less accountability, easy on the people at the top of the totem pole, you should vote for Sen. Tsongas." Remember 1984, when Walter F. Mondale called Gary Hart a

"heartless wretch"? Well, Clinton called Tsongas an "economic mechanic" who favors "cold-blooded" proposals that "smack of trickle-down economics." Clinton's advertisements quote Tsongas as saying he will be "the best friend Wall Street has ever had," while Clinton will "put people first." That's economic populism.

On social issues, however, Clinton is running to the right of Tsongas—and he doesn't let southern voters forget it. Clinton supports a form of national service. He favors welfare reform and school choice. He supports

parental consent for teenage abortions. As Arkansas governor, he has usually favored jobs over environmental protection. He supported the Persian Gulf war. He has criticized Tsongas for being too limited in his support of capital punishment. That's social populism.

Tsongas is an ardent environmentalist. He is strongly committed to abortion rights and gay rights. He opposed the Gulf war. Those positions may be hard to sell in the South, but they are not likely to hurt him with baby boomers or suburban voters.

Clinton has two problems. One is whether the downscale voters he appeals to are going to be bothered by the allegations made against him of infidelity and draft evasion. That could lead many of them to stay home on March 10, Super Tuesday.

Clinton's other problem is that his showing on Super Tuesday may vastly overstate his strength in the South. A recent *Houston Chronicle* poll found Clinton with a strong lead in Texas and a healthy favorability rating among Democrats likely to vote on March 10. Among independents, Republicans and Democrats who are not likely to vote in the primary, however, Clinton did much worse. His favorability rating among all Texas voters was not impressive—35 per cent positive, 36 per cent negative.

For the Democrats, choosing Clinton is a way of saying, "We can get back the South." Choosing Tsongas is a way of saying, "We can break into the suburbs." But there is another factor that has to be considered as well: President Bush. If Patrick J. Buchanan succeeds in painting Bush as a Republican moderate, that will weaken Bush in the South. On the other hand, if Buchanan's challenge ends up pushing Bush to the right, that will weaken Bush in the suburbs.

The Democrats know who their opponent will be. But they don't know where he will be most vulnerable. ■

**In their primaries,
Democrats will decide
whether to follow a
suburban (Tsongas) or
a populist (Clinton)
strategy in the fall.**

ALONG THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

BY JAMES A. BARNES AND RICHARD E. COHEN

When Michigan Republican and Democratic leaders reinstated a presidential primary to send delegates to the national political conventions, they thought that they had said good-bye to the headaches their caucus system had caused in 1988. They were wrong. Michigan will hold its primary on March 17, but nobody's sure who's going to vote.

After their experiences in 1988, both parties had reason to scrap the caucus system. In that year, Jesse Jackson won the Democratic caucus, and in the GOP, an acrimonious feud broke out between the party's moderate and conservative wings. The new problems seemed to have started when the Legislature, in approving a bipartisan bill in mid-1988 to institute a presidential primary also required potential voters to go to a local election office to declare their party preference at least 30 days before the primary.

Michigan has no party registration, and its primaries for congressional, state and local offices are open to all voters. By last December, the Democrats were on notice to expect a revolt if voters were turned away on primary day because they hadn't previously declared their party affiliation. "There was a lot of fear among the [election] clerks that a lot of people would be upset," Michigan Democratic Party operative Liza Estund Olson said.

So the Democrats decided to allow anyone to vote in their primary who hadn't previously declared that he or she was a Republican and was willing on primary day to declare a Democratic affiliation. And, in a bit of one-upmanship, state Republican Party officials said they would allow anyone who asks for a Republican ballot to vote in the GOP's primary.

Republican and Democratic operatives admit that voters are confused and that some of them who may lean Democratic will resent as an invasion of their privacy the primary day requirement that they state their party affiliation. "The voters are still angry because the Democrats won't match our actions," Bryan W. Flood, a spokesman for Michigan Republicans, said.

But Republicans, at least those who support President Bush, may not be gloating after the primary. Bush's conservative foe, Patrick J. Buchanan, is thought to have a following among Michigan's culturally conservative blue-collar Democrats. The Michigan Democrats' rules might give these voters another reason to pick up Republican ballots. And that would help neither Bush nor any Democrat who is counting on those votes in the Democratic primary.

The muddled Washington Senate race has become even more confused with Brock Adams's announcement that he will not seek a second term. The veteran Democrat made his brief statement on March 1, hours after the *Seattle Times* published a controversial report that eight unnamed women said that Adams made sexual advances toward them in the past two decades.

Many Democrats said discussion of a nominee will be largely suspended until Gov. Booth Gardner decides whether to make the bid. Gardner, who has said he won't seek a third term, is expected to wait until the Legislature's scheduled mid-March adjournment. Ex-Rep. Mike Lowry, who lost two Senate campaigns as the Democratic nominee, has been planning to seek the nomination.

Among Republicans, Rep. Rod Chandler is the front-runner in polls and has raised the most money among the four candidates who were running before Adams dropped out. But he faces a diverse field of opponents. His only Republican rival who has run statewide is Brian Boyle, who has been elected three times as public lands commissioner. The others—Chandler, King County Executive Tim Hill and state Sen. Leo Thorsness—are all from the Seattle area. ■

DELEGATE HUNT

After seven state primaries and caucuses on March 3, the Democratic presidential race remains a muddle. And, despite a sweep, President Bush is still being dogged by Republican challenger Patrick J. Buchanan.

Bush won in Maryland (with 70 per cent of the vote), Colorado (67) and Georgia (64). Buchanan, claiming a moral victory in Georgia, has vowed to fight on.

On the Democratic side, there were three primary victors: Bill Clinton, who smashed Paul E. Tsongas in Georgia, 57-24 per cent; Tsongas, who bested Clinton in Maryland, 40-34 per cent, and beat Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. in Utah, 34-28 per cent; and Brown, who won in Colorado with 29 per cent to Clinton's 27 per cent and Tsongas's 26.

In Democratic caucus returns, Tom Harkin was declared the winner in Minnesota with 27 per cent, followed by an uncommitted slate that attracted 24 per cent. In Idaho, Harkin won 30 per cent of the delegates to the state convention and Tsongas won 28 per cent. A sampling of Washington state caucuses found Tsongas winning 32 per cent and Brown 19 per cent, with an uncommitted slate getting 20 per cent.

The table gives the cumulative delegate counts as determined by the Associated Press.

CANDIDATES	DELEGATES TO DATE
Democrats	Needed: 2,144
Brown	35
Clinton	198
Harkin	79
Kerrey	22
Tsongas	110
Others, uncommitted	238
Republicans	Needed: 1,105
Buchanan	20
Bush	148
Duke	0
Others, uncommitted	5

The Uncanny Candidate

Democratic hopeful Bob Kerrey hears his inner voice loud and clear, but will voters get the message?

Bob Kerrey's first words on the campaign trail were "Oh, my God." He was looking out, from a platform erected in a square in downtown Lincoln, Nebraska, at a sea of happy faces, the faces of people who esteemed and even loved him and had come to hear him announce his run for the presidency. This being Nebraska, it was an all-white, all-nice crowd. Someone carried a sign that read "BOB KERREY: THE HEALTHY CHOICE." A strong breeze was whipping an American flag and tossing the red, white and blue balloons to and

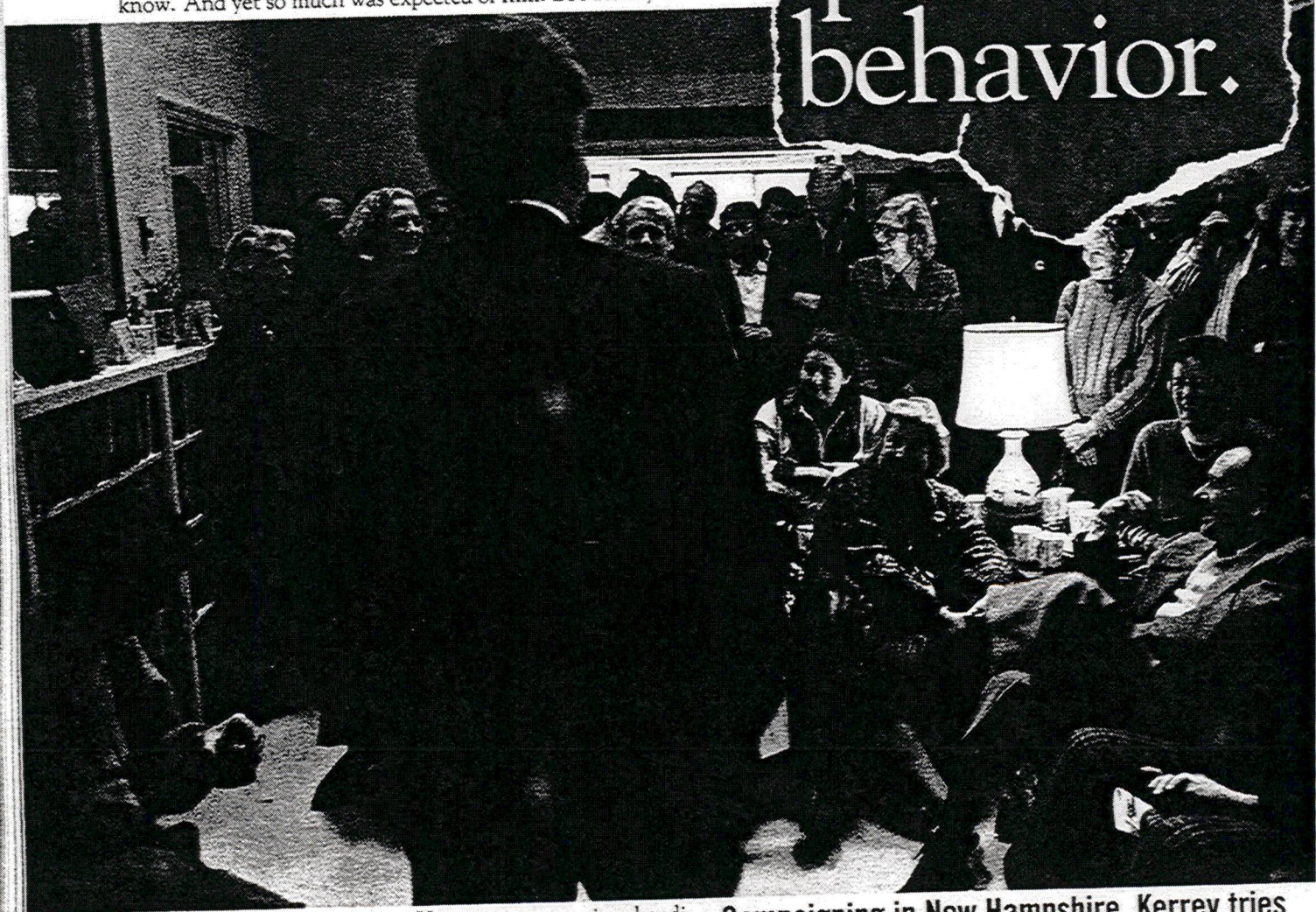
By James Traub

GP 3/92

fro. Rain had threatened earlier in the morning, but now the sky was the blue-blue of autumn. The Boys' Town choir had sung the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," Democratic dignitaries had said this and that, and Kerrey had advanced to the podium. Another politician might have thrust his fists into the air to encourage the applause that was rolling from the crowd. But Kerrey held out his hand to ask for quiet. And suddenly the whole scene registered on him, the sparkling beauty and the enormity of it all, and he grinned—not a politician's meaty grin but a smile of frank astonishment. Then the muttered words, as if he suddenly realized the magnitude of what he had undertaken.

Everything seemed so fresh and new that morning, the candidate included. Kerrey hadn't been preparing for this moment for all of his forty-eight years. Quite the contrary: He had been a U.S. senator only two and a half years, and a one-term governor of Nebraska; he had decided to run in September, late in the game. There was so much he didn't know. And yet so much was expected of him: Bob Kerrey is

Kerrey pushes the envelope of conventional political behavior.



a man who stirs deep hopes. He is new to a national audience, but he is not callow: Unlike virtually all of the other candidates of his generation, who were shaped by postwar prosperity, Kerrey is a man whose character has been shaped around a terrible mishap—the loss of half his right leg in Vietnam. He speaks to the yearning for a politician who stands outside politics, outside the careerism and the shopworn theatrics—for a figure of irreproachable authenticity.

Campaigning in New Hampshire, Kerrey tries to drive his message home.

"I've stayed out of politics since Robert Kennedy was killed," says author and professor of psychiatry and medical humanities Robert Coles. "Now I'll do anything the Kerrey campaign wants." Not since Kennedy, says Coles, "have I met a politician who has that kind of depth."

People want so much from Kerrey, but it's not clear that he can satisfy them. The scene in Lincoln that day was deeply moving, and yet his speech was stiff and somewhat diffuse. It was the precursor of many stiff and diffuse speeches to come. To watch Kerrey on the campaign trail is to witness an experiment, an attempt to refine the energy of a strong but reticent character into usable political fuel. Kerrey himself says "I don't seek a moment of gratification where the audience stands on its feet and thunders its approval." And he means it: His sense of irony would probably eat him alive if he tried to play to the crowd.

By the beginning of the year, the experiment was only barely working. A *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll found that Kerrey was the favorite candidate of all of 4 percent of Democrats. *New York Times* columnist Leslie Gelb wondered whether Kerrey wasn't "too laid back or lazy" to stand up to the rigors of the race. Political professionals considered Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton the most serious candidate. Kerrey, according to the conventional wisdom, was glamorous but unready. He had raised his stock considerably in mid-December by showing well at the first of seven scheduled debates between the Democratic candidates, but he was still only a hasty sketch, a blur. It wasn't clear whether he would have the chance—or give himself the chance—to fill in the outline.

The first thing that strikes you about Bob Kerrey is the fixity of his gaze. He has pale-blue eyes, crystal eyes, and he looks straight at you. There is something almost uncanny about his presence. One former Senate aide recalls, "I would work on a speech, and he would start talking, and he would go on a riff and all of a sudden he would fix those eyes on me and lock on. I remember feeling that I had to brace myself to keep from being sucked in."

Kerrey is different: "other," says Kandra Hahn, who worked for Kerrey when he was governor of Nebraska. Politicians tend to be performers at heart, eager, vain and theatrical. Kerrey is strangely self-contained. During the first half hour of our interview, which was conducted in a hotel bar in Des Moines, I was not aware of Kerrey moving. His aides grew increasingly restive, since he had a speech to write; but Kerrey seemed oblivious to the passage of time. He had, as Baba Ram Dass would say, the gift of being here now.

And then, after our interview, he walked over to a diner, where he permitted a chocolate milk shake to be poured from a very great height into a canister balanced on his head, though he was wearing the suit in which he was to address the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner that evening. It was an exercise in not caring too much. Kerrey is also the candidate who got into hot water when he was overheard telling a dumb lesbian joke. Of course, that simply may have been an exercise in inexperience.

Kerrey's air of artlessness may not play at the national level, but it was immensely appealing in Nebraska. When he decided to run for governor in early 1982, he had never held elective office. He had spent most of the 1970s building a successful restaurant business with his brother-in-law. He was asleep to politics, and only in 1978, when his business affairs began to be embroiled in government, did

he switch his party affiliation to Democrat. Most of his friends in Nebraska are still Republicans. Kerrey ran in the gubernatorial race as a small-businessman—and war hero—who was sick of watching politicians dither while Nebraska sank into the black hole of the farm recession. Since he had no idea of how to conduct a campaign, he just started talking. "He was an awful speechmaker, at first," says his younger brother, Bill. "He didn't know the answers. He didn't know that you were supposed to give an answer." People liked that about Kerrey: He was like them, only more handsome, energetic and successful. His opponent, Charles Thone, was gray and plodding, midwestern Republicanism made flesh. He was the past; Kerrey was the future. Kerrey came from thirty points behind, with little name recognition, to win.

He ran the state with a sort of mystical self-confidence, as if he knew that the conventional rules didn't apply to him. He appointed a public-television producer as his head of economic development because he respected the man's intelligence. He asked Kandra Hahn, an economist, to serve as energy director. "Okay," she said. "What do you want me to do?" Kerrey looked at her and said "Trees. I want trees in Nebraska." No problem, said Hahn, who, after several months on the campaign trail, had come to ascribe semimagical properties to Kerrey's intuitions. Hahn says that she later discovered that trees are an inexpensive source of energy conservation.

Kerrey hates the image of himself as a glamorous lightweight or a crystal-clutching new ager, and when I asked him about his term in office he ticked off a long list of unsexy achievements—welfare reform, school-district consolidation, banking regulation, "minimum stream flows." In fact, the farm economy was collapsing during his early years as governor, and even his supporters say that Kerrey's principal accomplishment was keeping the state afloat. He inherited a \$30 million deficit and, through a temporary sales tax and a program of budget-cutting, left the state with a \$54 million surplus. It was a classically Republican sort of achievement, but then Kerrey had been a Republican. He does not call himself a liberal or a "prairie populist," and he's neither. "I do come out of a business background," he says, "and on economic issues I tend to line up in the conservative camp."

Kerrey's confidence in his own untutored judgment at times got him into serious trouble. He was accused—unfairly, it appears—of keeping open an S&L owned by an old friend, even after it was clearly insolvent. Later in his administration, however, Kerrey went into a real-estate deal with a group that included his disgraced friend. The idea that he might be engaged in a serious conflict of interest hadn't occurred to him. When he was criticized for his participation, he apologized. "I never should have done that transaction," he said later. "I was new to politics." The allegations seemed to have no effect on his popularity. "He's a Teflon-coated politician," sneers Hal Daub, a former Republican congressman from Omaha. It's an attribute other politicians envy.

What accounts for Kerrey's Teflon? Charisma, says Daub—"the batted baby blues and the bedside manner."

But Kerrey's appeal to Nebraskans was much deeper than that. "He had no political fear," says W. Don Nelson, Kerrey's former chief of staff. "I never once heard him say 'What do you think the political consequences are going to be?' He would jump into an issue on the tiniest end of the public-support side." The governor opposed repealing the mandatory seat-belt law, for example, even though Nebraskans viewed the statute as a virtual infringement of their constitutional freedoms. "The odd thing," says Nelson, "is that it always made him more popular." Kerrey was seen as a man who did what he thought was right.

Kerrey's life was a political statement of its own, and it was consistent with his formal politics. He was transparent: He lived in a glass house, not a smoke-filled room. He could always be seen around town, playing basketball or hanging out in the bars. Kerrey was a single man, which was in itself pretty exciting to Nebraskans. He had married an aspiring actress, Beverly Defnall, in 1974, had two children and was divorced four years later. In 1983, Kerrey met Debra Winger while she was in town filming *Terms of Endearment*. True to form, the governor courted the actress in full view of the state. Had Kerrey been furtive, like Gary Hart, he would have committed an offense against decency. But Kerrey couldn't live that way. At his first press conference after meeting Winger, he burst out "Isn't anyone going to ask me about my date?" "What about your date, Governor?" one of the reporters obligingly asked. "Fluff up your pillows, boys," said Nebraska's Bachelor Number One, "and dream on." Who could begrudge the man his conquest?

Kerrey seemed to have devised a new brand of politics for a new era. And a key aspect of the new politics was an implicit doctrine of nonattachment: Politics was something you could always do without, and would, if it impinged on your integrity, your intellectual perspective, your ability to have a good time. It was the nonattachment that made the fearlessness possible. A few of Kerrey's friends noticed, about the middle of his term, that he was getting bored. Kerrey himself says "I was starting to resemble the people that caused me to get in, in the first place." His approval rating was close to 70 percent, and his reelection was virtually assured. But his internal alarm was going off. In the fall of 1985, Kerrey stunned almost everyone in Nebraska, including those in his own administration, by announcing that he would not stand for a second term.

Of course, the speculation went, Kerrey was heartbroken after Debra Winger had left him, or he was afraid of losing, or something dark was about to catch up with him. There *had* to be a reason. Successful politicians don't just like politics, they're addicted to politics: That's what all the fire in the belly means. Bill Clinton likes to boast that he has run seventeen times in as many years. When Clinton was defeated as incumbent governor of Arkansas in 1980, he won the job back the next term, and then kept it. Kerrey does not have that kind of fire in the belly; he has a different kind. By way of explaining his decision to his fellow Nebraskans, he said that he needed "more danger."

It's early November, six weeks after Bob Kerrey announced his candidacy, and he is in New York to speak at a breakfast

at the Regency hotel. The power brokers and the would-be power brokers are out in force; they come to hear all the candidates. A month earlier, Bill Clinton impressed the same crowd with a perfectly polished and quite impassioned speech focusing on the need to mobilize government for economic growth. He fielded questions with the casual grace of Willie Mays shagging fly balls. A reporter I know refers to Clinton as "the policy vending machine." Kerrey does not have his act together in the same way. He fumbles some questions badly. Someone asks about the Helms Amendment restricting NEA grants, and he says "Which Helms Amendment?" His speech is better than the one he delivered in Lincoln, but it still has no real central point. He tells a story about Bush's abortion policy that is too involved even for this audience of lawyers and bankers. It would be easier if he would bang the podium for emphasis, the way Clinton does; but he won't.

Kerrey arrives with very strong advance billing as the radiant, clear-souled, passionate candidate, and several people who came expecting to be inspired walk away disappointed. "I hated him," says one power-broker-in-the-making. "I couldn't believe the way he answered questions." "He was gray," says another. A doting campaign volunteer is practically distraught: "It's so frustrating that he never expresses any outrage. I *know* that he feels it, but it's like he won't let himself express it."

And yet something else comes through as well—the distilled essence of the man, his inner passion, his sense of honesty with himself. An audience member asks Kerrey how he would deal with the "encrustation" of the government process itself. Kerrey has proposed cutting Cabinet agencies in half and reducing congressional committees by three quarters. But before he unspools the policy, he says, "The principal thing is, you've got to come at it with real outrage. There are *lives* at stake here. This isn't even a question of whether I become president or not. There are *literally* lives at stake." But he doesn't sound particularly outraged; actually, he sounds earnest. Later, someone asks about his views on affirmative action. Kerrey has the policy-vending-machine answer, but he has his own answer as well. As governor, he says, "I had to learn to hire people other than 40-year-old white men, which is typically what I would do unless I felt differently. That's who I hang out with." That got the crowd.

Later, I called Stephen Berger, the former executive director of New York City's Port Authority, who had asked the "encrustation" question. I felt almost certain that Berger would be among the disappointed. "Actually," he said, "I went away liking him as a person. He has qualities that the political system usually drums out. Most of these guys are foxes. Kerrey struck me as a hedgehog." Foxes, in the famous distinction made by philosopher Isaiah Berlin, know many little things—the policy vending machine. The hedgehog knows one big thing.

Were it not for his mishap, Bob Kerrey says, "I would be sort of a white boy living out in the suburbs." He was raised in Lincoln, in the middle of the country, in the middle of the middle class. The Kerreys were pillars of the Bethany Chris-

'The danger of any campaign is that it begins to change you.'

From the heart: The candidate deploys his main speaking gesture.

tian Church, which was Disciples of Christ; the seven kids—four boys and three girls—all went to Bible school and performed in the Easter pageant. Nobody ever talked politics. "I had no idea what my parents' registration was," says Kerrey's brother Bill. Kerrey's father, an engineer by training, ran a lumberyard, delivered coal, built homes, developed a chain of restaurants with a partner and worked for real-estate firms.

Growing up, Kerrey was smart, self-assured and not overly serious—"your basic glib know-it-all," says his sister Jessie. He was bright, though not an academic star. A small, asthmatic kid, he not only went out for football but insisted on playing center—the toughest and just about the least glamorous position. His yearbook lists him as Joseph Kerrey, which is how he was christened, though he's always been known as Bob. The photo shows a good-looking rube with a determined attitude and a semi-crew and the weirdly shaped head that tends to remind people of an alien's—narrow on the bottom, bulb-like on top.

Kerrey was an average-to-good student at the University of Nebraska, from which he was graduated in 1966, with a degree in pharmacy. The Vietnam War was building to its height. Kerrey could have served as a pharmacist, but instead he enlisted in the navy, where he enrolled in Officer Candidate School. After graduation, he volunteered for

the navy's equivalent of the Green Berets, the SEAL special-operations unit. Kerrey was possessed of the normal degree of patriotism, but he signed up for the SEALs for essentially the same reason that he'd signed up for football. "He was testing himself," says Luke Cox, a friend from childhood. "It was a physical challenge to see if he could match up." "I had," Kerrey said recently, "a very high opinion of myself."

The SEALs underwent a fantastically rigorous training regimen. Enlistees swam miles in the ocean without fins or wet suits. Two weeks before the end of Kerrey's eighteen-week program, two members of his class drowned. The training officers refused to dwell on the incident. According to John Ware, a former SEAL who has campaigned for Kerrey, "Bob stepped out and said 'This isn't war, it's training. We all feel for these guys, and we should be able to spend a little time thinking about it.' It's what everybody else was thinking but nobody wanted to say." The unit's officer agreed. It may be that Kerrey would have been more than a white boy in the suburbs even if he hadn't been wounded.

Lieutenant Kerrey and his seven-man SEAL team arrived in Vietnam in January 1969. The SEALs had been trained to fight in the Mekong Delta, but Kerrey's unit was assigned to the mountainous coastal area of Nha Trang. A sapper





The glamour factor: receiving the Medal of Honor from Richard Nixon, in 1970; as governor of Nebraska, with an attentive Debra Winger at his side, in 1985.



team from the regular North Vietnamese Army had been disrupting shipping from a small island off Nha Trang. They were lodged, a defector had revealed, on a ledge beneath a 350-foot cliff. Resistance, he said, would be relatively light. On the moonless night of March 14, Kerrey led his squad on just the kind of daring raid that he must have dreamed of when he'd volunteered. The team climbed the cliff by hand; when they reached the summit, they removed their boots in order to ensure silence. But the informant had been wrong: As soon as the squad swung down toward the ledge, it met heavy enemy fire. Kerrey was struck by a grenade.

In the words of his Medal of Honor citation, "Although bleeding profusely and suffering great pain, he displayed outstanding courage and presence of mind in immediately directing his element's fire into the heart of the enemy camp." Kerrey ordered more fire from his men, wiping out the NVA unit, and then secured the area, continuing "to maintain calm, superlative control" until he was evacuated by helicopter.

A number of people who know Kerrey well feel that he possesses the character of a man who has been granted a second life—the fixity of gaze, the mastery of ego. I asked Kerrey whether he felt that he had, in fact, skirted death.

He thought for a moment, then said "I did have a moment in a hospital in Japan [where he had been evacuated]—and it's not necessarily a death experience—I had a moment where everything cleared up: the smoke, the fog, *everything*." Kerrey was choosing his words even more deliberately than usual, as if trying to fasten his momentary vision to something real and substantial. You would never know from listening to him that he has ever recited the anecdote before, though in fact he has. Sincerity is a thing that Kerrey both has and knows how to use. He continued, "I was . . . *allowed* during that moment to see myself. I could see my whole life in a compressed way, so that I could see that morning, I could see the day before, I could see last week, I could see the previous month, the previous year; I could follow it all the way back to age 1 or 2. It was all . . . *there*. I think it was a gift from God to someone who may have been out the door or may not."

Perhaps your whole life *does* pass before you when you're about to die; but if you come back, you have visited a place within yourself that other people have not seen. It lasts only a moment, then you're you again. The 25-year-old lieutenant dashed off a jovial letter to his parents: "By now you will have received the singing telegram about your son wounded at war." His note was, in fact, the first they had heard. And then Kerrey was

plunged into the maelstrom of the Philadelphia Naval Hospital, SOQ 12—sick officers' quarters, twelfth floor.

SOQ 12 was a hell of limbless men, many of them still in horrible pain. Lewis Puller Jr., a former marine and the author of the highly acclaimed *Fortunate Son*, had graduated from the ward just before Kerrey arrived. "The morning I entered my old room and discovered Bob," Puller writes, "he was listening to an Aretha Franklin tape played several decibels above what the ward allowed, and he was trying to take pictures of his mangled leg with an Instamatic camera." Kerrey's attitude toward his wound seemed to be compounded of typical SEAL machismo and a kind of unnerving curiosity about his new physical state. After his leg had been removed at mid-calf, he refused painkilling injections, to general amazement. Puller writes that "Bob asked for a fungo bat to beat back pains in his phantom leg."

In public, at least, Kerrey does not own up to his gonzo stoicism. He corrected me when I said that he had been "seared" by the war. "The joy of the human body," he said with an almost clinical air, "is that there is a thing called shock. Yes, there were moments of great pain, but most of the time you were in moderate amounts or minor amounts of pain." In fact, one of his neighbors on SOQ 12, Pat Chorpenning, recalls that Kerrey had to have the bandages torn off his stump several times a day to clean the wound and allow it to drain. Kerrey spent nine months in the hospital, first recovering from the trauma and then learning how to walk with a prosthesis. According to Puller, he spent a lot of time on the ward bending the rules and daring anyone to stop him.

When Kerrey returned to Lincoln, he needed several more operations to clean debris from his leg. This period was, in Kerrey's narrative of his spiritual journey, a sort of dark night of the soul. If, in the hospital, his gathering bitterness took the form of flouting authority, in Lincoln he was able to let it flow. "There was," he recalls, "a lostness to the early stages of coming back to civilian life. I could get angry at a waitress. I could get angry at anybody." It was not, he says, self-pity. "I wasn't bitter because I was wounded. Like a lot of veterans coming back home, I felt like we were betrayed. I was shocked to see so many people opposed to the war and angry at us for going over there. I found myself opposed to the war, but very uncomfortable being around the antiwar people."

Kerrey didn't just hate Nixon and the government, he hated the simplemindedness, the self-indulgence, of the debate over whether you should be "for" or "against" the war. It was as if both the Vietnamese and the veterans were irrelevant. At first, he planned to refuse the Medal of Honor, but then he relented. Some vets threw their medals on the Capitol steps; Kerrey passed his around, as if to lessen the burden of ownership. When he was asked to serve as grand marshal of Lincoln's Memorial Day parade, several months after he came home, he had to call up his friend Luke Cox, to whom he had given the medal to show to Cox's high-school students. He and Cox stayed up the night before the parade drinking, and that morning he had Cox drive him to the Veterans' Administration Medical Center. Kerrey brought a camera along, and he showed the medal to the vets and asked if they'd like a picture of themselves holding it with him sitting nearby. He was inoculating himself against the parade.

Kerrey sees this portion of his life as a voyage from alienation to reconciliation—a metaphor, at some level, for the nation's own voyage. Yet Kerrey was never consumed with rage, as was Ron Kovic, the author of *Born on the Fourth of*

July. Yelling at waitresses is a very mild reaction to losing half your leg in a pointless war. Kerrey was jarred into consciousness by the war, but not shattered. He himself says that the surge of love he felt following the birth of his son, Ben, in 1974, and of his daughter, Lindsey, in 1976, trumped his bitterness.

But the war, and the wound, had many effects on Kerrey. They left him with a deep suspicion of the tidy rationales with which middle-aged men send young men off to die. But by robbing him of his high opinion of himself, the war also compelled Kerrey to reinvent or reintegrate himself, without the aid of youthful illusions. The war, says Kerrey, made him a moral being and, thus, to his way of thinking, a free man. "It is a terrifying and yet liberating moment," he told students in a course on the Vietnam War at the University of California, Santa Barbara several years ago, "when instead of feeling the guilt that is attached when you do not live up to somebody else's expectations, you now feel the remorse of conscience for not having done what your own conscience tells you, you ought to be doing."

By 1972, Kerrey had begun work with his brother-in-law Dean Rasmussen on their first Grandmother's Skillet restaurant. Business may have offered a welcome preoccupation for him, since he threw himself single-mindedly into work. Bev Defnall recently recalled that Kerrey went off to work the same night they returned from their honeymoon. "I said to myself, I think I'm in big trouble here," she told a reporter in Omaha. In 1978, the long illness and death of Kerrey's mother put an even greater strain on the marriage, and Kerrey and Defnall separated. Defnall does not have an unkind word to say about her former husband, at least not in public.

Kerrey and Rasmussen originally had the odd idea of combining drugstores with restaurants, but that was nixed, and the first Grandmother's did well until it was flattened by a tornado. Kerrey now owns 35 percent of the parent company, which includes eight restaurants and three health clubs. The restaurants alone gross more than \$10 million annually. They were recently cited for repeated child-labor-law violations. Kerrey has pointed out that he has not been actively involved with the business for almost a decade, but Democrats are not supposed to be on the wrong side of the labor laws. It doesn't help that the restaurants are non-union. It also doesn't help that Grandmother's part-time employees do not receive health-care insurance, given that Kerrey has made health care his primary issue. What has not yet been pointed out is that Grandmother's serves the kind of mid-priced generic fare that has helped wipe out regional cuisine across the country. The Kerrey campaign may have dodged a bullet on that one.

It's Election Day, 1988, and Bob Kerrey has just been voted the junior senator from Nebraska. He had been teaching that course on the war at U.C. Santa Barbara when one of Nebraska's Democratic senators, Edward Zorinsky, died suddenly. Kerrey almost certainly would have returned to politics at some point, but Zorinsky's death allowed him to run for the Senate without

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(continued from page 205) challenging an incumbent Democrat. In effect, he entered a vacuum, as he had in 1982. Apparently, Nebraskans still loved him. George Bush carried the state by 21 percent of the vote; Kerrey beat his opponent, David Karnes, by 15 percent. It was a stunning display of personal popularity, a shining moment in Kerrey's career. At his victory rally in the ballroom at Omaha's Peony Park, Kerrey, flanked by his children and some of the SEAL buddies who had campaigned for him, reeled off a somewhat perfunctory speech. As Kerrey concluded, his campaign manager and close friend, Bill Shore, said, to no one in particular, "He's going to do it. I told him not to, but he's going to do it." And Bob Kerrey began to sing.

What he sang was "And the Band Played Waltzing Matilda," a song about an Australian soldier who returns from the battle of Gallipoli with his legs blown off. He did not allow himself to be carried away, even at the most horrific passages. Once in a while, he smiled faintly, an ironic smile that acknowledged the largeness of the moment. At first, the audience

had tipped himself over and invited an audience of strangers to inspect the contents. It was an extremely private act in an extremely public setting. If there was calculation in it—and perhaps on one level there was—no other politician would have thought of it. Had anyone but Kerrey sung "And the Band Played Waltzing Matilda," it would have been a ghastly contrivance. If Kerrey ever sings it again, it may become one; but it's almost unthinkable that he will. His internal alarm would go wild.

A reporter later asked Kerrey why he had chosen this of all moments for his performance. Sometimes, Kerrey said, "the blues can set you in a good mood."

Bob Kerrey writes poetry. It's bad enough that Kerrey writes long stream-of-consciousness letters to many of his friends and that he carries on what can only be called literary friendships. His friend Ted Kooser, a poet and an insurance man, like Wallace Stevens, says "Bob aspires to be a creative writer." Kerrey's Christmas cards consist of a picture of himself with his two kids, and a poem. In 1990, as armies gathered in the

ment. Kerrey chose to speak about Ignazio Silone's novel of the Italian peasantry, *Bread & Wine*. "The command he had of that novel just stunned me," says Coles. "Every student in that class was stunned." It wasn't so much the amount of work Kerrey had obviously put into his presentation that surprised Coles as the fact that he could take so seriously a task so personal and nonpolitical. Coles now swaps books with Kerrey on a regular basis. "I would not be embarrassed to use the word 'spiritual' about him," says Coles.

Perhaps he should. It's fair to ask—it will be asked—whether a man so carefully attuned to the self, so keen to ride on the edge of existence, so willing to lay down politics to cultivate his own garden, can hawk his wares in the loopy national carnival of the presidential race.

In his first year in the Senate, Kerrey made a point of keeping his head down. He worked on farm-state issues like a good freshman senator and turned down requests for interviews. He distinguished himself mostly by jumping into issues on the tiny

Kerrey stands by his vote against the use-of-force resolution in the Gulf war.

laughed and cheered; nobody understood. But by the time Kerrey reached the verse that begins "Then a big Turkey shell knocked me ass over head," every whisper in the big hall had died. Kerrey sang on, into a riveted, awestruck silence:

*And when I awoke in my hospital bed
I saw what it had done
And I wished I were dead.
Never knew there were worse things than
dyin'.
No more Waltzing Matilda for me.*

By the end of the song, the ballroom was filled with sobbing—and a sense of wonderment. It was as if the new U.S. senator

Persian Gulf, he wrote that while "There is cause. . . To relinquish all hope for mankind," there was cause as well "to love/to ride on the edge of existence,/to give the reins of hope/the freedom required of all/laughing courage." It's a rare man who can both tell a dumb lesbian joke and write of laughing courage.

Kerrey is an autodidact. His family was no more literary than it was political, but he has become a serious reader of fiction. Professor Robert Coles conceived his high opinion of Kerrey after he invited the senator, in the spring of 1990, to address his class "Fiction and Political Reflection" at Harvard's Kennedy School of Govern-

ment. Kerrey chose to speak about Ignazio Silone's novel of the Italian peasantry, *Bread & Wine*. "The command he had of that novel just stunned me," says Coles. "Every student in that class was stunned." It wasn't so much the amount of work Kerrey had obviously put into his presentation that surprised Coles as the fact that he could take so seriously a task so personal and nonpolitical. Coles now swaps books with Kerrey on a regular basis. "I would not be embarrassed to use the word 'spiritual' about him," says Coles.

"In my case," said Kerrey, "I don't remember feeling this way. . . I don't remember giving the safety of our flag anywhere near the thought I gave the safety of

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my men." The Democrats had been falling all over themselves to prove their patriotism by crafting anti-flag-burning legislation. Himself an embodiment of patriotism, Kerrey was able to make the argument his colleagues should have made—that free expression is a patriotic cause. His speech helped take the wind out of the Republicans' sails; within weeks, the issue simply vanished.

But the issue that engaged Kerrey at the deepest level was the Gulf war, which he opposed from the outset. He felt that he was witnessing the reenactment of America's great national nightmare. He accused President Bush of confusing this war with Bush's own war, World War II, and said that it reminded him instead of Vietnam. "What is missing in this conflict," he said, "is the grim-faced attitude of a people who really believe that the United States, or at least a strategic asset of unquestionable importance, is at risk." Kerrey foresaw the whole squalid drama: the body bags coming off the C-130s, the nation growing restive, the president prating about a test of wills in a country Americans couldn't even find on a map.

Of course, he was wrong. Kerrey uses personal experience as a touchstone for political judgment, and in this case his experience led him astray. He had had a sort of

Vietnam flashback, and it had blinded him to the special circumstances of the Gulf war. Characteristically, he was the first person to point this out. After the war, he returned to the Senate floor to admit that Vietnam had "influenced my judgment on what we should do, perhaps too much."

But even that's not the last word. Kerrey now stands by his vote against the use-of-force resolution, even though he knows that Bush will pound him on it should he become the Democratic nominee. He says, "The president was misrepresenting fact. He said that Saddam Hussein was Adolf Hitler and anyone who was opposed to the policy was Neville Chamberlain. I think that what the United States should have done is said that the danger here is Saddam Hussein and the Baathist dictatorship and that what we need to do is reevaluate our tolerance for dictators who are our friends." Is Kerrey saying, as John Kennedy did, that we should be willing to pay any price to support democracy around the world, or simply that we should state our principles unequivocally? It's not clear.

At times, Kerrey sounds a great deal like Jimmy Carter, and I asked him what he thinks about Carter's human-rights policy. He looked at me as if I had just sprung a pop quiz on Thucydides. "Uh, I frankly wasn't very conscious of Jimmy Carter's hu-

man-rights policy," he said with an embarrassed titter. "I wasn't paying attention at the time." *Wasn't paying attention*—maybe Kerrey should hit a few more buttons on the policy vending machine.

"One of the things I find refreshing about Kerrey," says Michael McCurry, a key campaign aide, "is that he really doesn't know much about how government was practiced in the Seventies." Kerrey, that is, has absolutely nothing invested in the big-government politics forged by the Democrats since FDR. Thus Kerrey is at least potentially the heir to Gary Hart, who practically called into being the new-generation cohort of Democrats, former Sixties liberals who were antiwar and libertarian on social issues but skeptical of the New Deal heritage. Even more important in terms of his political appeal is that Kerrey, as political analyst William Schneider puts it, "is on both sides of the Vietnam divide that has split the baby boom. He fought in the Vietnam War, but he also opposed the war. He is, in the generational sense, the perfect candidate."

Kerrey wants to break the issues a different way. He has little to say about poverty or the inner city—old Democratic staples—but he has seriously studied education, health care and communications

technology, issues on which neither party has a traditional position. Kerrey has said that he wants to make the election "a referendum on national health care," and he has offered a detailed plan that would make health care a basic right, funded through tax dollars, and would bring down costs by negotiating fee-payment schedules with doctors and hospitals.

It's good policy, but is it good politics? Harris Wofford won a stunning upset in the recent Pennsylvania Senate race by stressing health care; but Wofford steered clear of specifics. Kerrey's insistence on placing

ready." It seemed like a foolhardy decision then, when Bush was enjoying a 90 percent popularity rating; now it seems prescient.

There was a constituency waiting for Kerrey even before he announced—the Gary Hart crowd, which has remained remarkably intact since the candidate himself shattered its hopes aboard the good ship *Monkey Business*. Kerrey's closest adviser and virtual shadow, Bill Shore, was Hart's campaign manager. John Emerson, Hart's former deputy campaign manager, also joined the Kerrey campaign, as did others from the Hart camp. Most of them

troops had been equipped with whistles, which they used with abandon, letting loose piercing fusillades every time their man was mentioned. Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder (who has since dropped out of the race) had a roving donkey and an Uncle Sam on stilts stalking the aisles in his red-white-and-blue pantaloons. There was a pizza stand, and a booth where you could buy the *Campaign and Election Product Guide*. The stage was festooned with a giant American flag, and the long day of speeches was kicked off with the march of the color guard, the Pledge of Allegiance

There was a built-in constituency waiting for Kerrey—the Gary Hart crowd.

health care at the heart of his agenda may be one of his magical intuitions, like Australian antiwar songs or "trees," or it may be a serious miscalculation. Kerrey nods when I mention this; he's gotten this advice before. "One of the constant criticisms is that I take too long to answer questions, and health care is a long answer. But I have concluded that unless you reform the way we finance health care, there's no peace dividend, there's no money at the federal level, the state level, the county level." So he's going to keep talking about it, and about communications technology and some other non-hot buttons, no matter what. The worst thing that could happen is that he loses, and that prospect seems to trouble him no more now than it did in Nebraska. "The danger of any campaign is that it begins to change you," says Kerrey. *That's a danger he's alert to.*

Kerrey used to snap at interviewers who asked about his presidential ambitions. "I don't want it, and I'm not ready for it," he said last spring. But over the summer, as it became clear that senior Democrats like Bill Bradley and Mario Cuomo were preparing to punt on the election, Kerrey changed his mind. Another vacuum had opened up. He was needed, or so a great many Democratic professionals were saying. Kerrey's distrust of ambition, of ego, may require him to feel that he is answering a call, stepping out of the ranks as he had in SEAL training. He went off to Colorado for a week with Ben and Lindsey. They said they were willing to have their lives disrupted by the campaign. When Kerrey returned to Nebraska, he conducted a conference call from his sister Jessie's home, in Omaha, with his top advisers in Washington, family members and close friends, most of them local businessmen. As Jessie recalls, "Everyone was saying 'Not now, Bob. Do it in four years.' We were throwing out all the reasons not to do it, and it was just strengthening his resolve. I realized that Bob had already worked through it in his own mind, and he was

had passed on Richard Gephardt, on Al Gore and on Clinton; Kerrey seemed different. "He's the first candidate who people of our generation will respond to on a generational basis," states Emerson. Emerson says he was struck by the contrast between Hart's campaign announcement and Kerrey's. Hart, trying hard to show that he was different, stood on the barrens of Red Rocks, Colorado, while the cameras rolled. He came off as chilly and aloof, and phony in the bargain. Kerrey had the bunting, the band, the balloons; the night before, he had invited the press to meet his friends and family. It felt human and natural.

Kerrey spent the next month barnstorming the country and mostly holding out the tin cup. He was well behind the others. Clinton had been cultivating sources in the conservative wing of the party for years, while Tom Harkin, a longtime member of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, received substantial funding from labor PAC's. Kerrey had to scramble everywhere except in Nebraska and Hollywood, where both his cinematic life story and his relationship with Debra Winger stood him in good stead. Barry Diller held a Kerrey fund-raiser in his home, and the list of hosts included Sally Field, Ted Field, David Geffen, Sherry Lansing, liberal activist Patricia Duff Medavoy, lawyers Ken Ziffren and Skip Brittenham, and agents Jeff Berg and Jim Wiatt. A campaign official says that he has "reason to believe" that the omnipotent Michael Ovitz, chairman of CAA, will declare for Kerrey, though Ovitz is far too aware of his own authority to make such a decision precipitately.

In the first few days of November, Kerrey went to New Hampshire to address the state's delegate convention, the first major event of the campaign season. The convention is an old-fashioned, all-American political hootenanny. Each candidate tries to pack the vast armory with his own placard-wielding, foot-stamping claque. Former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas's

and the national anthem. The only thing missing was Willard Scott.

Tom Harkin was the first of the candidates to speak. Harkin, the one and only unreconstructed liberal in the field, delivered applause lines—the kind that Kerrey did not deign to offer—like a figure skater knocking off triple jumps. Early on, he whipped off his jacket and roared "I say it's time to take off the gloves!" The man was a tent-raiser. "I say 'Nuts to you, George Bush!'" "They want to play tackle football, I'm ... not ... going ... to ... play ... touch ... football!" The Harkin forces went wild; had the armory been equipped with rafters, they would have shook.

Everyone had a crowd-pleasing shtick. After Harkin came Douglas Wilder, he of the donkey and the Uncle Sam. Wilder spoke of how proud the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass would have been if he had known that his namesake was running for president from the Commonwealth of Virginia—even though Wilder had become governor of the state as a virtually nonracial fiscal conservative. Later, Bill Clinton, a Rhodes scholar and a graduate of Yale Law School, would work himself into a hoarse, red-faced lather. What do you do if they run a Willie Horton ad again? he asked rhetorically. "Ya stand up to 'em, ya fight 'em, ya deck 'em!" Rafter-shaking shouts, etc.

Kerrey went on between Wilder and Clinton. When he was announced, the huge speakers started blaring Jesus Jones's "Right Here, Right Now." An army of Kerrey supporters filled the center aisle, so the candidate inched his way toward the platform, shaking hands, smiling, full in the glare of a spotlight that picked out his pale, handsome face, his high forehead, the graying flip of hair that falls across his ear. For once, he truly was as glamorous, as Kennedy-esque, as people wanted him to be. Bill Shore stood at his elbow, peering every which way, like a Secret Service agent. Kerrey took forever to reach the stage, and the roar of his campaign workers—"Ker-rey! Ker-rey! Ker-rey!"—built

THE UNCANNY CANDIDATE

and built and built.

Kerrey approached the podium and, as he had in Lincoln, made a small gesture to silence the crowd. He had written his speech himself, as he has all his campaign speeches. Kerrey's speechwriter, Jeremy Rosner, had left at the outset of the campaign, and the candidate hasn't yet found a new one. But then, as aide Michael McCurry says, "He reacts poorly to new words thrown at him." So Kerrey writes his own words, for better or for worse. In this case, Kerrey's speech preparation consisted of sitting in a room with a notepad in the hours and minutes before he was to be called, while his aides nervously ate pizza and watched the proceedings on C-SPAN.

This time he was a little bit louder, edgier and angrier than he had been previously;

With Kerrey, the personal comes first; political acts must spring from personal commitments.

perhaps he had been listening to the aides and friends who wanted him to punch it up, to make it sharp. "The highest value," he said, "is to see outside of ourselves somebody more important than we are, somebody for whom we are willing to risk it all." What an intimidating invitation! And yet Kerrey has included the phrase in almost every speech. It is a call to sacrifice for the sake of our children, a call to experience the liberating effect of conscience that Kerrey discovered in his hospital bed. It was a very long way from "Nuts to you, George Bush!" And yet—who knows?—maybe people are ready for it.

Kerrey spoke of his own postwar experience, of the Great Society that put him back together again; but the personal reference was over in a flash. He laid out the four areas his campaign would focus on—national health care; reducing and streamlining the government; bringing technology to market; and reforming education through computers, television and the like. Something seemed slightly out of kilter. He was utterly grim. In forgoing the shtick, Kerrey seemed to have forgone as well the power of oratory to lift an audience. There is so much that he can't bring himself to do. All in all, it was a bandwagon you might hesitate about jumping on.

And yet, as ever, something of the essential man came through, the honesty and the commitment. Most of the delegates I talked to afterward had been impressed, if not moved. I sat next to a man who had been studiously taking notes. His name was Robert Van Winkle, and he was the delegate from Deerfield, just east of Manchester. "I've voted Republican the last three elections," he said, "and I'm not voting Republican again. It's time for a change. This country is on a precipice. I compare Bush to Nero fiddling while Rome burns."

He said that he was still undecided among the Democrats, but he liked Kerrey. Kerrey seemed to be the most electable, and he liked what the senator had to say about technology and health care. And then something else came to mind. "I appreciated his remembrance of where he came from," said Van Winkle, "his remembrance of his bitterness when he came back from the war." It had been just a sentence or two, but the flavor had been intense enough to last.

Kerrey was still stumbling and tumbling when the first televised debate came along, in mid-December. "The feeling was that Kerrey was sinking because people weren't responding to his message," says analyst William Schneider. "People were very impressed with Clinton. He was meaty. Ker-

rey was a lightweight." The debate, with its classroom format, was thought to be the perfect setting for Clinton—the policy guy, the smartest kid in the class. For Kerrey, with his reticence and his air of hayseed honesty, the debate looked to be Waterloo.

But Kerrey surprised everyone, including some of his own aides. For once, he did some shtick, bringing up his life story as often as possible. But beyond that, he was simply himself—low-key, earnest, forthright. When he's speaking, Kerrey has only one gesture: He spreads out his right hand against his chest, to convey "This is from the heart." It is, or seems to be, unconscious, and on television such gestures work well. He spoke knowledgeably, if without much detail, about health care and economic development, and explained his rationale for opposing the Gulf war, without flinching.

Kerrey seemed at ease, and he laughed at Jerry Brown's inane antics—until Brown repeated once too often his charge that all of the other candidates were cogs in the money machine that he professed to be opposing. Then Kerrey wheeled on Brown and said, with an anger that seemed perfectly real and yet perfectly calibrated, "Are you saying that I'm bought and paid for? Because if you are, I resent it." And Brown, never expecting to have his bluff called, backpedaled. It was the most human exchange of the debate, the most real, and it became the sound bite of the evening.

It was another one of those moments, like "Waltzing Matilda" or the flag-burning speech, when he was being private in public. The words popped out of the polemical crossfire to say, The personal comes first; political acts must spring from personal commitments. It is this faith that

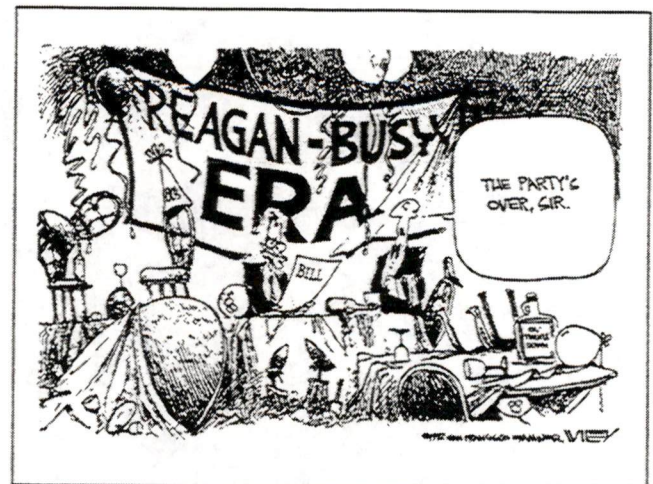
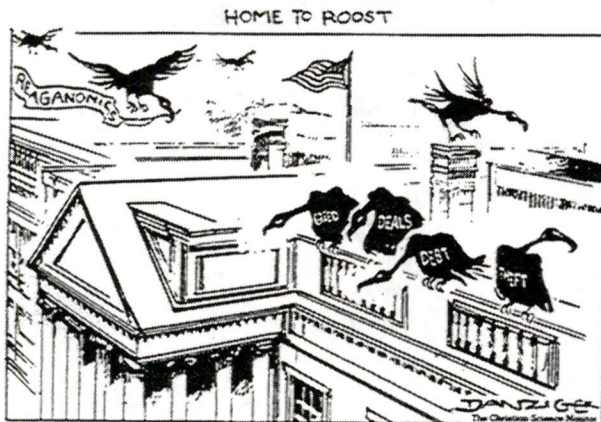
makes Kerrey such a reluctant candidate, and perhaps such a naive candidate. But it also accounts for his appeal. On matters of doctrine, the Democratic aspirants, especially Kerrey and Clinton, are not very far apart. Questions of character thus matter even more than they usually do. Kerrey is the hedgehog, the man with the solid core

and the fuzzy periphery. He speaks from out of the fire of intensely lived experience—or at least sometimes he does. He has a voice; the question is whether he is willing, or able, to use it. •

James Traub wrote about Omaha embezzler Larry King in the December 1991 GQ.

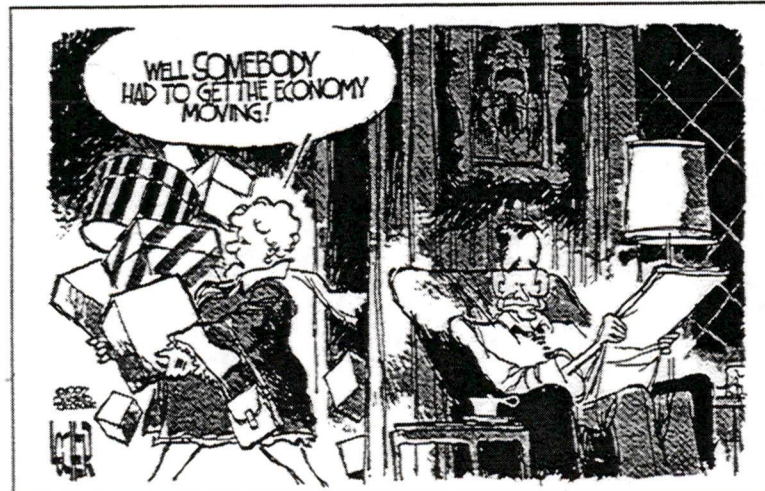
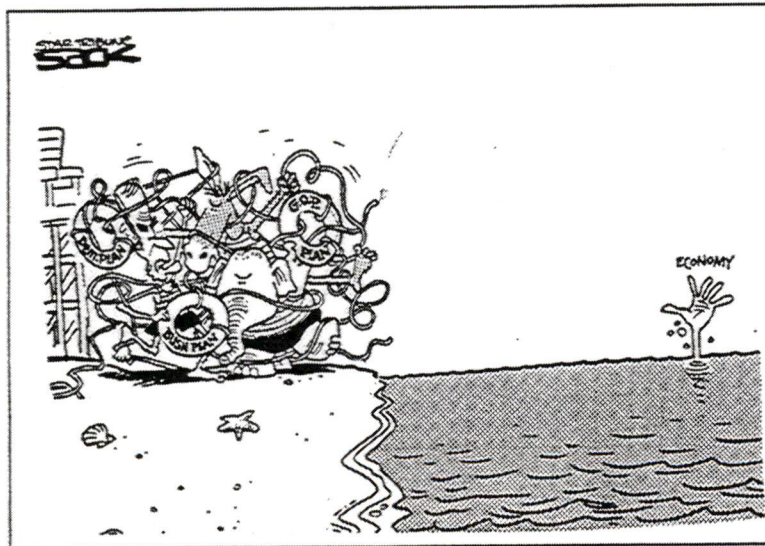
REAGAN / BUSH

Sack Peters Stephanos Wiley Danziger



BUSH and ...

Borgman Scrawls Sack Herblock Locher



Slick to My Stomach

There are times when the mediatic bulimia requisite for the proper conduct of a column like this one puts even the most hardened news consumer at risk of brain damage. Consider this past weekend, when—via C-SPAN—we forced ourselves not one but three televised debates among the Democratic presidential candidates. It was a painful experience. The candidates have by now appeared so often in such forums that they've honed the soundbite-notions that pass for political discourse on the tube into a passionless perfection—singled-mindedly regurgitating their central messages almost without regard to the questions.

Whether under the guidance of his sister's media coaching or out of sheer boredom, Paul Tsongas now speaks in buzzwords and incomplete sentences so brief they'd make Hemingway sound prolix by comparison ("Twinkle economics. Tastes good. No nutrition." "Cold War? Over. Japan won."). Slick Willie's sentences parse, but they're filled with near-impenetrable high-tech policy jargon (it's doubtful that one in 10 voters understands what is meant by "front-loaded health care"), which may be impressive at first blush but, heard repeatedly, fails to mask the status-quo centrism of his program. Bob Kerrey has finally found a rhetorical theme weighty enough for the times—the "radical restructuring" of the Cold War national security state—but while he's willing to cut the president's cabinet in half, he has yet to say he'd do as much for the Pentagon's bloated budget. Tom Harkin's drubbing at and in the polls has left him sounding sour and spiteful as he escalates his attacks on his opponents, attacks which—however accurate or deserved—don't make him terribly attractive in human terms to the voters. The most marked improvement in performance has been that of Jerry Brown; after the flibbertigibbet flailing of the earliest debates, he's learned how to link his polemic on the corrupting power of money in politics to specific issues in a telling way (as when he points out how comprehensive national health care has been blocked by the insurance, drug, and medical lobbies for the last 50 years, ever since Harry Truman first proposed it). It's too bad that Brown's certifiably loony tax plan disqualifies him from consideration by the thoughtful (see last week's Press Clips).

It is, in fact, primarily the power of money that has turned the struggle for the Democratic nomination into a virtual two-person race. That much is clear even though this column was written before Tuesday's voting. Harkin's campaign is bone-dry, and even if he ekes out a win from his Minnesota neighbors it won't be enough to revive his fortunes. Kerrey is almost as cash-poor, and poverty kept his ads off television in Georgia. Without a win on March 3, it's hard to see how he could refill his coffers with enough dough for meaningful campaigning in the Super Tuesday states—where he is little-known—and then to carry him on to the Rust Belt, where he might have a shot. If, like me, you're pining for a candidate who doesn't make you vomit but who could nonetheless beat George Bush in November, that's bad news.

Which brings us back to Slick Willie. There was a moment in Saturday's Colorado debate that said it all. One questioner asked the candidates if they'd commit themselves to naming a cabinet that was 50 per cent female. Clinton, in one of those too-clever pirouettes that habitually make him sound like he's on the side of his interlocutor while not committing him to anything, said he didn't want to "limit" himself to a cabinet that was only half women because "I might want more." At which point, the audience started to laugh, disrupting the rest of Clinton's answer. How could it be otherwise, with Clinton's sex life now a staple of TV's late-night comic repertoire? I checked out

Kinder. Anger GENTLER. RAGE



America.

shame

the *Tonight Show's* opening monologue all last week, and every night Leno had a Clinton joke. Even Mark Russell on PBS has a devastating routine in which Clinton writes a letter to his draft board saying he doesn't want to be killed in Vietnam so that he can be elected governor and have his own reserved parking space at every motel in Arkansas!

The national dailies' pieces on the mood of the voters in the states that voted on Tuesday confirm once again the problems that Clinton, if nominated, would face in the fall. After interviewing some 70 Towson, Maryland, voters for Monday's *New York Times*, Jeffrey Schmalz found "an erosion of trust rooted in the allegations of infidelity and draft evasion. Nearly everyone in town, even those who groped for the name 'Tsongas,' readily knew the name 'Jennifer Flowers.'" Not only did the polls in the South and West last week show Clinton's negatives among Democrats rising in the face of attacks on his draft equivocations by a Kerrey bereft of TV ads, but a Monday CNN/Gallup national poll put Clinton's negatives at 41 per cent among all voters. Imagine, then, the electoral bleeding Slick Willie would suffer in November after being cut up by the amply financed Republican sleaze machine.

Of course, when Pat Buchanan unleashed his sexual McCarthyism last week with that now famous negative ad excoriating the NEA for funding a film that "glorified homosexuality," he was only echoing the kind of gutter tactics used on behalf of Reagan, Bush, and Republican congressional candidates by Terry Dolan and Lee Atwater in their salad days. Buchanan got more than he paid for when the ad was run over and over again on TV news shows. But, to my knowledge, only CNN's Brooks Jackson pointed out that *Tongues Untied*—the moving film about the black gay male experience from which the segments featuring half-naked leathermen used in the ads were taken—received minuscule indirect funding (just \$5000) from the NEA under Buchanan's hero Reagan, not Bush. This info just whizzed right by *Times* woman Elizabeth Kolbert, who, in her piece on the ad last Friday, described its "leather-clad gay men" but never even mentioned that they were black, thus missing entirely the double-whammy of its pandering to both sexual and racial fears.

Meanwhile, Evans & Novak, who have impeccable ac-

cess to Republican sources, reported an even scarier development in their Saturday column: "Top-secret Bush administration studies on U.S. air strikes against three juicy election-year targets have been quietly ordered in preparation for a possible 'October surprise' designed to rescue [the president] if his campaign continues in its present rut.... Congressional insiders aware of these plans say Bush aides are warning the president that restoring his Desert Storm war-leader popularity may be the only way he can win reelection. The likeliest target: Kim Il Sung. The administration, using CIA Director Robert Gates to launch the campaign against Sung in congressional testimony last week, now foresees a chilling probability of an imminent North Korean breakthrough in making the nuclear bomb."

Just what we need 40 years after Eisenhower: another Republican candidate whose slogan is "I will go to Korea!"

No Nunu Is Good Nunu

Speaking of brain damage, Monday night marked John Sununu's debut in what Michael Kinsley called "the Pat Buchanan memorial chair" on CNN's *Crossfire*. Introducing the show, Kinsley promised "a couple of senators"—in the occurrence, Metzbaum of Ohio and Lott of Mississippi—for Sununu to chew on."

Not. Sununu could have used some Denta-Grip for this first installment as replacement co-host. During the debate—on taxes—Big John, a tad svelter for the occasion, found himself outmouthed by the two garrulous solons. Especially by Lott, who jumped on every Metzbaum statement before Sununu could even get his chops open, leaving the former second most powerful man in America gumming the air.

Perhaps Sununu was lulled into clubbiness by a round of congratulatory handshaking from Kinsley and the senators, which opened the show. Perhaps he was defanged by Lott's felicitations on now having a "significant" job—a cutting reference to the much more quotable good ol' days when he was Bush's chief of staff and made headlines by calling Lott "insignificant," as Kinsley later noted with glee. Sununu may be smarter than Linda Chavez, prettier than Mona Charen, and less morally spavined than former Moonie bootlicker Arnaud de Borchgrave—all three of whom tried out as replacement co-hosts. But his interventions here were as dull as dishwater—just like the Bush administration's press releases. Virtually the only moment when New Hampshire's former governor made the sparks fly was when he curled his smug lips around a castigation of the 10 per cent luxury tax on yachts, repeal of which Bush made part of his State of the Union package.

Remember every movie western you ever saw? Take away the bully's gun, and he ain't a bully anymore. It remains to be seen whether Sununu out of power can recreate on the little screen the viciousness for which he was noted when in the White House. On this show, he made little more noise than Lott's Wife. Advice to Ted Turner: Warm up Novak!

Correction

When the February 25 Press Clips chastised *Newsday's* competition for failing to defend reporter Tim Phelps against the Senate inquisition into the Anita Hill leaks, my valiant clippers overlooked a brief but tough February 5 editorial in the *Daily News* which did just that—as did *El Diario* four days later. My apologies to both papers.

Research: Matthieu Ecoffier and Paul Grenet

ALL HAT AND NO COWBOY

The Right Wing in Texas Searches for a Piece of the True Cross

By James Ridgeway & Curtis Lang

HOUSTON—"What good is it to try and clean up criminals and put them in prison," the man wants to know, "when this city is advocating giving away free condoms along with the free meals to inmates so as to cut down on AIDS?"

More than 1000 people have crowded into the League City civic center to hear David Duke, a candidate who has been all but written off by the big-time press. Outside, hundreds more have been turned away. And now they're getting to the candidate with what's on their minds.

"I work for the city," a woman paramedic yells from across the room. "[Criminals] have more rights than we do. I have to give them emergency medical care. I walk down the line. I have to carry a big huge steel door on wheels down with me because they are throwing feces, urine, and anything else they can come up with."

Duke, dressed in a light-blue suit, looking every bit the perfect political candidate, waits a moment. "I don't understand why they don't use the death penalty in those cases, ladies and gentlemen."

"Yaaaaaahooooo!"

Dud he may be, but Duke is a born-and-bred Southerner—not an Irish Catholic, Mercedes Benz-owning insider from the jungles of Washington, D.C.—and he mines the issues that provide Patrick Buchanan with the underpinning for his own campaign: civil rights, affirmative action, immigration. These are the nativist issues of the racist far right, and the Republicans have been playing them in winning coded combinations for more than two decades.

If there is a crossover vote next Tuesday in Texas, the betting is that it will be conservative rural Democrats voting for Duke in the Republican primary. These are the same Democrats who have been voting Republican regularly in general elections.

In this campaign, the issues that Duke introduces are honed by Buchanan into razor-sharp character assaults on the country-clubby, Skull-and-Bones-Old-World-Order Bush, reduced in the Buchanan attack ads to a sniveling, lying coward.

"When Bush ran in 1988 he had to overcome the wimp issue," says Ron Paul, the former conservative Republican congressman from the strongly conservative area south of Houston who, in 1988, ran as the Libertarian candidate for president. "He did this with the help of Dan Rather; he overcame that and then he really built it with the war. But now he's back looking like a wimp on the economy. He's not a leader. He doesn't have a

program and he sells out to the Congress.

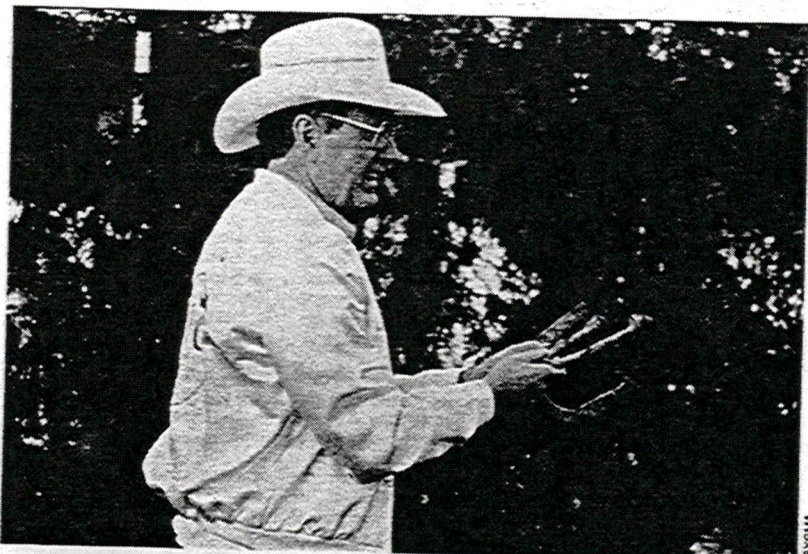
"Now that's an issue for Buchanan," Paul continues. "He's not going to get pushed around by those liberal Democrats in Congress. People believe Buchanan is going to be tough, Bush is weak. Despite the Persian Gulf war, I think that impression still exists."

Those who believe Bush will win the primary easily in Texas, a state that is ceded to him in the election by the professional prognosticators, shift uncomfortably on their buttocks when they remember what happened to other, lesser Bush look-alikes not so long ago, like Jack Rains and Tom Luce, who were wiped out by conservative Claytie Williams in the Republican primary for governor here in 1990. Williams lost in the general to Ann Richards, a one-time liberal populist who had remade herself into a conservative.

The wealth of Texas—like that of the Sunbelt everywhere—is based on cheap labor and defense contracts. The recession may have been deepest in 1986, but the recovery a year later was confined

to highly educated members of the Anglo community, while service sector wages were kept artificially low by the influx of new immigrants. In rural areas credit for small businesses and homeowners has dried up. Bankers who have received federal bailout money in Texas, as elsewhere around the country, are calling in performing loans from homeowners and small businesspeople because their real estate collateral has declined in value. Counties find their tax base decimated because the Resolution Trust Corporation, which has taken over tens of billions' worth of holdings of the bankrupt S&Ls, reappraises properties at much lower values—and anyway, the RTC claims its holdings are exempt from property taxes.

Nobody could figure out why Duke chose to have his big rally in League City, on the outskirts of Houston. But the reason is simple: it's Klan territory. League City is a mix of well-heeled Republicans who work at NASA and a strong liberal Democratic political pres-



Throwing ringers: President Bush tosses horseshoes in his (putative) home state (above), while at the Duke rally outside of Houston, the local cops put the arm on a protesting member of Queer Nation.

ence built around unionized workers at petrochemical plants, fishermen from nearby gulf towns, and an assortment of rednecks. It's a few miles from Seabrook, where during the early 1980s armed and hooded Klansmen terrorized Vietnamese shrimp fishermen. At that time, the Klan in Texas was under the direction of the legendary Louis Beam, Duke's Texas grand dragon, who had transformed the Lone Star Kluxers into a paramilitary strike force.

So League City was a more than appropriate setting for Duke's rally. To date, Duke's campaign hasn't amounted to much, and last week's leisurely tour of Texas was more of a PR gambit than a political campaign, with Duke getting off lines like "I was once a wizard under the sheets, but I'm not the governor of Arkansas."

The reporters are tired of the wizard. His political base in Louisiana has withered away. He even lost his home, Metairie, in last year's gubernatorial election, and while there's an outside chance he could find a district in the north-

east from which to run for Congress, it seems a long shot. Duke forces are attempting to win positions in local Louisiana parishes, but the word in the press is that David is dead meat. Last week the wizard acknowledged negotiating for a book contract—which could mean a profitable exit from politics altogether.

So it was disconcerting to attend a pumped-up rally in which the wizard was anything but dead. "You all know about the abuse of food stamps," Duke says. "It's unbelievable. Sometimes when you're in line as a middle-class person and you're hunting out the cheapest cuts of meat and clipping coupons, you see a food stamp recipient buying the best cuts of meat with fancy trimmings." This has got to stop. Nobody should starve, but "let's give 'em staples to survive. Not the fancy things."

The welfare system is producing unbelievable crime. It used to be that criminals lived behind bars, now it's homeowners who do. Federal judges are letting criminals out of prison because they say there is no space—let 'em live in tents.

Duke is sick and tired of reverse discrimination. "If it's wrong or immoral to discriminate against a black person in hiring practices, then it's wrong and immoral to discriminate against a white person."

Then the people get to talk. A white deaf woman says this is her first political rally and she thanks him for providing an interpreter. Now, says Duke, "she's a member of the American majority who could easily face racial discrimination in job hiring, not just because she needs to sign, but because of the color of her skin." A man tells Duke about how when he went to the hospital the company gave his job to some guy who couldn't speak English and who had never done anything but rake leaves.

What would you do to help the economy? "I'd give a tax cut to the American middle class." But that's just the beginning. Duke would institute a 10 per cent flat tax, and move right on to eliminate the income tax altogether. Yaaaaaahoooo!

Duke is an environmentalist. "Ecology is something that has always been key in my life. We have to be more aggressive in protect-

Nation

ing our environment." We've got to stop burning down the Amazon, do something about that ozone hole, protect our wetlands. Tell Brazil to protect the rain forests, or else. And tell Kenya to quit killing elephants. DukeDukeDuke!

"A hundred years ago a war was fought that dictated not whether slavery could exist or not, because slavery never existed very long," a neatly dressed man tells the former wizard. "It's not economically feasible. What it did resolve was that you no longer had a choice about whether you were a member of this country, whether or not you were tyrannized or not. If you were elected president and the state of Texas exercised its constitutional right to secede, what would you do?" Aaaaah.

"Good question," says the candidate. "I am a Southerner. I am proud of being a Southerner. I believe the South had a right to secede." But people have the right to choose, and while he doesn't think it would come to that, they do have that choice.

Duke is more of a guilty pleasure than a real candidate; the rock-ribbed rightists are more hard-headed than that here in Texas. It's hard to imagine a more principled conservative than Ron Paul. His belief in little government caused him to repeatedly vote against federal appropriations—including those for military and space—for his own district, which includes the big NASA space center. He was reelected to Congress three times on a combination of mainstream Republican backing from city-slicker yuppies in Hous-

ton, where the John Birch Society once held sway, augmented with rural conservative Democrats to whom he was far more akin. Paul went on to run as the Libertarian candidate for the presidency in 1988, and now puts out a political newsletter, an investment newsletter, and a cable-TV show. He continues to practice medicine as a gynecologist in Freeport. Earlier this year, a group of conservatives tried to persuade him to run for president, but he declined, and now supports Buchanan.

"I think people feel all this resentment. And they feel Pat Buchanan is credible. He's cleaner [than Duke]. And they say, 'I can vote my resentment by voting for Pat Buchanan.' At the same time, they're really rallying to the statements David Duke's been making all along.

"I think there's a lot of feeling that Bush is going to win, the Democrats can't beat him, but conservatives or anybody leaning that way would kind of like to poke [Bush] in the ribs..." he continues. The Libertarians don't agree with Buchanan on foreign policy, but they like the idea of his challenging the big government conservatives of the Phil Gramm stripe.

"If you had to vote for Bush or Clinton, who would you support?"

"I couldn't vote for either one of them," Paul replies. "It would never even cross my mind. Bush or Tsongas? That wouldn't cross my mind either. If I commit my vote, that's going very far. Tsongas would be better for the country, mainly because the Republicans would wake up. See,

governments get bigger under Republicans than Democrats.... I don't think government would have gotten as big under Dukakis as under Bush. That's what so upset me in my campaigns. I've had so much sympathy for my views. I've had people give me good donations for my campaign and vote for Bush.... I'm going to vote in the Republican primary and I'm going to vote for Pat Buchanan....

"The right-to-life people in the Republican Party have endorsed Bush," Paul continues. "And even though Bush is not a true believer, he's been loyal to his promises. More so than on taxes. If he did on taxes what he did on abortion! When you think about the presidents that have won the last three times, you see they have taken strong anti-abortion stands. Buchanan is a committed right-to-life person, but I don't think it will be an issue."

Buchanan has thrown together an organization with 41 vice-chairs in 38 cities and 1700 volunteers. Leading the drive is Terry Young, an Austin businessman who is in the construction business and makes Slinky Pinkies, which absorb foul smells from tennis shoes. Young is getting contributions from Democrats and hopes for crossovers next Tuesday. "Conservative Republicans in Texas are already in Buchanan's camp because they have been abandoned by Bush," he says. "In Houston there are an awful lot of 'em who are mad as hell and aren't going to take it anymore."

We met Gerrol Springer, an insurance agent and vice-chair for

Buchanan in Houston, during a break at the Texas Livestock show and rodeo, of which he is a director. Springer is the proud new owner of Poky, a Cheshire pig, whom he had just purchased for \$70,000.

He says he voted for President Bush in 1988, but this year will support Buchanan because "Bush says one thing and does something else." Taxes made him switch off Bush. But so did quotas and the president's wimpy, shifty character. To drive home the point, he tells us a story:

"My partner's daughter went out the other night to take a girl home. Three blacks in a van followed her home and accosted her in her own driveway. They took a shot at her. And now there's a hole in the back of the Mercedes. This just shows you the more they get, the more they want. If you shoot one of them, he's got the government behind him."

John Niederhofer, the Buchanan vice-chair in Conroe, a north Houston suburb, cut his political teeth with the Young Americans for Freedom and backed Kemp in 1988. He took time out from listening to conservative radio commentator Rush Limbaugh to talk to us at his dad's restaurant. He thinks many of the people supporting Buchanan this year backed Kemp or Robertson in 1988.

"I think Pat Buchanan represents my views a whole lot better than President Bush does," he says. "As far as I am concerned, I can't vote for [Bush] again. My strategy is that if the economy is ruined between now and 1996—if we do happen to elect someone

who is just going to tax us and spend us to death...there's no telling how many billions of dollars they're talking about. I think it's just going to stop the economy. Then Phil Gramm can get elected in 1996. His political experience may not be so much, but I think he'd be tough on Congress. And I think that's what we need."

The night of the Duke rally in League City, President Bush arrived in Houston for a rest stop on his way back from the drug summit. Friday afternoon, sounding peaked, he made a speech at the Houston Calf Scramble dinner, a highlight of the Texas rodeo. Standing before an assembled crowd of 1500 Texans from across the state, Bush proceeded to make a deadly boring speech, which concluded:

"I happen to think there's a little too much pessimism around because we are Americans, all of us here; we are Texans; and we're not going to be defeated. We're going to prevail as this economy comes back. And as we once—we will keep the position we have in the world as number one. I hear people talk about, well, we want to be first. Well, we are first. You have to go to some foreign country—and there's never been more credibility or respect for the United States of America around the world than there is today."

"So I think we've been a little too apologetic and a little too pessimistic in these tough economic times," he wound up. "And I hope I'm the one to lead us out of that pessimism into the kind of days that this state knows, and knows well."

Bush sounded tired. He looked old and unwell. But he also sounded resigned to the idea of being president another four years—no-blease oblige. Bush's speech was far more damaging than any Buchanan attack ad. It was a terrible, depressing little talk, and despite all the assurances of the political professionals, it's hard to see why anyone would bother going to the polls to vote for him.

Nonetheless, in spite of the longtime uneasiness of the Republican establishment toward George Bush's "liberalism," the general feeling is he'll win because he's a Texan. "There are going to be some people who will vote for Duke and some for Buchanan, but I don't think it will be a large number," says Chandler Davidson, a political scientist in Houston. "For one reason, you've got Phil Gramm, who's really gotten

on the Bush bandwagon. Gramm carries a large amount of ideological weight with the far right in Texas." Since he left the Democratic Party, he has learned to walk on conservative water.

Davidson believes that both Duke and the Birch Society, once an influence to be reckoned with in Houston, are alienated from today's right-wing Republicans. "The Birch Society endorsed the proposition that Eisenhower was a communist," Davidson says, dismissing their commitment to realpolitik. "Then you have Duke with his Nazi and Klan ties. I think even most of the right wing in Texas is uncomfortable with that kind of an association. And they're uncomfortable with it because some of them or their fathers actually fought Nazis, and they think that Nazism, at least in the abstract, is bad. And also be-

cause a lot of these people do things strategically, they're not just complete nitwits, and they see an association with Nazism as a liability on the national political scene. They realized that the reason Bush could get away with the Willy Horton ploy was because Bush was an outstanding veteran in World War II. He could play the Willy Horton card without being called a Nazi. But if you have a Klan background and a Nazi background, it's more difficult to play that card."

In the general election, conservative Democrats regularly vote Republican. But this year, the Democrats think they have a chance, in part because Ann Richards is the governor and because country-clubby, pro-choice Republican women refused to vote for her antichoice opponent Claytie Williams and crossed lines on her

behalf. With Bush pro-abortion and blue-blooded Texas Republican women chafing at his position—even threatening a fight at the convention this summer—Democrats are looking for a silver-lining forecast, a Clinton-or-anybody victory, over the lame president.

"I think there is a world of working stiff out there who will switch off of Bush in the general if the Democrats offer any of the flickering of the old fire," says Jim Hightower, the Texas populist and former agriculture commissioner. "It is possible for Clinton or any Democrat to beat Bush because Bush is progressively weaker as the campaign seems to move along. So it's more like the Jimmy Carter-Jerry Ford phenomenon of 1976, which is a matter of how many tamale shucks Clinton or whoever can bite

into—that will determine the race.

"Unless the nominee becomes this born-again Franklin Roosevelt/Harry Truman Democrat that really would excite people, then we are depending again on the kindness of strangers. People who have left the party in the past and maybe are so disgruntled this time with Bush that they would swing back, but not out of any particular enthusiasm for it. It's possible that Clinton could have an epiphany and say this is his main chance and turn loose. Now I don't think that would be enough to increase voter turnout, move masses to the polls, but it could be the thing to compel the stray working-class Democrat to come back home."

Research Assistance by Sabine Guez

91/92

David Gergen

AMERICA'S MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

A year ago America stood astride the world. Its troops were poised to lead an international coalition against Saddam Hussein, its president showed greater mastery over foreign affairs than any chief executive since Franklin D. Roosevelt and its prestige was soaring. In every quarter other nations acknowledged that the United States had emerged from the Cold War as the only functioning superpower and that the ideas it espoused were increasingly triumphant. An influential American columnist, Charles Krauthammer, wrote a year ago in this journal that a unipolar moment had arrived and that a confident United States should learn to accept its new role, aggressively imposing its own vision.

What a difference a recession makes. Few outside the White House talk anymore of creating a "new world order," unless in jest. The United States cannot achieve order in its streets or even in its capital, much less in the rest of the world. Staggered by an economic downturn that has taken a deeper psychological toll than expected and frustrated by a paralysis in its politics, the United States toward the end of 1991 turned increasingly pessimistic, inward and nationalistic. Its secretary of state could still bring recalcitrant leaders from the Middle East into face-to-face conversations, but its president had so much trouble corralling the leaders of his nation's political parties that he began wobbling in foreign policy. From the campaign trail politicians who were misreading the public mood—and who also knew better—began whipping up the winds of a new isolationism. Insistent cries came along that the nation should embrace a new philosophy of putting America first: turn a hard, flinty eye toward economic competitors, said its advocates, and curtail the long tradition of generous idealism in foreign policy. As troubles spread in America, other powers began edging away from its orbit. In Japan the press was intrigued by the sudden popularity of *kenbei*—a feeling of condescension toward America—while in Europe leaders

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gathered in Maastricht without thinking twice about any interest the United States might have in their deliberations.

In a world where the outlook changes as often as the weather the question arises whether we shall ever again see a replay of early 1991, America the ascendant, or if that was the last gasp of a great nation visibly and sourly slipping? Will the United States during the 1990s still seek to build a new international regime, or will it slink away into a new isolationism? Will it remain an agent of openness and change, or will it close both its wallet and its borders?

No one can be certain, of course, but there were enough clues in the months leading up to the Persian Gulf crisis and afterwards to suggest that with the Cold War's end, domestic politics will become a much more significant factor in the formation of foreign policy and will increasingly drive the United States toward a new world role that fits neither extreme. When the recession is over tempers presumably will improve, and Americans will better appreciate that they remain the predominant military, political, economic and cultural force in the world. They will want to stay engaged internationally, they will still be capable of rallying against an international menace like Saddam Hussein and their diplomats will continue to mediate international disputes. As President Bush demonstrated in the Persian Gulf, a resourceful president may also have occasional latitude to organize international coalitions that command support at home.

Yet the tangle of domestic problems is so thick and enduring that economic growth may be disappointing and will exercise a restraining hand on the foreign policy activism of earlier days. While it remains rich, the country will think and act as if it is poor, choosing not to accept as idealistic and expensive a role as it has played in international affairs over the past 45 years. Absent a direct challenge to its national interest Washington will be more reluctant to assert its leadership in quelling dangerous conflicts—a pattern already begun with Yugoslavia. (Ironically, it was an American diplomat from an earlier administration, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who was making one of the largest contributions toward peace there.) In its economic relationships, especially with Asia, the country will be tougher and more demanding. The standard by which policies will be judged will be much less of "What's in it for the world?" than "What's in it for us?"

In short even though the political candidates who espouse

"America First" are unlikely to beat George Bush in 1992, their influence will linger. America seems destined to scale back its traditional role of international leadership even as it asserts a harder-edged policy of self-interest. It will be a superpower, but a most reluctant one. And if it fails to resolve its internal crises the face it turns toward the world will become very surly indeed.

II

America's movement away from its former activism in international affairs actually began in the late 1980s, so that the crisis in the Persian Gulf constituted a brief, albeit spectacular, interruption. The change in direction was due in part to the well-understood differences between Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

President Reagan always considered himself a crusader, whether he was pursuing the most massive buildup of armaments in history or the most complete build down of nuclear weapons that history has known. He was determined to roll back the "evil empire" and to knock down the Wall that cemented it together. President Bush, in contrast, shies away from grand schemes, preferring to solve problems and seize opportunities as they ripen. He underestimates his own capacity as a communicator, so that he rarely seeks to mobilize a public march. Yet with an intimate knowledge of other leaders and the world's largest Rolodex, he happily assembles fraternities of nations to achieve concrete short-term goals. The net result is that under President Bush the administration has been eager to act when a specific challenge arises but has had much less interest in thinking through and molding the future. For planning purposes its long-term horizon seems no more than a year. While the disintegration of the Soviet Union commands the president's attention, as does a violation of the old order in the Middle East, little thought is given to forging a new long-term partnership with Japan or shoring up the fragile democracies of eastern Europe. The Bush administration has been far more adept at cleaning up the debris of an old world than building the framework of the new.

But more than the personality of George Bush was involved in America's scaling back during the late 1980s. As the Cold War wound down during the final days of the Reagan administration, most Americans were weary of the commitments their nation had carried for more than forty years and were

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eager to share them more fully with others. Burden-sharing became a battle cry in Congress, as members on both sides of the aisle lobbied for U.S. troops to begin coming home and pushed Europe and Japan to pay for more of those troops' expenses. Feeling hard-pressed financially Americans were also suffering from "compassion fatigue" in their willingness to help developing nations.

A 1989 national poll by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press found that an astonishing 50 percent of the American public believed that foreign aid had become the largest single item in the federal budget, and they were demanding foreign aid cuts, along with reductions in domestic welfare. In fact foreign aid, including both economic and military assistance, had fallen to 0.21 percent of U.S. GNP in 1990, about three-fifths of what it was during the 1960s, and the United States had sunk to last place among the seven leading industrialized nations in the share of its economy devoted to overseas assistance.

In 1990 the Bush administration asked for only paltry sums to assist the fledgling democracies of eastern Europe; its original request amounted to only \$2.60 per Polish citizen. A Democratically controlled Congress forced larger commitments, but even so the U.S. package of \$500 million was less than one-twelfth of what Germany provided. South Korea gave more money to Hungary than did the United States, and eastern Europe was treated as a second- or third-tier problem by the State Department.

Once the leader in international population control, America was so internally torn by the abortion issue during the 1980s that under Presidents Reagan and Bush it nearly cut off funds for population-control efforts by the United Nations and International Planned Parenthood. Moreover, despite America's claim that it gave birth to the environmental movement in the 1960s and 1970s, other nations had to drag the Bush administration into a more ambitious campaign against ozone depletion. Indeed over the past two years America has been widely criticized in Europe and Japan as a major obstacle to a treaty on global warming.

Even in international trade, where the United States was for forty years the principal advocate of a liberal regime, recent trends have been worrisome. President Reagan was a strong apostle of free trade, but a 1989 study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development found that during

the 1980s most industrialized nations—including Japan—moved toward lower barriers, while the United States had the worst record for erecting new ones. During the Bush administration U.S. Special Trade Representative Carla Hills has pushed tirelessly for a successful General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) treaty, but others in the administration have broadly hinted that the United States will join the move toward regional trading blocs.

III

Saddam Hussein was among those closely watching the first tentative steps toward a reduced American role, and it is not wholly surprising that when he sent his troops into Kuwait in August 1990 he apparently thought the United States would allow him free passage. Had he not menaced Saudi Arabia as well, he might have been right. Indeed President Bush himself told the press the morning after the invasion that he was "not contemplating" the use of U.S. troops despite a Kuwaiti appeal. As stakes became clearer and friends weighed in from overseas, however, the president quickly stiffened and began rallying both his own country and others around the world.

The U.S. response—its largest military mission since the Vietnam War and one that enjoyed enormous support at home—was such a major departure from the country's behavior that it is worth considering the domestic side of the Persian Gulf conflict in greater detail. The success of the White House in mobilizing the country tells a good deal about those kinds of overseas ventures that are still politically tenable for the United States and about the kind of power the president retains. In retrospect there were three features to the gulf crisis that explain why the country was so enthusiastic about the U.S. role in the war.

First, in contrast to most other foreign policy threats Americans could readily see that Saddam's invasion posed a clear and present danger to their own well-being. Most Americans now understand that OPEC's interference with oil prices in the 1970s not only caused two recessions and long gas lines but also marked a turning point in the American living standard. For a quarter century after World War II average wages in the United States were on a steady upward escalator. But after OPEC ratcheted up oil prices in 1973 that escalator came to a halt, and it has been stalled ever since. Thus Americans hardly had to be reminded that if Saddam advanced into Saudi

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Arabia—gaining control over more than 40 percent of world oil supplies—he would disrupt their lives and might cost them their jobs. Never mind that if the United States had a serious energy policy in place it would not seem so threatened. The policy for ensuring a reliable flow of oil from the Middle East to the United States boiled down to four words: send in the troops.

The public was not eager to fight in those early days of August, but it fully agreed with the president that it was worth putting a force on the ground in order to block an Iraqi takeover of Saudi Arabia. Over 70 percent of the public immediately supported Bush when he announced the first deployment, and large majorities backed him throughout the ensuing crisis. Everett Carll Ladd, executive director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, wrote in September: "In the 45 years since World War II, I can find no other instance when so large a segment of the public has endorsed committing U.S. troops prior to their actual engagement."

Second, the president wisely decided to internationalize the opposition to Iraq. While it was obvious that the United States was calling the shots, the fact that the U.N. Security Council gave its blessing to American policy at each step along the way provided a stamp of international legitimacy—one that was highly influential with the American Congress and public. The fact that other members of the coalition were willing to defray the costs borne by U.S. taxpayers also made the effort much more appealing. Many in the foreign policy establishment, such as former Secretary of State George Shultz, have decried the spectacle of Secretary James A. Baker carrying a tin cup from capital to capital. But had no collection been made, it is highly unlikely that Congress would have authorized the use of force. In their new mood neither the Congress nor the public is willing to go it alone on a major commitment in foreign policy: they insist that friends come along for the ride and pay full fare.

Third, by successfully mobilizing an international coalition and by taking a series of bold decisive steps overseas at critical points during the crisis, the president amassed enough authority to overwhelm all potential domestic opposition. He provided a textbook case of how, in the right circumstances, a skillful president can still use the powers of his office to marshal domestic support for a foreign venture.

President Bush even made it look easy, as he was far more

preoccupied with managing the international dimensions of the crisis than the array of forces at home. Congress, public opinion and the press were usually afterthoughts for him—problems to be addressed after making difficult military choices about Saddam, people to think about after exhausting his international phone directory. As is often the case with the Bush presidency, domestic management by the administration was sometimes maladroit, too; it rarely inspired with rhetoric, frequently seemed uncertain of purpose and lacked the sure, deft touch the president showed abroad. Yet, by the end of the ground war in late February, Bush had achieved almost as complete a mastery of the domestic scene as of the foreign.

Again and again Bush practically ignored Capitol Hill as he made his decisions. While the administration spoke positively of consultation with Congress, it engaged only in notification—and usually after the fact. The president is an easy, affable man, but he is also secretive and likes to rely upon a closed circle, even within the executive branch. He is disinclined to trust Congress on sensitive foreign policy questions because he thinks it incapable of keeping a secret and, worse, that it is infected with partisanship. Divided government has taken a heavy toll on comity between the branches. In the six months of the gulf crisis, Democratic leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives had less influence upon the Bush White House than Margaret Thatcher, who resigned as British prime minister in November 1990, or Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador to Washington.

The pattern of ignoring Congress until the last minute was set in the early days of the crisis. When President Bush announced the first deployment of U.S. troops on August 6, 1990, four days after Iraq invaded Kuwait, Senate Majority leader George Mitchell (D-Me.) and Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, both said they learned of the decision after the fact. Because Congress left Washington in early August for its summer recess, it was also out of the picture during a crucial month when the administration was building an international framework for much of what followed. On October 30, 1990, the White House reached a second milestone in the crisis when the president decided to double the U.S. troop commitment. Again Congress was not seriously consulted, and President Bush even

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decided to withhold public disclosure until two days after the congressional elections.

This time Senator Nunn erupted, as he was first informed of the decision only an hour before its announcement and, because he was called on a public telephone at a restaurant, was not even afforded the courtesy of a confidential conversation with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney. Senator Nunn felt the decision contravened earlier assurances he had received that the United States would rely primarily upon air power, and he soon called for public hearings that consequently almost turned the tide of congressional opinion against the president in December. A presidential adviser later admitted that "we screwed up" the consultation process. Democratic opposition was heightened by the president's vulnerability over raising taxes and by off-year election losses, so that in mid-November, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) warned, "If George Bush wants his presidency to die in the Arabian desert, he's going at it very steadily."

Thereafter the White House paid more attention to Congress and to its dwindling support in public opinion polls as it undertook the third stage of the crisis: passage of U.N. resolution 678 by the Security Council, authorizing military force against Saddam unless he evacuated Kuwait by January 15, 1991. The primary purpose of the resolution was to evict Saddam and bind together the international coalition. But as Secretary Baker privately pointed out inside the administration, passage would make it almost impossible for Congress to reject the use of force. In effect the White House was boxing in Congress, leaving it only two options: go along with a huge international coalition against Iraq or pull the plug and let the United States suffer a devastating defeat.

President Bush realized over the Christmas holidays a year ago that he would have to secure a favorable vote from Congress in order to keep the country behind him in a war. But in gaining Security Council backing of the resolution and in continuing to show a willingness to talk with Iraq, he broke the back of his domestic opposition. In the end the vote in both chambers was relatively close, so close that the 52-47 favorable margin in the Senate was the smallest approval rating that body had given to a U.S. military action since the War of 1812. Even when cornered by the president and when U.S. interests were so clearly affected, Congress almost denied the White

House authority to use force—a fact that underscored how reluctant a superpower the United States was becoming.

The public was much more militant about Saddam Hussein than its elected representatives and thus more prepared to follow the president's lead. To illustrate the difference: in mid-November, after the president announced a doubling of troops, support for his policies slipped badly. Democrats in Congress accused him of rushing into war, but public polls showed that most of his opposition came from people who thought he was moving too slowly to remove Saddam. That hard-line feeling surfaced again at the end of the war, when many Americans felt the fighting ended too soon and that the coalition should have forced Saddam from power.

Just as he had with Congress, President Bush cleverly influenced public opinion at home by first mobilizing support overseas and then taking clear, decisive actions that changed the terms of debate. As Krauthammer noted at the time: "Bush managed to rally a reluctant nation to a successful war not with inspiring words or soaring visions, but with a series of shrewd and forcing actions." In August 1990, when the president imposed economic sanctions, he won enormous public support, yet 56 percent of the respondents told a Gallup poll they opposed sending troops. After Bush then sent the troops—on the assertion that they were part of an international force and were only meant to defend Kuwait and Saudi Arabia—81 percent expressed approval. That the administration's spokesmen offered a "rationale du jour" for their policies—creating confusion about their ultimate goals—was less important than that Bush, through his actions, established "new facts" that prompted the public to line up behind him.

During the fall of 1990 most Americans were anxious to avoid a shooting war, but after the White House gained passage of resolution 678 and set January 15, 1991, as an endpoint for negotiations, the public's willingness to use force rose sharply, reaching 75 percent in an ABC-*Washington Post* poll on January 9. Similarly, a CBS-*New York Times* poll found in February that only 11 percent of Americans favored a ground attack, but the day after the coalition forces launched their assault, 75 percent approved. The clear lesson is that strong, clear-cut and well-conceived presidential initiatives, especially those taken in partnership with other nations, can transform public opinion in favor of the White House. Public opinion often dictates the outer limits of policy, but in the right

initiative in foreign affairs unless it is an emergency measure to protect the homeland. Even now, as the democracies of eastern Europe grow more fragile, Washington talks of cutting rather than increasing U.S. assistance. Only a handful of Democrats, such as presidential candidate Bill Clinton of Arkansas, have bucked the tide, calling for more support of democracy movements. The unwillingness to provide more than token assistance to the peoples of the former Soviet Union will almost surely continue, as will the desire to leave western Europe with responsibility for quelling conflicts in nearby countries to the east. Nor can one expect the United States to be an active leader in preserving the global environment, curbing the population explosion or addressing poverty in developing nations. It is a measure of how much the U.S. role has changed that in the late 1940s, against the popular will, President Truman could successfully launch a Marshall Plan that equalled 1.1 percent of American GNP, but that anyone who talks of a new Marshall Plan for anything today—even to rescue the nation's cities—is regarded as a village idiot.

While discouraging, the reluctance to be an active superpower still leaves room for constructive action in the near term, especially for actions undertaken in cooperation with other nations. A newly elected president, whether Bush or his Democratic opponent, would carry enough support into 1993 to erect a multinational security and economic system in the Pacific, so long as responsibility and costs were both small and shared. The executive branch also retains enormous latitude at home to negotiate peace settlements in places such as the Middle East and Cambodia, though Congress might balk at any further extensions of American military guarantees. As noted earlier the public would also like to see a strengthening of the United Nations and would no doubt support the formation of a U.N. rapid deployment force as well as new multinational efforts to curb proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. A proposal for the United Nations to impose a tax on international arms sales—with proceeds to go for humanitarian purposes—also enjoys public support. While the labor movement is gaining strength in its opposition to free trade with Mexico, the White House should also be able to convince the public and in turn Congress that an agreement will ultimately create more jobs in the United States and will thus serve America's self interest.

If the nation fails to address its more fundamental domestic

needs, however, this window of opportunity for constructive internationalism will gradually close. Both the will and the capacity of the nation to undertake new commitments, even ones embedded in multinational arrangements, will diminish sharply if the U.S. economy stagnates during the next five years. There is thus some urgency to move ahead in laying the foundations of a new enlightened foreign policy while the public will still support it. But there is even greater urgency to address the internal crisis of the United States.

Unless the nation embarks upon a comprehensive program of domestic renewal, the United States within a few years could become so deeply mired in its own troubles that its politics will turn even more embittered, xenophobic and inward. The specter of neo-isolationism that raised its head in late 1991 will then be but a precursor of worse to come, as reluctance to act as a leader turns into outright refusal, and international politics becomes a bare-knuckled brawl.

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creation of at least two million jobs are attributable to increases in U.S. exports.

In the wake of the Gulf War public support has also increased for solving international problems through the United Nations and other international bodies, rather than relying upon unilateral American leadership. A *Time* magazine poll in March 1991 found that 75 percent were opposed to the United States playing world policeman. Americans Talk Issues, an organization that has plumbed opinion about security questions more deeply than anyone else in recent years, found that 80 percent of the public thought the United Nations should take the lead when aggression occurs. A survey in October 1991 by the CBS-*New York Times* news organizations found two-thirds approved of the United Nations, the highest level of support in surveys they have taken since 1953. Clearly Americans want to shed their role as chief and almost sole protector of international order, but they recognize that the world still has problems—terrorism, thuggery, environmental degradation—and they are more prepared than in the past to cooperate in multilateral solutions.

The Soviet threat has disappeared so quickly that it is difficult to gauge public sentiment on defense spending. The polls suggest that the mass public, apparently still wary of another Saddam or a takeover by hard-liners in Moscow, is more cautious than elite opinion in supporting deep defense cuts. A CBS-*New York Times* survey in October 1991 found that 52 percent wanted to keep defense spending the same, far more than thought it should be cut. However, other polls, including a survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, have found that most Americans also want sharp reductions in U.S. troop levels in Europe and elsewhere overseas.

The most striking changes in American public opinion are the growing fears that the United States is rapidly losing its economic dominance and that Japan is overtaking it. When CBS asked respondents in 1989 which country would be the number one power in the world in the next century, 47 percent named the United States and 38 percent singled out Japan. When CBS-*New York Times* surveyors posed the same question in October 1991, only 25 percent chose the United States and 58 percent named Japan—a 41 percent swing in only four years.

While most Americans tend to place primary blame upon themselves for their reversal of fortune and profess admira-

tion for the Japanese, they also believe that the Japanese and others are getting ahead through unfair economic practices. As a consequence, they are demanding that their government become less assertive in protecting others and more assertive in protecting the United States, especially its economic interests. The public told pollsters from the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that the most important priorities of U.S. foreign policy should be, first, protecting jobs of American workers; second, protecting the interests of American workers abroad; and third, securing adequate supplies of energy. Defending allies, preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and advancing human rights were seen as less important. Helping to spread democracy to other nations was 15th on a list of 15 priorities.

VI

Most analyses of U.S. security in a dramatically changing world begin with a tour d'horizon of the threats and opportunities beyond American shores and extrapolate from that a prescription for policy. The events of 1991 suggest that to a far larger extent than during the Cold War, political dynamics within the nation will define its foreign policy. A recession, sinking public confidence in government and a depleted federal treasury had as much influence over policy toward the end of the year as Saddam Hussein had at the beginning. Unless more Saddams appear out of the overseas mist to endanger the nation's vital interests, the continuing, deep-seated domestic problems of the United States are likely to make it more reluctant as an international leader but more assertive in its nationalism.

Constraints upon financial resources for foreign affairs will become even more severe in the next several years. Adding up its defense expenditures and its economic and military assistance to other nations, the United States now spends about six percent of its GNP to protect the international order. That figure has been steadily declining from a peak of nearly seven percent in 1985 and was expected by the Bush administration to fall to about 3.7 percent by the mid-1990s, the lowest level since 1939. With domestic pressures mounting for steeper cuts in defense and foreign aid, however, it is probably more realistic to assume that the figure will fall to three percent during the 1990s. Under such constraints the United States will have great difficulty undertaking any expensive new

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the House Armed Services Committee, introduced legislation to divert \$1 billion from defense spending to help in a peaceful transition in the Soviet Union. His initiative was first squelched by both Congress and the administration. Only after the CIA and visiting Russian leaders privately warned Congress of impending chaos, including the possible overthrow of both Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, did Washington enact a stripped down version of the Aspin bill. Proposals also sprouted in Congress for tougher trade laws, aimed especially at Japan and China, and the likelihood has grown that Congress will become more protectionist in the next few years.

If anything the slump in the economy and in the president's popularity in late 1991 threw the White House into more of a tumult than Congress. Hours after the Wofford election victory in Pennsylvania, President Bush held a dawn news conference to announce postponement of his trip to Asia; his foreign policy advisers complained privately that the "political people" made the trip decision without consulting them. A few days later top officials spread the word that negotiations with Mexico over free trade, a favorite target of American labor, would be slowed and that Senate consideration of a treaty would probably be delayed until after the 1992 elections. The White House also ducked the initial debate over emergency help for the Soviets and refused to say whether it would spend the money allocated by Congress. In December Secretary Baker did call for a greater effort by the industrialized nations to assist the former Soviet republics and invited America's partners to Washington to arrange better coordination. But it was clear that any new funds from the United States would be limited to scraps left over after adoption of an anti-recession package. As if to symbolize the new mood, the year ended as President Bush revived his trip to Japan. But, his bearings lost, the president turned it into an ill-fated quest for managed trade. The opportunity for building a new partnership with Japan was missed, and economic nationalism was clearly in the saddle in Washington.

To an outside observer it must not have seemed the same country that only a few months earlier stood as a world colossus. Indeed how could anyone be sure that if hard times persisted America would ever again be a strong, effective leader in world affairs?

Numerous polls during 1991 indicated that in trying to placate the electorate with their retreats toward neo-isolationism, politicians in Washington were actually misreading public sentiment. As the glow of the Gulf War faded and fears spread about the economy, the polls showed that Americans were indeed becoming discouraged about the nation's future, nervous about protecting their jobs and health care, and anxious that the president end his preoccupation with foreign affairs. There is a fine line, however, between shifting to a greater emphasis upon solving domestic problems and precipitously pulling back from the world, as many politicians advocated. The first course is wise; the second invites catastrophe. While most voters want government to do more to help them economically and less to help others overseas, they have not yet embraced full-blown isolationism, protectionism or nativism. It is the politicians who have often strayed to the other side. The "America First" theme on the campaign stump means something different to most voters than it does to candidates like Buchanan and Senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa).

Opinion surveys show that a majority of Americans, at least for now, would like the United States to remain actively involved in international affairs but want others to share more of the burden and also want the United States to be more hard-nosed in advancing America's economic interests. The Potomac Associates, headed by William Watts, has asked a series of questions since 1964 designed to test internationalism versus isolationism in U.S. public opinion. A survey in October 1991 found that 54 percent of those sampled qualified as total internationalists, compared to 14 percent who were total isolationists. The results reflected only modest changes since 1985 and were much less isolationist than in 1976, when defeat in Vietnam had brought a more serious inward turn (the 1976 results: 44 percent internationalist, 23 percent isolationist). Similarly the Gallup Organization has for the past 44 years asked Americans whether they want the country "to take an active part in world affairs." Some 60-70 percent have responded positively, and this past fall 71 percent said yes—the highest figure recorded in 26 years.

Most Americans realize that American prosperity and job security have come to depend heavily upon trade. Over 40 percent of U.S. economic growth in the past four years and the

request so modest that it suggested the lack of a serious agenda. Had he chosen, the president could probably have used his new leverage to push through both an economic and energy package. He could, for example, have convinced both the public and his own party that the country needed a sizeable increase in gasoline taxes in order to become more independent of foreign energy sources.

After victories in the Cold War and the Gulf War the president also had an important opening to rebuild a bipartisan consensus in foreign policy. Such a consensus was enormously valuable to U.S. policymakers in the formative years after World War II but was lost, of course, in the jungles of Vietnam. With the Soviet menace disappearing and the United States once again alone at the pinnacle, the Bush administration had an opportunity to articulate a new centrist framework for the 1990s that would have commanded the support of both political parties. Having been on the wrong side of history in the Gulf War, liberal Democrats were in no position to challenge the president if he had called for a strong internationalist policy. Conservative Republicans, no longer preoccupied with the communist threat, were also prepared to follow the president's lead in redefining America's security interests.

In his frequent incantations of a "new world order," President Bush seemed on the verge of setting forth a new set of doctrines for U.S. policy, and the White House even announced that he would give four commencement addresses in the spring of 1991 fleshing out his vision. Because his staff felt that public debate over a new order was spinning beyond control, however, the president gave only one of the addresses and then pulled back, returning to a more comfortable, day-to-day management of foreign affairs. In the early fall he did set forth an ambitious plan for reducing nuclear armaments, which won justifiable praise both at home and abroad. But the "new world order" seemed destined to become no more than a campaign slogan for 1992. A rare moment of opportunity had passed.

By the mid-fall of 1991, only seven months after the crisis ended in the Persian Gulf, domestic problems were building up so quickly that they were wiping away memories of the war, and the president's power was slipping away from him. The political turning point came in November when a little-known Democrat in Pennsylvania shellacked the state's best-known Republican in a Senate race that was widely seen as a referen-

dum on the Bush administration. Emphasizing a theme of "taking care of our own," Democrat Harris Wofford scored heavily with a television advertisement that said: "We shouldn't put American jobs on a fast track to Mexico or a slow boat to China." Wofford's victory traumatized the White House and convinced Democrats in Washington that they could frontally attack Bush on foreign policy. Democratic presidential contenders, tapping into growing economic fears, denounced the president for spending too much time on foreign affairs while neglecting domestic problems. Their speeches were reminiscent of Congressman Richard Gephardt's call for a new economic nationalism in the last presidential campaign. That appeal met with only limited success in 1988 but in recessionary times was striking a deeper chord within the populace.

Meanwhile the president faced a growing rebellion on his right flank that also spelled trouble in foreign affairs. Patrick Buchanan, a conservative journalist who once worked for Presidents Nixon and Reagan, declared his candidacy against Bush for the GOP nomination with a thunderous appeal for a new isolationism: bring home U.S. troops; stay out of foreign wars; eliminate foreign aid; end support for the International Monetary Fund and World Bank; treat Japan and Europe as economic predators and concentrate on "America First." David Duke, a Louisiana extremist who has become a permanent (and embarrassing) candidate for Republican office, also began to challenge President Bush with appeals to underlying racism and nativism. Neither man will defeat the president, but they will give greater legitimacy to fears and prejudices seething below the surface.

So hot were the political winds blowing through Washington that in the closing weeks before the winter recess, Congress as well as the White House began a series of tactical retreats in foreign policy. After a spirited debate over the country's domestic needs Congress killed the annual foreign aid bill, postponing final consideration until 1992 when election year politics could jeopardize both it and a variety of other overseas assistance programs. Foreign aid, never popular among Republicans in Congress, has depended for survival upon Democratic votes. But in the new economic atmosphere many Democrats want to freeze or reduce it in size.

The constraints upon policy were well illustrated in the fall of 1991 when Congressman Les Aspin (D-Wisc.), chairman of

circumstances and with forceful leadership a president can occasionally break out of its constraints.

It is arguable how much of a lesson the gulf crisis holds for the willingness of the United States to commit its forces to defeat future aggression or to undertake a conventional war. Many believe that the Gulf War is *sui generis*, that the United States would never have intervened but for the unique circumstances of that region and its oil, and certainly would never have fought if Kuwait had grown broccoli. Thus, it is said, the war has no relevance beyond its own terms. Others worry that the war will make the United States more trigger happy, so that if economic difficulties persist, the country may enjoy lashing out occasionally, just as the economic depression of the early 1890s was but a prelude to the jingoism of a "splendid little war" against the Spanish later in the decade.

Both arguments overstate the case. Evidence from public opinion polls and from the political dialogue since the war suggests that the victory did dispel the "Vietnam syndrome" so that Americans are more self-confident about winning future conflicts without major loss of life and therefore may be more willing to fight. But the nation's economic difficulties and reductions in its military strength will both be restraining influences. The upshot from the war, then, is that the United States may threaten military action more often but it is likely to unsheathe its sword only when truly vital interests are at stake.

IV

In the months that followed the Gulf War, President Bush triumphantly rode the crest of victory, but it was probably a shorter ride than he imagined. Public esteem for his competence in foreign policy, as well as for his overall performance as president, rose to extraordinary heights. Not since the end of World War II had so many Americans, some 90 percent, given their president such heartfelt approval. Far more than the collapse of the Berlin Wall, which stirred only modest hurrahs (the viewing audience for American network news programs actually fell when that story broke), the Gulf War seemed to mean a magical restoration of America's greatness. That Saddam remained in power and that the United States at first stayed on the sidelines as his troops smothered Kurdish and Shiite uprisings did little to take the sheen off the war for the public. Six months after the conflict some 75 percent of

those polled continued to think that the war had been worth it and that the United States had scored a big win.

Democrats in Congress were completely cowed. Four-fifths in the Senate and two-thirds in the House had voted against authorization of force, and many saw their political standing fall sharply in their constituencies. President Bush soon won congressional support on two issues that probably would have failed if members had voted in the dark: approval of fast-track authority to negotiate both a free trade accord with Mexico and to wind up the GATT negotiations and, secondly, extension of most-favored-nation status for China. Anxious not to appear weak on defense, Congress also lowered its voice on the Pentagon budget, giving the president most of what he wanted before year's end and bolstering many of the weapons systems that seemed most promising after the war, particularly SDI.

Robert Gates, whom many in the press counted out because of the Iran-contra affair, was forced to undergo a prolonged, 26-week examination before becoming CIA director (the entire Soviet empire collapsed between the time of nomination and confirmation, he quipped), but the final Senate tally in his favor was a resounding 64-31.

The surprise is that the president, his power at full bloom, chose to exploit his victory for so little beyond the agenda already planned. In foreign affairs President Bush and Secretary Baker did seize the moment to push for face-to-face negotiations between Arabs and Israelis, and success in those talks would obviously become a dramatic accomplishment of the Bush years. Washington also bolstered security arrangements in the gulf and, without saying much publicly, gained assurances of good commercial relations with states in the area in both oil and trade. The war, however, seemed to have little spillover effect upon relations with Europe or with the Soviet Union and, in the case of Japan, contributed to a new deterioration in relations, especially among many Japanese who were offended by U.S. demands during the conflict. The United States also had hoped that the war would lead to a major breakthrough in curbing proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, but momentum on that front had slowed by the end of the year.

On the domestic side a president with such unprecedented popularity could have secured passage of a sweeping new set of initiatives, but President Bush asked only that Congress enact crime and transportation measures submitted earlier, a