$5.00

Public Opinion

Published by American Enterprise Institute

May/June 1987

MY FELLOW AMERICANS...

(page 6)

MAKING MR. RIGHT... PRESIDENT

The Perfect Candidate, The Perfect Speech

Good news for those who value privacy.

Congress has just added something to the data stored in every computer in America: more protection.

Thanks to recent legislation, the laws that cover data security now cover more. There are stiff new penalties and new protections. Prying into electronic mail is now as criminal as opening the U.S. Mail and even the government cannot intrude without a warrant.

Private citizens, trade associations, civil liberties groups and the law enforcement community all worked together to make these measures law. Computer firms, with a special concern for data security, were also strong supporters.

The right to keep the information that you value private is a precious right. Measures that protect it are good news indeed.

IBM®

Public Opinion

Volume 10, Number 1 May/June 1987

PUBLIC OPINION, May/June 1987, Vol. 10, No. 1. Published bimonthly by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Subscription rates: $26.00 for one year, $48.00 for two years. Individual copy: $5.00. Information on bulk orders of multiple subscriptions available on request. Editorial and business offices: c/o AEI, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Send changes of address and all subscription correspondence to Circulation Department, c/o AEI, same address.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

ISSN 0149-9157

U S A Newsstand Distribution by
Four Star News Distributors, Inc.
33-30 57th St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377

CONTENTS

Cover: Richard Gephardt's hair, Gary Hart's eyebrows, Robert Dole's eyes, Joseph Biden's smile, George Bush's chin, and Jack Kemp's collar.

Making Mr. Right . . . President

an interview with Linda DiVall and Harrison Hickman

To help create Mr. Right, the editors of *Public Opinion* called upon two fresh talents in the polling world. Linda DiVall is president of American Viewpoint, Inc. and Harrison Hickman is a partner with Hickman-Maslin Research.

Ben Wattenberg: *Our task this afternoon is to create the ideal Republican and Democratic presidential candidates. Keep in mind —the perfect candidate for the 1988 general election also has to be able to reach the general election by surviving the primaries.*

Let's start with some specifics. Does it help or hurt a candidate these days if he or she is of a particular religion, race, economic class; is married or unmarried; from a log cabin or a big city; has a law, business, or elective office background; is a hands-on, or hands-off type?

Is there anything a perfect candidate cannot or should not be—homosexual, divorced, fat, short, single, black, Jewish, evangelical, or female? Should the candidate have Washington experience? How important is it that a candidate be well known?

After you address these specifics, we will ask you about the candidate's central themes. Linda, would you like to start?

Linda DiVall: The characteristics for the perfect presidential candidate are no different from those you might look for in any gubernatorial or senatorial candidate.

The kind of experience the candidate has is the most important quality. This experience in the ideal candidate could come from two areas: the private sector where he has managed a corporation or business and is familiar with those problems. *Or* he would come from government and know how to manage and define problems, get solutions on the table, and to delegate yet remain accountable. The person should also be from beyond the Beltway [Highway 495 that encircles the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area].

Wattenberg: *Are you saying that a federal legislator starts out with a disadvantage because he or she is in Washington, D.C.?*

DiVall: Not as long as he thinks and acts as if he is from *outside* the Beltway. Gary Hart, for example, is an outside-the-Beltway person.

Harrison Hickman: The candidate for 1988 is probably going to be either non-status quo or anti-status quo. Any way the candidate can demonstrate that, it will be helpful. You don't have to be from outside the Beltway to do that. If you've been inside, but have a record of not going along just to go along, that will work.

Wattenberg: *Sam Nunn and Bob Dole have been here for twenty-five years and have made their reputations in Washington. On the other hand, they have constituencies "out there."*

Hickman: They would both have trouble winning a prospective election (like 1988)—one that has more to do with the future than with the past or with current circumstances.

William Schneider: *Do you disagree with the argument being raised by Bob Dole and not a few Democrats that what the voters really want next year—and what will sell—is professionalism or competence? Nixon in 1968. The country was torn apart. He said he could make it work again. He sold experience.*

Hickman: And he ran against the status quo in Washington. Lots of times, when candidates talk about what voters are looking for, they are looking in a mirror. They're not looking out at the electorate; they're looking at themselves and saying, "What are my greatest strengths?" I'm not surprised Bob Dole focuses on competence. He's looking in his mirror.

DiVall: We are using new words to describe the old ways. Experience is what people are looking for. Today, it's called professionalism or competence.

Wattenberg: *Linda, by your criteria, you have ruled out the top four GOP choices—Bush, Dole, Kemp, and Baker.*

DiVall: No, they are not all status quo.

Hickman: Ben, we're not saying they can't win; we're saying they are not ideal.

Wattenberg: *Do Pat Robertson, Pete du Pont, or Al Haig—by virtue of their not having been in Washington recently—have a leg up?*

Hickman: If you are going to grade people on only that one characteristic, yes. But other things enter in, especially for Robertson and Haig.

Schneider: *We elected our last two presidents, Carter and Reagan, precisely because they had no experience in national politics. They had been governors.*

Is that appeal going to work again? Or are you saying that the mood of the country has changed and that we really want an experienced, competent professional? Which is it?

Hickman: The 1976 campaign is instructive for both sides. The most appealing thing about Jimmy Carter was also his greatest weakness. His greatest strength was that he was perceived to be a man of the people and of the earth.

He began to fall precisely because people began to have doubts about whether he could actually run an operation as big as the federal government.

What runs through all these characteristics is a "yin and a yang." An ideal can't be too much of an ideal. There's a quality about all successful candidates that's very hard to specify. Much of what is appealing may seem abnormal or unusual at first glance.

We're saying that candidates must have enough experience and enough qualifications to pass that threshold—can they be president of the United States?

Karlyn Keene: *Is there anyone who doesn't pass the competency test?*

DiVall: Pat Robertson does not have the type of experience people are looking for in a presidential candidate. The same could be said of Alexander Haig.

Hickman: Several Democrats get eliminated on different grounds. If Reverend Jackson were white, a lack of experience would be a problem on his resumé, but he's not. He still has to demonstrate that he has something to say to *all* voters, rather than just to black voters. He's been doing a better job of it this year.

Candidate Characteristics

Keene: *Let's quickly go through some of these demographics. Could a woman be nominated and win the presidency in 1988?*

DiVall: If a woman is going to become president, she has to run for president. I don't see that happening right now. Could that happen sometime? Yes.

Hickman: Gender and race remain the two biggest hurdles for people to overcome.

Wattenberg: *Is the answer yes or no?*

Hickman: Could she be elected? Yes. Would it be difficult? It would be almost impossible.

Wattenberg: *What about a black?*

Hickman: I'd say the same thing, sadly.

DiVall: Agreed.

Wattenberg: *What about a Jewish candidate?*

Hickman: A Jewish candidate could be elected as a Democrat, but not as a Republican right now. The Jewish candidate who can get nominally Democratic Jews to cross over and vote Republican is someone who can't get the Republican nomination.

Wattenberg: *What about a single man?*

Schneider: *It has happened. Buchanan was single and got elected. His sister was First Lady.*

Wattenberg: *His sister was also First Sister.* [Laughter] *Would being single, in this day and age, raise too many questions?*

Hickman: People would ask, "What's going on here?" The candidate's success would depend on how he or she answered that question.

Schneider: *Linda, you said you don't think the qualifications for president are different from those for governor and senator.*

I believe they are. We elect people who are homosexual, divorced, fat, short, single, black, Jewish, evangelical, and female, to lower offices, but the presidency is in a category by itself. The president is the only officeholder who is America. When it comes to voting for someone who is America, a different set of personal considerations apply.

DiVall: You're not necessarily going to have the ideal family type emerge as president. I'm not sure there is such a thing as a standard American family anymore or that people are even looking for that ideal. We certainly have had some unusual dynamics in the last couple of presidential families. In most elections, time after time, people want honesty, experience, and compassion. You talk about being America. Do Ozzie and Harriet fit that description anymore?

Wattenberg: *A few years ago, if you were divorced, that would have ruled you out. But it's no longer really a hindrance. Nor is being Catholic.*

DiVall: Divorce could be a problem in the southern regional primaries. It's not a major stumbling block, but it could stop momentum.

Schneider: *How important is it that a candidate start out well known? George McGovern and Jimmy Carter were nominated from zero recognition. Are today's front-runners in particularly good shape, because they are well known?*

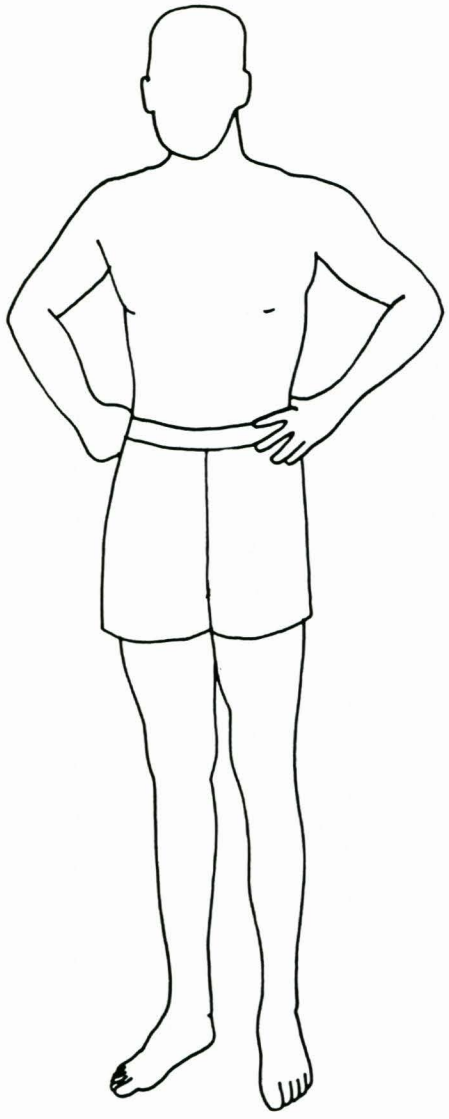
Hickman: Voters go through a process of gathering information about new *and* familiar candidates. Even if somebody is well known, voters can learn new things about him. Voters have a higher acceptability threshold for well-known candidates. In most recent elections, it

. . . when candidates talk about what voters are looking for, they are looking in a mirror. They're not looking out at the electorate, they're looking at themselves and saying, "What are my greatest strengths?" I'm not surprised Bob Dole focuses on competence. He's looking in his mirror.

HICKMAN

Republicans are not too worried about Gary Hart at this point. He doesn't come across on television or one-on-one as somebody who is comfortable with himself. That shows and it's important.

DIVALL



has appeared that an unknown candidate has an advantage because he has been able to break out, but something else is going on. It's this process of discovery the voters go through; they're attracted to somebody. If they know they don't have much information about him, they expect less from him.

Harriett Woods is a good example. She came close the first time. In her second race, the voters had different expectations. The second time, voters psychologically raise the hurdle. Candidates like Bush or Hart who have been there before have to jump a higher fence.

By the same token, the lesser-known candidates, or the chipmunks, have lower hurdles, but they do have them.

DiVall: In states like Iowa and New Hampshire, visits from the vice president or the former majority leader become old hat. Voters want to say that they are always looking for somebody new or searching for a new idea. For awhile voters reject the new candidates, and then they explore them to see what's there. They feel it's part of their job.

Keene: *Can or should the spouse of your perfect candidate have a career of her own?*

DiVall: Yes, but some occupations are distinctly distasteful.

Schneider: *Real estate landlord in New York, perhaps? Stockbroker?*

Wattenberg: *I'm not going to ask about fat candidates because it's getting too close to home.*

Schneider: *There was Taft.*

Hickman: Taft and Teddy.

DiVall: That's not even a fair comparison. [Laughter]

Litmus Tests

Keene: *Let's look at some specific issues. Aren't there some litmus tests for both Republicans and Democrats? Can a Democrat win if he supports means testing for social security as Bruce Babbitt does?*

Hickman: He may not be able to if he calls it "means testing," but if he says that there should be certain qualifications for taking money out of the Social Security Trust Fund, sure.

There are Chihuahuas in both parties that are going to be nipping at the heels of these candidates. Candidates have to "pass" some issues to get the nomination, and others they are best to pass on. You can deviate from some of the litmus issues if you handle the confrontational situations well.

Keene: *What about the abolition of federal farm price supports?*

DiVall: You have to be careful and talk about a phase-out over a couple of years. Du Pont has changed his program to a phase-out. You pull that plug in Iowa, and that state's dead. You can't just do away with farm supports overnight.

Du Pont has the right idea, but his position presents a dilemma for the party. Farmers and those who rely upon the farm economy are a strong Republican base.

Keene: *What should a candidate say about dealing with terrorists? Can you ever say "Never"?*

Hickman: I'm not sure you can get away with saying anything other than "Never."

Wattenberg: *What about abortion?*

Keene: *Can a Republican say "No federal funding" and be accepted in the primaries?*

DiVall: Yes. A Republican can say that.

Hickman: The American people feel very comfortable holding what we think are contradictory positions on abortion.

When it's a question of "Who should make the choice," Americans think it's the woman. When it's a question of "Are you for it or against it," they're split. A candidate must know that there are groups of people who feel very strongly about it. When you're dealing with those people, you have to show not only that you have a position, but also that you respect their position, or at least the motivation behind it.

Most people are are not participating in the argument because they see extremists talking to extremists. They don't see many people who are grappling with this problem as they are.

Keene: *Does either of you see any issues at 2 or 3 percent that you expect to become much more important in the next year? Will mandatory testing for AIDS or drug use become an issue?*

DiVall: There are some secondary issues, but I doubt they will take off. One is catastrophic health insurance and another is education. If competitiveness does take off, it leads to a reemergence of the education issue. But, we've been saying education could become an issue for the last twelve or sixteen years, and it hasn't happened at the federal level.

Nineteen eighty-eight will be a year of five or six issues at the 10 to 14 percent level, unlike 1982 when unemployment was in the 60-percent range, or 1980 when inflation was at 60 percent.

Keene: *Harrison, do you see anything?*

Hickman: With a little bit of foreign policy thrown in, 1988 is going to be like a governor's election. It's going to be jobs and education.

Gubernatorial candidates are going to have to explain how they are being competitive with other states for jobs. Presidential candidates are going to talk about how the United States is going to compete with foreign countries and deal with job and income distribution at home. Education is going to be a big issue in this context.

Keene: *Linda, will ERA be an issue for the Republicans?*

DiVall: No.

Keene: *What should a candidate say about it?*

DiVall: A Republican candidate today would say he supports ERA, but I can't imagine it's going to be an issue.

Wattenberg: *What about defense?*

Hickman: The two Democrats who have won elections—Jimmy Carter and Jack Kennedy—were perceived to be strong on defense. Even though Carter criticized defense spending, he was seen as a tough guy.

You're not going to be able to nomi-

nate or elect a Democratic candidate who, in being tough, says, "We're not going to have arms control talks," or who says, "We need to continue to spend at the same rate we have been spending." You might be able to nominate a Republican who took these stands, but you couldn't elect him.

The art of this for a Democratic candidate is to be tough on defense and security issues, while at the same time acknowledging that there are problems.

Wattenberg: *They have to be tough on defense, but have to want to cut it.*

Hickman: Yes.

Wattenberg: *Can a Democrat who supports Contra aid be nominated and elected?*

Hickman: That's not going to be a litmus test you can pass and win.

Keene: *Would a Democratic candidate call for a more assertive* federal *government in 1988?*

Hickman: Yes. The voters have acknowledged that. They may not want to spend money to do it. But the candidates on both sides agree there is a positive role for government. The debate in 1988 is going to be to define that role.

"The Vision Thing"

Wattenberg: *Imagine that you have the proverbial blank slate to write upon. What case should your candidate take to the American people in 1988.*

Hickman: Nineteen eighty-eight will be our first prospective election since 1960. Since 1964, people have based their votes on a negative reaction to the past. Even in 1960, there was a negative reaction to the management style of the Eisenhower presidency.

The mood today looks more like that than it has for a long time. The Democrats have to retake the ground of being the party of change—the party that's willing to challenge the status quo. That's the central piece around which any Democrat should be building his themes.

At the same time, the Democratic candidate must have a positive message. Voters are down on Democrats because Democrats have been defining themselves as *not* Watergate, *not* Ronald Reagan, *not* X, Y, or Z. They have to have a positive expression of the party's principles.

Keene: *Harrison, what positive themes should the Democratic candidate articulate?*

Hickman: The positive theme has to be that America can win.

There is still a war on poverty that we've begun to lose in the last eight years. That's a war we need to win. We have a problem with our position in the world. That's something we need to win. We have a problem with illiteracy and stagnant educational achievement. That's a war we have to win.

We need to win the trade war and, obviously, we want to win military confrontations. That's the way you build a positive theme.

Wattenberg: *Harrison, you're saying that Democrats need a candidate who is tough minded, victory oriented, and yet compassionate. Which Democratic candidates fall into those categories, and which do not?*

Schneider: *John F. Kennedy.*

Hickman: Bill has the right answer.

There are elements of that message in all of the people who are running. They have had various degrees of success in articulating that message and in demonstrating how their own careers reflect it.

Wattenberg: *Would you care to rank them for us?*

Hickman: Hart, Biden, and Jackson, in that order. Babbitt, Gephardt, and Dukakis are a bit lower on the dimensions I described.

Schneider: *Is Nunn left out because you don't think he fits?*

Hickman: He's left out because I'm not sure anybody knows how he builds a message that relates to anything other than foreign affairs.

Keene: *Harrison, how will we pay for a more assertive federal government?*

Hickman: Well, you can't mark up weapons and keep the profits to do it. We will have to come up with something else. Deficits do not seem to be working.

Democratic candidates are always going to speak to the issue of fairness. They're always going to be looking for ways to bring more progressivity into the tax structure. Unless we can find some way to tax foreigners, we're probably going to end up having to tax ourselves.

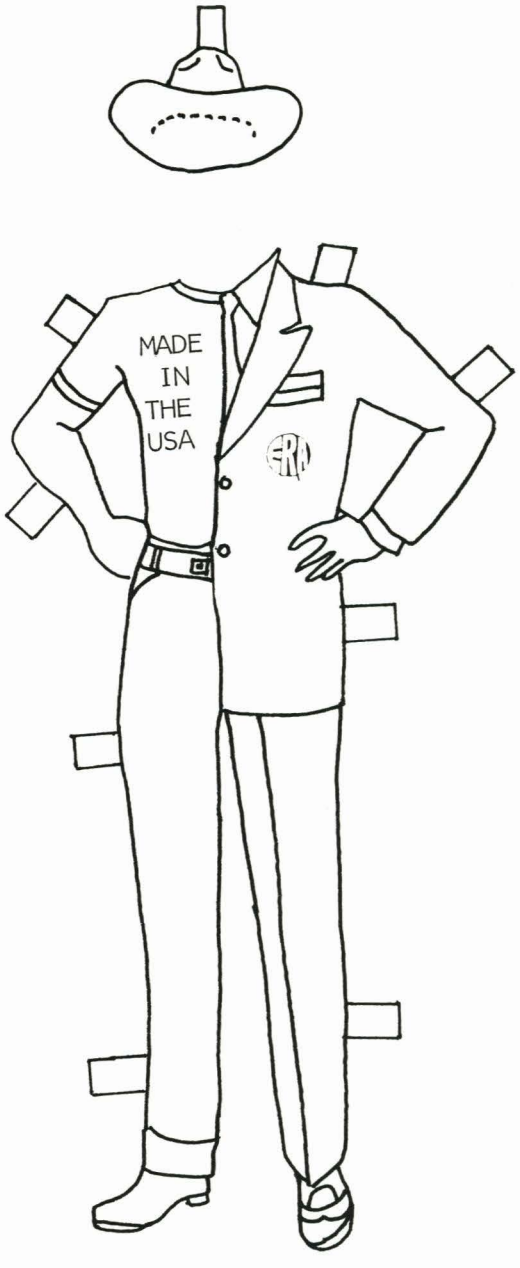
Wattenberg: *Will a Democrat support a tax hike?*

Hickman: Eventually, yes.

Wattenberg: *You put Hart in first place. As I wander around this town—admittedly, not outside the Beltway—and talk to people who know Hart, I have never seen a weaker strong candidate in my life. Why do you give him such an elevated status?*

Hickman: He has been through this process twice—once as a manager, once as a candidate—and he understands it better than anybody else.

The other reason is he is ahead. Front-runners tend to do pretty well.



Just look at the last five or six elections.

Hart's not going to make any major mistakes. He has had about ten years' experience in presidential politics. And finally, the components of the message I described are consistent with what he's been saying all along.

Keene: *Gephardt has suggested that Hart needs a backbone transplant. Will that hurt him? He was referring to the trade issue.*

Hickman: Everybody's heritage, intelligence, and spine density is going to be questioned at some point in the campaign. It won't hurt.

Wattenberg: *Linda, who do the Republicans fear most?*

DiVall: Sam Nunn. Republicans are not too worried about Gary Hart at this point. He doesn't come across on television or one-on-one as somebody who is

(Continued on page 52)

The Perfect Speech

Word Perfect

an interview with Ervin Duggan, William F. Gavin, and Robert Shrum

After supervising the creation of the perfect candidate, the editors sat down with three prominent Washington speechwriters to help write the candidate's perfect speech. All three have had a hand in writing some of the country's most memorable political speeches — William F. Gavin for Republicans, Ervin Duggan and Robert Shrum for Democrats. Today, Duggan is an editorial consultant for corporate clients, Gavin is a special assistant to Republican House leader Robert Michel, and Shrum is a partner in the political and media consulting firm of Doak, Shrum, and Associates.

Ben Wattenberg: *We are here to try to look into the political future and distill a perfect speech for the 1988 presidential candidates. Let's say it's the convention acceptance speech. All of you have been top speech writers for presidents and presidential candidates. Bob, why don't you begin.*

Robert Shrum: There is a model that all good Democratic or Republican convention speeches follow. I'll talk about it piece by piece.

We know what it shouldn't be, because we all remember the bad speeches. They divide the party or read people out. So, the first priority of an acceptance speech is to unify, to enlist those who have lost the nomination or been associated with candidates who lost.

Next, the candidate tries to invoke the larger tradition of the party—what it has stood for, what it cares about most, who its heroes are.

Thus, we will hear a lot about Ronald Reagan in the Republican acceptance speech, because that more recent tradition is the one most Republicans prefer to recall and to run on. The Democratic invocation involves a longer but less recent history. We'll hear about F.D.R. and J.F.K.

The Democratic candidate will then make a transition and talk about the Democrats' commitment to moving the country in new directions. The line will be something like this: "We are proud of our heritage, but we will not rest on it. We draw strength from our history in order to build on it. Our greatest tradition is a commitment to change. Our oldest belief is that we can shape a newer and better world."

At some point, you have to attack the Republicans. One way to do it would be: "The Republicans came to us in 1980 as the false prophets of newness, promising change, saying they would take us in a new direction. Now their new ideas have grown prematurely old—and today the Republicans have retreated to their historic role as the party of excuses and inaction—not a source of new ideas, but a center of no ideas. They preach success, but they have produced failures at home and abroad, there have been failures in fundamental public ethics—ethics as old as the Constitution itself." Another element of the attack will be, "The Republicans now have a party which is in thrall to the far right. It is no longer the party of Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt; it has become the party of Oliver North and Jesse Helms, Pat Robertson and Pat Buchanan."

You also have to outline the Democratic vision for the future. There will be real disputes about this, and they will have to be worked out in the primaries, or in a contentious convention. This is where you begin to talk about specific things you want to do. "The question isn't just what is wrong with the past, but what we can do right in the future."

The ending can't be written prior to the convention except in the most general terms. It relates to the Democratic vision, to the personal experience of the candidate, and to what has happened during the campaign that might touch the hearts of the people. We all remember moments that did.

Ronald Reagan, at the end of his acceptance speech in 1980 said, "I'll confess that I've been a little afraid to suggest what I'm going to suggest. I'm more afraid not to. Can we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer?" The same year, in the convention speech after he lost, Senator Kennedy referred for the first time in the campaign to his brothers. He said: "May it be said of us, both in dark passages and in bright days, in the words of Tennyson that my brothers quoted and loved—and that have special meaning for me now—

I am a part of all that I have met . . .
Tho much is taken, much
  abides . . .
That which we are, we are—
One equal temper of heroic
  hearts . . . strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and
not to yield.

"For me, a few hours ago, this campaign came to an end. For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the

hope still lives, and the dream shall never die."

At that point there was a powerful synthesis of what the Democratic party was about and what Kennedy was about. You can't predict the similar moments that might come in 1988.

William F. Gavin: We are talking about words here, and in an acceptance speech, it is the music that counts. If you can get that music in, the way Ted Kennedy did in 1980 and the way Ronald Reagan did in 1980 and 1984, the rest comes together. Take Barbara Jordan's speech at the 1976 convention. No one remembers a word she said, but you remember her persona and those great cadences coming out of the black church experience.

Shrum: What was the biggest applause line?

Gavin: I can't remember.

Shrum: It was, "My name is Barbara Jordan."

Gavin: There you go. So much of what we are saying here is indefinable. When Teddy Kennedy said those lines, all kinds of symbolic, unconscious things were there. You never know how—or if—that is going to work.

Ervin Duggan: We need to remember, though, that the music is not everything. Politics is about ideas, and if the ideas are not there, all the music in the world cannot do the job for the candidate.

Wattenberg: *Suppose the primaries have been fractious. With the spectrum from Jesse Jackson to Sam Nunn, there are going to be many disagreements. What would you say to that audience to unify them?*

Shrum: You could begin by saying, "We are a party of diversity and we are strong because of our diversity, but there are certain common beliefs that unite us." Then you mention the defeated candidates, one by one, and invoke each candidate to exemplify things that unify the party. You say, "Senator Sam Nunn, of Georgia," at which point people would applaud, "a great Chairman of the Armed Services Committee who would make a great Secretary of Defense," at which point everybody would applaud again, "is right when he says that the Democratic party must stand for nuclear arms control and for an end to the nuclear arms race before it ends the human race."

You could then take something that another candidate stands for and invoke his name in the same way. It allows people to applaud across their differences—and pretty soon the whole convention will begin to respond together. Then you segue from that to, "But all of them and all of us share one great tradition, a commitment to change and progress, a willingness to take on challenges, no matter how tough."

Wattenberg: *How do you deal with the charge people have brought up again and again—that the Democratic party is locked into the past, while the Republican party is the party of ideas?*

Shrum: We say, "We are proud of our past, we don't flee from it. We want to build on it. We are proud of Thomas Jefferson, who summoned this country to believe that every citizen deserved a share in our country's growth; we are proud of the tradition of Andrew Jackson, who was the first to say that the Democratic party had to be the party of the common man; we are proud of the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, of John Kennedy." You look back, but at the same time you also say, "Each of these leaders in his time was willing to break with things in the past that didn't work and move on to things that might make the future work."

I. The Democratic Future

Wattenberg: *What kind of future will your Democratic candidate talk about?*

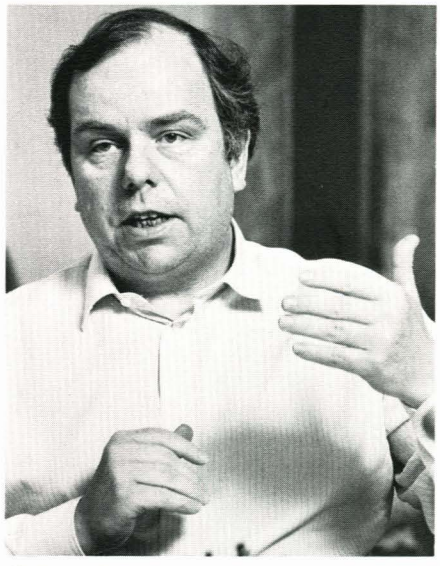
Shrum: First, the Democratic candidate needs to talk about making the country competitive again.

"Today, students in Japan are going to school more and learning more. Today, workers in Japan are being protected more and selling more. While Japanese companies are pursuing new markets, American companies are pursuing new mergers." He has to talk about an ethic of competitiveness. He has to talk about how he would change the economic direction of the country. And he has to tag the Republicans with the idea that the prosperity of the last eight years has been purchased by shipping American jobs and productivity abroad, by going into debt, by mortgaging the American future to the deficit. People believe that and they will respond to it.

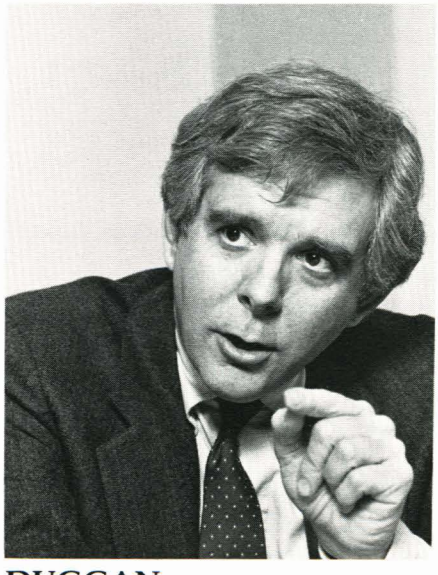
Gary Hart would be likely to say "Corporations in this country have benefited an enormous amount from the American system, and now it is time for them to begin reinvesting in their own companies so that this country can be competitive again."

A Gephardt or a Biden or someone else may say: "We need a president who is going to talk tough to our trading partners, who is willing to say that the

GAVIN



SHRUM



DUGGAN

terms of trade have to be equal, who is willing to say that the Japanese can't sell Walkmen in our markets if we can't sell super-computers in theirs."

Which approach is perfect? I can't tell you now.

Karlyn Keene: *"Mortgaging our future to the deficit" was a line Mondale used. Why didn't it work?*

Shrum: His argument didn't move people, first because people liked Ronald Reagan and wanted to reelect him, and second because Mondale appeared to be gleefully proposing a tax increase to deal with the problem. Mondale's tax increase proposal was boldness run amok. If we ever increase taxes to deal with the deficit, it will happen only if people have a sense it is being done reluctantly—that it isn't being done to buy fifteen new federal programs.

The "mortgaging the future to the deficit" line has to be used in a larger context—that we have exported jobs, that we are losing our technological lead. "Some parts of society have lived very well for eight years, but in so doing we have endangered everybody's standard of living for the years to come."

But, that can't be the whole message, because if it is, we Democrats become gloom and doom again. We have to go on from there: "This is not the choice we have to make, we can do better." This is what I call the Roosevelt-Kennedy rhetorical strain of the Democratic party, not what I call the Stevenson-McCarthy strain, which says things are terrible and they are going to get worse. The Democrats have to choose the first of those strains.

Wattenberg: *Democrats are weak, according to the public opinion polls, and according to me, on defense and foreign affairs. Do you accept that, and how would you deal with it?*

Shrum: Americans make a decision about how tough a candidate is on defense or foreign policy more on the personality of the candidate than on the content of his policy. Americans don't follow policy byways with the intensity that we political types do.

Pat Caddell, who was polling for Carter in 1980, told me about a debate in that campaign on whether to use the defense issue against Kennedy. Pat did some polling and found that by a margin of 8-to-1 people believed Kennedy would be *tougher* on the Russians than Carter.

Pat said people didn't pay attention to the specifics. What they pay attention to is the personality of the guy—whether they think he can be pushed around. Someone summed it up when he said he would trust Kennedy more with a peashooter than Carter with a nuclear missile. A sense of the candidate has a lot to do with it.

Reagan's popularity hasn't collapsed to the same degree that another president with his troubles would have because of the sense people have of him. People think that he is in charge. They don't know what that means right now. He is not in charge in the way they would like, but he is in charge.

A wimpy candidate with a hawkish line is not entirely believable. A hawkish candidate with what Ben would regard as a wimpy line can get away with a little more.

Duggan: An acceptance speech not only builds unity and rallies the troops, but also reassures doubters—those fence-sitting voters in each party. The speech tells them it is safe to vote for the candidate. In certain policy areas—like foreign policy—the Democratic party is not perceived as trustworthy.

For that reason, the Democratic speech must reassure the American people that the candidate has a credible policy for defending the United States and its interests in the world.

Shrum: There will be several paragraphs that try to do that. "I believe in a defense second to none, I believe this country has to recognize that the Soviet Union is the greatest menace we have faced in our entire history."

But, there will be another component to this speech that Ben won't like. I believe that the Democratic party will coalesce strongly around two ideas during the primaries. One is that the United States should not be involved with the Contras, and the other is that arms control is a central element of the Democratic vision.

You will see lines like: "Whether the issue is arms control or Central America, the Republicans don't mind negotiating, they just mind agreeing; for eight years in Central America we have tried war, now let's try peace."

We don't have a single candidate running who supports Contra aid or the administration's position on Star Wars.

Wattenberg: *Not yet.*

Duggan: If the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate does not come out for aid to the Contras, he still has to provide reassurance that the U.S. will have a program for promoting democracy and resisting tyranny in Central America. If it is not playing a military card, it has to be a credible program of

diplomatic and economic aid. Thus far the Democrats have not articulated such an alternative policy.

Shrum: The fires of electoral politics will refine the Democratic position on Central America. The position will be opposition to Contra aid.

On Star Wars, the Democratic candidate will say, "I support research on Star Wars, but I don't support rushing into outer space a fallible defense system that will mean the failure of arms control."

The candidate might pick up on one of the themes Kennedy is using now and say: "Instead of rushing into Star Wars, let's build star schools—let's use our satellite technology to link up classrooms all across this country, so we can call on our best scientists to teach all our children to compete in the new world of the twenty-first century."

Attack Strategies

There will be three pieces to the Democratic attack on the Republicans. The first part of the attack may involve references to 1960.

"In 1960, after eight years of genial unconcern, of a president who smiled at people but ignored problems, this country moved in a new direction. And now, after eight similar years, I believe we are ready to move again.

"I am not saying Ronald Reagan has been a bad president, he just hasn't done much, and a lot of what he has done he seems to have conveniently forgotten." Whether a line like that would be used depends on the circumstances at the time.

The second element, as I said earlier, will deal with public ethics. All the Democrats running can use this: "There is a deeper issue, the question of public ethics, of the principles that are at the heart of the American system. Public service, John Kennedy said, should be an honorable profession, not a selfish opportunity to build a future client base. This administration has set a record for the number of special prosecutors.

"They say they believe in family values. We say to them—'what has happened to public values?' I see an administration where no special prosecutor has to be appointed because no special favors have been given, no illegal secret plans have been concocted, and no presidential appointee ever takes the Fifth Amendment."

A part of this involves Wall Street! The connection will be: "The standard this administration has set has infected everything. We now have a public ethic on Wall Street that says whatever you can get away with is right. There has to be a higher standard than that—and it has to be set in the highest councils of government." That is a very appealing populist theme.

Duggan: Wall Street versus Main Street! [Laughter.]

Wattenberg: *To coin a Reagan phrase. That was going to be one of Mondale's themes, and just when he was prepared to use it, he decided to appoint Bert Lance as his campaign chairman. Then, of course, Ferraro's problems came up.*

Shrum: With Mondale, it was a self-inflicted wound at every level. It wasn't a wound, it was stigmata—five wounds, and it hurt him in five different places.

The last part of the attack on the administration will be to tie it to the far right and to paint the administration as anti-environmental. Both tactics worked well for the Democrats.

I could see the candidate saying, "The Republicans have forgotten President Eisenhower's advice not to join the bookburners. We don't believe in government dictating fundamental personal choices."

You are going to hear this sentence, too. "The Republican party in the 1980s has become the most anti-environmental, anti-civil rights, anti-women's party in the history of this country."

Reagan wasn't hurt by vetoing the highway bill, and maybe he did prove that he was still willing to fight. Vetoing the clean water bill was something else. Ask defeated California Senate candidate Ed Zschau what happens when you try to explain, "Well, I wasn't for *that* clean water bill, I was for another clean water bill."

The environmental issue has enormous power with 20- to 40-year-old voters, a semi-libertarian group.

The Democratic party used to be an uneasy coalition that went from blacks to racists. The Republicans are now an uneasy coalition that goes from absolute libertarians to people who think there should be many restrictions in personal areas. That tension tends to push the Republican party in an anti-libertarian direction and puts it at odds with this new generation.

Keene: *One thing I didn't hear you mention was family values. In Reagan's 1980 acceptance speech, that Bill Gavin had a hand in writing, family, work, neighborhood, and community were powerful themes. That area has been a Democratic weakness. How do Democrats speak to those values of home and hearth?*

Shrum: The best way for Democrats to deal with this is through the personality of the candidate.

Wattenberg: *Could Gary Hart do it?*

Shrum: They are trying now to get him to deepen the reality of his life. [Laughter.]

Right now, he could not talk about family values the way Reagan did in the 1980 speech. The press would be too tough on him.

Those themes will never be a major Democratic motif, as they were for Reagan. They will be a defensive motif, so that the issue can't be taken away by the other side. There is one other line I've mentioned in another context that the Democrats may use on the family theme. "I have no doubt the country will prefer the new Democratic party to the Republican party *family* of Ollie North, Jesse Helms, Jack Kemp, and Pat Buchanan." The Democratic Convention will relate to that very well.

Gavin: The convention may relate to it, but I'm not sure the people watching television will.

Shrum: I doubt they think Ollie North is a national hero any more.

Wattenberg: *Would you really attack Dwight Eisenhower or Reagan by name?*

Shrum: You can't personalize the attack or be mean to them. I don't know whether names will be used or not, but it will be very clear who people are talking about. I would talk about the drift and indecision of the last eight years—in the way Kennedy did about Eisenhower.

Duggan: Bob has tapped into something profound by making an analogy with 1960. We had a beloved president in 1960 in the person of Eisenhower. He had health problems, and he was the oldest man ever to have served in the office. There was—fairly or unfairly—a perception of drift and desuetude, and Kennedy came forward with a program for change.

Wattenberg: *Desuetude? Words like that are why your candidates never win.* [Laughter.]

Duggan: The same perceptions—a country drifting with a beloved, aged person at the helm who has lost his grip—are likely to exist in 1988. The perception of vigor—even if you can't use the phrase "Let's get the country moving again"—will be important.

Shrum: All of the candidates *are* using that phrase.

(Continued on page 55)

Political Imperfections: Scandal Time in Washington

by Suzanne Garment

There were only four at the dinner table one night not long ago in Washington, so the talk turned naturally toward the subject nearest to everyone's heart: recent, current, and future government scandal. "The climate has become impossible," said the cabinet member in the group. "It's gotten so that even when you're up on the Hill for a budget hearing, they treat you like a criminal."

That Secretary's complaint was typical of the way people at high levels in the federal government talk these days. Scandal—personal misconduct, financial chicanery, or political controversy with criminal overtones—has come to occupy more of their conversation and energy than policy questions or even conventional, horse-trading, vote-getting politics.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that scandals and investigations now dominate the agenda of much of Washington's political elite. How did this happen, and what does it mean?

Some would say that our obsessive hunting after political miscreants is quite unremarkable and healthy. They would further say that the whine of a high official complaining about the hunt is the sound of a properly functioning republic. Human beings have enjoyed being scandalized by one thing or another about their governors' behavior since humanity first oozed up out of the swamp. The slaves who hauled bricks for the pyramids probably spent their water breaks gossiping about the Pharaoh's lewd antics with his latest concubine.

Our modern democracy is in fact less scandalous in some ways than other regimes at other times, though it's more scandalous in others. Only an American, for instance, could summon up moral outrage (or even interest) over the peccadilloes that pass for sexual scandals in this country. On the other hand, because a lot of un-rich but ambitious and ingenious folks make their careers in U.S. politics, we have always generated financial corruption of a most inventive and luxuriant sort. A corollary of this is also undoubtedly true: As government grows in scope and changes its shape, the opportunities for corruption grow and change along with it. Willie Sutton used to say that he robbed banks because that's where the money is. *Mutatis mutandis,* the same is true in politics.

Other changes in society affect both the prevalence of scandal and the public's awareness of it. Some would insist that American public officials simply have lower ethical standards than they did, say, a decade ago, because the idealism of the late 1960s and early 1970s has given way to selfish Yuppieness. But in fact it is quite implausible that official standards have declined far or fast enough to explain the increase in our preoccupation with scandal news over the decade. It's more likely that mass communications magnify the scandal phenomenon by trumpeting the news of sin far and wide, giving the impression that there must be even more of the stuff lurking in the closet. As the influence of television increases, the trumpet sound grows louder.

Finally, some experts in the shiny new ethics-in-government field explain with satisfaction that we have more lawbreakers and rule violators today because our standards have *risen.* The rules are tougher now, so that people who would have been called law-abiding yesterday are outside the pale today. This change is the price that we pay for civilization's moral progress, and we must accept it as such.

Scandalous Conventions and Inventions

The "business as usual" arguments cannot fully account for the large and increased role that scandal and criminal or ethical wrongdoing now play in current public discussion.

To be sure, venerable "human nature" and "price of democracy" factors do explain a good part of the decade's sex and drug scandals. Crooks in high places have always been with us and always will be. Representative Gerry Studds's homosexual involvement with a congressional page was revealed in 1983, but it would have caused a stir had it become known in just about any American decade. And a Paula Parkinson is a Paula Parkinson whenever and wherever you find her.

But some of our current scandals involving conflict of interest, or alleged executive branch violations of Congress's laws, belong disproportionately to this time and place. Standards of behavior in this area have indeed changed. Just as important, the pursuit of this kind of wrongdoing has not only expanded and intensified but also has become institutionalized.

Some kinds of criminal investigation into the behavior of public officials have long been fairly routine in American public affairs. By now you can rest assured that at any given moment in the life of your town or city, some local officeholder is getting probed, indicted, or sentenced for an act of corruption.

Frequent as these occurrences are, though, they have remained essentially local—that is, circumscribed. Sometimes they do engage the attention of the entire country, or have a major effect on how the nation as a whole thinks about its political health—but only sporadically.

What is new is the growing institutionalization of investigative politics at the federal level. Partly this is a matter of sheer volume. The number of federal ethics prosecutions going on at any one time has increased enormously. In fact, it has increased tenfold over the past decade. Even more such investigations will never make it into the open records. The number of federal investigators at work has mushroomed as well—departmental inspectors general and their staffs, Justice Department probers, congressional staff sleuths, and the investigators of the General Accounting Office.

Numbers, though, cannot tell the whole story. To say that a practice has become institutionalized is to say more than that its incidence has grown. Instead, the term means that a pattern of incentives has developed to keep people following the practice routinely, out of habit or for their own benefit.

That is what has happened to our pursuit of public wrongdoing.

Creating a Scandal

Let us examine the hypothetical case of a typical, garden-variety Washington scandal—not a five-star production like Watergate or Iran, but just a few allegations that some official has used public office for the private benefit of his or her friends. In other words, the stuff we hear about every week in present-day Washington.

The attentive public will most likely get its first word of this scandal from a newspaper headline. The initial information is much less likely to emerge first from the mouth of an anchorperson on the nightly news. Newspapers dig up stories more often than TV news programs do, though the tube is unsurpassed in its ability to spread the tidings once they have been announced.

The initial newspaper headline may have originated in the work of some lonely print reporter sifting diligently through public records, following weeks of false leads, and finally forcing knowledgeable and heavily sweating government officials to confirm what he has found. There are fine investigative reporters who do indeed work this way.

But it is far more likely that the story originated in a leak.

Let us try to be more precise about this. A great deal that appears in newspapers comes from leaks, in the sense that reporters have extracted it in one unofficial way or another from public officials or institutions. But for present purposes, we are talking about leaks of a certain sort, cases in which the leaker is an active party in the transaction because he or she has a personal interest in having the story become news.

The "active leak," as opposed to the "passive leak" or even the "coerced leak," is nothing new under the journalistic sun. But remember, there are more investigative agencies at work now. Critics may contend that some of these agencies are not vigorous enough, but an awful lot of people working for these organizations no longer think of themselves as mere bureaucrats dispassionately checking out the latest charge against the Deputy Under Secretary of Whatever. No, these modern investigators think their job is to pursue the alleged crooks energetically and nail them securely to the wall.

This change has come about not so much from alterations in the structure of various government agencies as from basic shifts in their culture—that is, in the values that animate the officials working inside them.

So on any given day you can bet that someone will be running around town trying—public-spiritedly, of course—to peddle an investigative story to an appropriate newsperson. The objective is to fire the engine that will lift the investigation into orbit against the vast inertial resistance posed by recalcitrant institutions and individuals.

Among investigative reporters, there has always been and continues to be competition for the good stories. There has also developed, by now, a parallel competition among leakers for the ear of a hot reporter.

In all this bargaining, it should be noted, would-be government sources have one particularly valuable

benefit to offer: The investigation they are dangling in front of the reporter is already official at one level or another. A reporter who chooses to pursue the story is safer than he would be if he were following a random rumor, because he will be standing shoulder to shoulder with the U.S. government.

Some of the scandals bought and sold in these source-journalist exchanges would have been juicy news stories at any time in the history of the country's modern press. But these days a number of important newspapers have been assigning more people to pursue investigative projects—to spend the time on them that a beat reporter does not have, to cultivate the people who give out the crucial pieces of information, and to plow through the required documentation.

When newspapers allocate resources to these projects, they do so because they consider it their job to bring their readers more investigative news. In part they are simply responding to the pressures of business competition. Not much beats a scandal or a declaration of war for making bombshell headlines and getting people to buy those papers or turn on that tube. Even in the more high-minded professional competition for journalistic prizes and reputation, a good scandal series makes a news organization a real contender. If the paper next door has one, you as a newspaper manager would do well to get one too.

But newspapers do not respond to competition mindlessly in this area or any other. Editors carry other standards in their heads about what news should be in their papers and what should not. Your run-of-the-mill ax murderer, sensationally interesting as he may be, will find it hard (though not impossible) to get his story onto page one of the *New York Times*. When newspaper editors deliberately decide to pursue and be specially receptive to government scandal stories, they are operating according to a theory—largely unspoken and even unthought—of how government should work and how it actually does work. When they actively seek to uncover scandals, they are assuming that the government is still shot through with as-yet-secret, evilly glittering ore waiting to be mined. They think a great deal is going on in government that should and will outrage the public. They think that the cost to them of pursuing these stories will be outweighed by the journalistic benefits of the investment.

For these reasons, journalists agree to become part of the process rather than simply recording it.

When journalists behave this way, they are acting in part as the cultural heirs of Watergate; their behavior is not wholly unprecedented. At the most general level, by definition a reporter can never be a strictly neutral observer. Almost any political event is changed at least a little in its meaning and consequences when it stops being private and becomes public. The Heisenberg principle has its political equivalent.

More specifically, since the end of the nineteenth century, U.S. investigative reporters have directly helped to create the stories they were covering. Muckraking journalists were no detached observers of corruption and scandalous conditions in post-Civil War America. They were tools of the reforming legislators and arms of the prosecution. To a certain extent this kind of connection is in the very nature of modern investigative reporting.

In recent years the pace has changed, though, and the political communications system has developed a noticeably increased appetite for a continuous diet of facts and news about the scandal of the moment. In part this appetite comes, once again, from the pressures of business and professional competition. More interesting, it also seems to stem in part from a conviction among newsmen and government investigators that the scandal will die if journalists do not hook it up to a powerful life support system. Normal investigative processes, they think, will not prove unrelenting enough if they are allowed to take their course, away from the constant light of publicity. Instead, investigations moved out of sight of an unblinking journalistic eye will fall into their natural state, which is death. They will, for practical purposes, cease to be investigations at all.

This increased appetite, and the pressure it produces, have at least two sorts of consequences. For one thing, in order to keep up the sense of movement required of them, reporters must sometimes write stories containing little new information. In the same way, they may be forced to make a lead out of facts whose probative force is quite untested and whose real significance to the investigation has come nowhere near being determined.

Second, when the breathless stories about a given scandal appear in quick and steady succession, they have their intended effect: People who are politically attentive become transfixed by the march to the guillotine. They spend a significant chunk of time reading and talking about each day's new shock, even if they are fortunate enough not to be personally affected by it.

To the extent that our minds are on this sort of news, we stop thinking of public life as an arena for public policy debate or even a smoke-filled room for old-fashioned horse-race politics. We begin to see political life as a high-stakes obstacle course. At each stage of the contest, some will prove vulnerable to investigation and some will turn out to be safe. Of those who are in imminent danger of being "gotten," only a portion will be nimble enough to escape.

The Codes of Indecency

A heightened sensitivity to these particular dangers in public life has, in turn, consequences for the way the political community does business. Anyone who writes about national politics, for instance, has gone through the following experience more than once: A

(Continued on page 60)

TARRANCE HILL NEWPORT & RYAN IS PROUD TO PROVIDE PUBLIC AFFAIRS & MARKET RESEARCH TO SOME OF AMERICA'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

American Medical Association; Chevron, U.S.A.; Bechtel, Inc.; Ochsner Foundation Hospital; WEEI-AM, Boston; U.S. Postal Service; Philip Morris International; Anheuser-Busch, Inc.; Mountain Bell; Pennsylvania Medical Society; American Petroleum Institute; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Colorado Bar Association; North Carolina Medical Society; Jefferson Pilot Cable; R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.; MCA, Inc.; Shell Oil Company; Dallas Chamber of Commerce; Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.; Allied Banks; Texas Children's Hospital; Kerr-McGee Corporation; Doctors Hospital; The Tobacco Institute; Centel Cable; Baker & Botts; Woodlands Development Corp.; San Diego Convention Center; WFAA-TV, Dallas-Ft. Worth; El Camino Hospital; Texaco; Boston Consulting Group; American General Corporation; WCKY-AM, Cincinnati; Surgicare; Southwest Art; WJZ-TV, Baltimore; Medical Networks, Inc.; Home Sports Entertainment; Trans-World Hospital Consultants; Houston Museum of Fine Arts; Anaconda Minerals Company; WWWE-AM, Cleveland; American College of Emergency Physicians; National Federation of Independent Business; WBZ-TV, Boston; Medical 21; The Western Company of North America; Arizona Hospital Association; Harte-Hanks Cable; Ogilvy & Mather; Continental Airlines; M.D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute; GTE; Burlington Industries, Inc.; Boise-Cascade; CBN Cable Network; Group W - Westinghouse Broadcasting; Browning-Ferris Industries; Exxon; California Dental Association; KPIX (TV), San Francisco.

V. Lance Tarrance, Jr.
President
Richard E. Ryan, Ph.D.
Vice-President
Frank Newport, Ph.D.
Vice-President
David B. Hill, Ph.D.
Vice-President
Larry J. Freshnock, Ph.D.
Vice-President

TARRANCE · HILL
NEWPORT & RYAN

Research for Decisions in Politics, Public Affairs, Media and Health Care
14550 Torrey Chase Blvd., Suite 600, Houston, Texas 77014 713-444-9010

STAGECRAFT AS STATECRAFT: ACTORS' AND POLITICIANS' NEW ROLES

by Victoria A. Sackett

One of the sideshows we have to look forward to as part of the coming election circus is the candidates' scramble for celebrity endorsements. For the last several elections, most campaign staffs have included a "national celebrity coordinator" whose job it is to enlist Hollywood's well-known to help make a candidate better known. The world of fantasy, in other words, is now a permanent part of one of our most earthbound national pursuits—the selection of our leaders. The oddest thing about this is that it no longer seems odd.

Actors and actresses have been ever more prominent on the public policy stage in recent years—as fund-raisers for candidates and causes, as spokesmen for and against government actions, as politicians' paramours, and as politicians themselves. We've grown accustomed to their presence and no longer question how appropriate it is to take political suggestions from those whose profession is pretending.

Over the past few decades, Hollywood has become more like Washington and Washington has become more like Hollywood. In the process, actors have grown more political and politicians have grown more theatrical. We should at least ask how this came about.

Auditions

Franklin Roosevelt gave actors their first big break in politics. He recruited them for "activities like the annual March of Dimes ball and radio broadcast," according to movie critic Richard Schickel, and pressed them into wartime public relations service. Massive bond rallies were star-studded events: Hedy Lamarr traded one of her kisses for a $25,000 bond purchase; Betty Grable donated her stockings and Jack Benny his violin to be auctioned for pledges to buy bonds. War work even launched at least one movie career—nineteen-year-old Marilyn Monroe (then Norma Jean Baker) was "discovered" by an Army photographer while she was at work coating fuselages in Burbank, California. Add to this entertaining the troops and a huge number of appearances in war films—War Department documentaries, propaganda, VD shorts, and newsreels as well as patriotic fare for public consumption—and you had a celebrity war effort of epic proportions. They were rewarded with a new kind of fan—a grateful government.

The great mutual admiration survived the war years, but cooled soon after. Washington continued to chase after actors and actresses, not to recruit them for patriotic duty, but to accuse them of menacing the national interest. Between 1947 and 1951, actors, writers, directors, and producers were paraded before the House Un-American Activities Committee for suspicion of Communist sympathies or associations. The

Hollywood on the Potomac

Actors Embracing Politics

Alan Alda
Ed Asner
Warren Beatty
Marlon Brando
Mike Farrell
Sally Field
Jane Fonda
Lee Grant
Howard Hesseman
Charlton Heston
Bob Hope
Margot Kidder
Robert Klein
Jack Klugman
Kris Kristofferson
Hal Linden
Art Linkletter
Shirley MacLaine
Penny Marshall
Marsha Mason
Paul Newman
Carroll O'Connor
Robert Redford
Vanessa Redgrave
John Ritter
Martin Sheen
Jimmy Stewart
Barbra Streisand
Donald Sutherland
Marlo Thomas
Ralph Waite

Actors Embracing Politicians

Jane Fonda (Tom Hayden)
Elizabeth Taylor (John Warner)
Debra Winger (Robert Kerrey)
Phyllis George (John Y. Brown)
Linda Ronstadt (Jerry Brown)
Marlo Thomas (Henry Kissinger)
Jill St. John (Henry Kissinger)
George Hamilton (Lynda Bird Johnson)
Nancy Reagan (Ronald Reagan)

Actors as Politicians

Ronald Reagan
Clint Eastwood
Fred Grandy
Sonny Bono
Daniel Flood
Robert Dornan
Nancy Culp

Politicians as Actors

Richard Nixon ("Laugh-In")
Ed Koch ("Saturday Night Live")
George McGovern ("SNL")
Jesse Jackson ("SNL")
Daniel Patrick Moynihan ("SNL")
Richard Kneip ("SNL")
Nancy Reagan ("Diff'rent Strokes")
Henry Kissinger ("Dynasty")
George Bush (sought role on "Miami Vice")
Gerald and Betty Ford ("Dynasty")
Gary Hart ("Cheers")
Tip O'Neill ("Cheers")

Hollywood 10 went to jail, and their defenders were questioned in a return engagement before the committee in 1951: some 30 Hollywood ex-Communists named some 300 of their colleagues, and careers were ruined. All this pretty much stifled Hollywood activism; it became an apolitical place for another decade.

During Hollywood's political intermission, Joseph McCarthy continued his search for Communists in what became Washington's show of shows. In the opening days of the Army-McCarthy hearings, the first to be televised, about two-thirds of the households with sets tuned in. The audience didn't like what it saw. McCarthy went from fame to infamy before the eyes of millions of Americans. According to David Oshinsky (*A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy*), McCarthy's television performance "lost him two people for every one he gained." His downfall taught all politicians a lesson; never again could they approach their profession without one eye on the TV camera. Attractiveness and the ability to please the viewing audience became one of the prerequisites for national office. Washington's migration toward Hollywood had begun.

Washington Scouts Talent

One of the props that came in handy for stage-struck politicians was the stars themselves. These celebrity endorsements should be the most innocuous expression of the fondness politicians and performers have for each other—a way for office-seekers and celebrities to trade influence without trading resumes. Actors appear at campaign functions to attract eager celebrity-seekers who are willing to pay the price of admission—a political contribution. But it begins to blur the line between Washington and Hollywood—the line that separates (or should) people who must make some of our most important real-life decisions, from those whose business is fantasy. Now we have a committee of leading ladies—Barbra Streisand among them—who are withholding their political stamp of approval until the candidates pass a litmus test on selected issues. A startling number of office-seekers have agreed to submit to that test.

What can work for a candidate can also work for a cause. Since the 1960s, it's been difficult to find a policy that doesn't attract an all-star cast of promoters and detractors. Jane Fonda against the Vietnam War and nuclear power; Robert Redford for the environment; Ed Asner for the El Salvador rebels; Charlton Heston for the Strategic Defense Initiative; Alan Alda for ERA; and Vanessa Redgrave for the PLO, to name a prominent few. Both Hollywood and Washington are littered with agents whose task is to match causes with the appropriate stars. They find hundreds of eager takers. Most stars are more than willing to fling themselves into public policy even without the services of a matchmaker. And with the right names on its marquee, any Grade B cause can become Big Box Office.

Theater of the Absurd

It's an enormous temptation to judge actors and actresses by the parts they play. Sometimes their performances have been convincing enough to sway what used to be their toughest audience—congressional

committees. But these days actors appear before Congress to question or condone policies, not to have their politics questioned. Accustomed to getting the best tables in restaurants, the stars are now getting the best seats in the House.

Jack Klugman was one of the first actors to appear before a friendly congressional panel in the new role of star as expert witness. Klugman was starring in "Quincy," a television series about a contentious, anti-establishment medical examiner. One episode had tackled the "orphan drug" issue—drugs that have little commercial appeal because the patient population that requires them is so small. Based on that dubious educational experience, Klugman was called before the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment in 1981 to testify on behalf of a bill to fund research on orphan drugs. The actor realized that the part he was playing in political theater might strain credulity; he acknowledged that he was invited "*more* as a celebrity than as an authority on . . . orphan drugs" (emphasis added). Most of his testimony consisted of lengthy quotations from the "Quincy" episode's script, including one character's address to a congressional committee. The real subcommittee got what it wanted—television coverage of the hearings and vast newspaper exposure. The subcommittee chairman was unapologetic for his use of Klugman, and explained the tactic as a "public education effort." That he had educated the public by relying on a star witness who didn't know much about the subject didn't seem to bother him.

Other committees followed suit. The House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights asked Ed Asner (of "Mary Tyler Moore Show" and "Lou Grant" fame) to testify on the Freedom of Information Act. Asner did a more believable job than Klugman at establishing his bona fides; in addition to playing a newsman on television, he was also a sponsor of Funds for Open Information and Accountability, Inc. But a later *Wall Street Journal* story showed that Asner sometimes merges his acting with his activism. His role as Lou Grant, he said, gave him "press credentials that allow me a close look at the world of newsgathering." And that close look made him skeptical. ". . . The temptation grows for news to become entertainment and journalists to become clowns." Or for actors who play journalists to take their parts to heart.

More recently, Jessica Lange, Sissy Spacek, and Jane Fonda (all of whom have played farm women in recent movies) testified before a congressional hearing on farm aid. Once again, the event's organizer defended the show he had produced. The actresses, he said, "did not pretend to be farm experts," but were simply trying "to educate America."

Trading Places

How in the world did we arrive at this bizarre state of affairs? What was it that turned actors toward politics and freed them from fears of earlier decades that speaking out might cost them their jobs or make them "unbankable?" Why have they been so eager and able to address everything from ERA to orphan drugs ever since? Why have politicians and the public been so willing to listen?

It was the 1960s that changed everything—for actors and for all of us. Stars were suddenly allowed to be private citizens as well as public commodities. Freed from the studios' absolute power and the political fears of the preceding decades, actors began treating the nation to every detail of their political concerns and personal habits. And their sphere of influence grew broader as the country offered them a silent national apology for the excesses of the forties and fifties.

The sixties was also the era when just about anyone could do just about anything in just about any context and get away with it. Actors fell right in step.

By the 1960s, politicians had also had a strong taste of what the media age could do for them. With television's ensconcement as the most important campaign platform, would-be congressmen and presidents developed an insatiable appetite for the glamour and attention that TV (and TV's stars) could give them. Suddenly, otherwise colorless members of Congress could be truly national figures when they had heretofore been known only in their own districts—and maybe not even there. This gave them more in common with the real stars, and brought them into closer contact. And once the two worlds rubbed shoulders, parts of each rubbed off on the other.

The politician's quest for electability and the actor's yearning for respectability work well together. Actors and actresses have only fairly recently been held in high esteem. When Hollywood was beginning to be Hollywood, in the early twenties, signs in boarding house windows read "No dogs or actors allowed." And while opinions of performers improved over the decades, the profession has still been troubled by the self-doubts that usually plague the newly arrived and the newly rich. They've had fame. They've had wealth. But they've never had real power and they've never been truly established as *personae gratae*. Politics has given them both.

So while politics has demanded more and more star quality from its practitioners, and as stars have demanded a greater public voice, the public has learned to take politics less seriously and stars more seriously. Politics is the perfect meeting ground. Once a field that was restricted to the able and the trained, it is now open to anyone with an opinion and a presence.

Epilogue

It's not good to be too cynical about actors' forays into policy making. Their motives may well be pure. Anyone who's offered an opportunity to walk around in another's shoes—a disease victim's, a newsman's, a

(*Continued on page 53*)

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE

by Charlotte Hays

When First Lady Nancy Reagan read an article in "W" about Fernanda Eberstadt, a young novelist, she was intrigued. Mrs. Reagan made a note to ask her to dinner. As simply as that, Eberstadt, up and coming but hardly a major figure in American letters, joined the select company of White House state dinner invitees. It's not always so easy. "A state dinner," observed Reagan pal Nancy Reynolds, "is like going to Buckingham Palace, in the sense that the experience can never be replicated. It's the *ultimate* invitation from the head of the most powerful nation in the world."

Parties in Washington, as the axiom goes, are for business—*not* pleasure. But a state dinner breaks this rule. It's actually supposed to be fun, a pleasant evening for a foreign head of state. "They don't talk business because they've been doing that all day," said syndicated society columnist Betty Beale. But fun or not, it is also meant to convey an image. "The state dinner," said publicist Joe Canzeri, "is the only image the foreign head of state is going to have of the First Family, our leaders, and America. All they get overseas is 'Dynasty' and 'The Colbys.' "

A complete guest list for every state dinner appears the next morning in the *Washington Post*'s "Style" section. An informal comparison of lists for the Carters and the Reagans suggests that some of the social stereotypes we have of both administrations are off target. The Carters, for example, catered to the rich and famous more than is often supposed, while the Reagans have wined and dined quite a few Just Plain Folks. "I've been through seven presidents," commented *Time* columnist and JFK intimate Hugh Sidey, "and they *all* have the rich and famous. They just have their *own* rich and famous."

Making the List

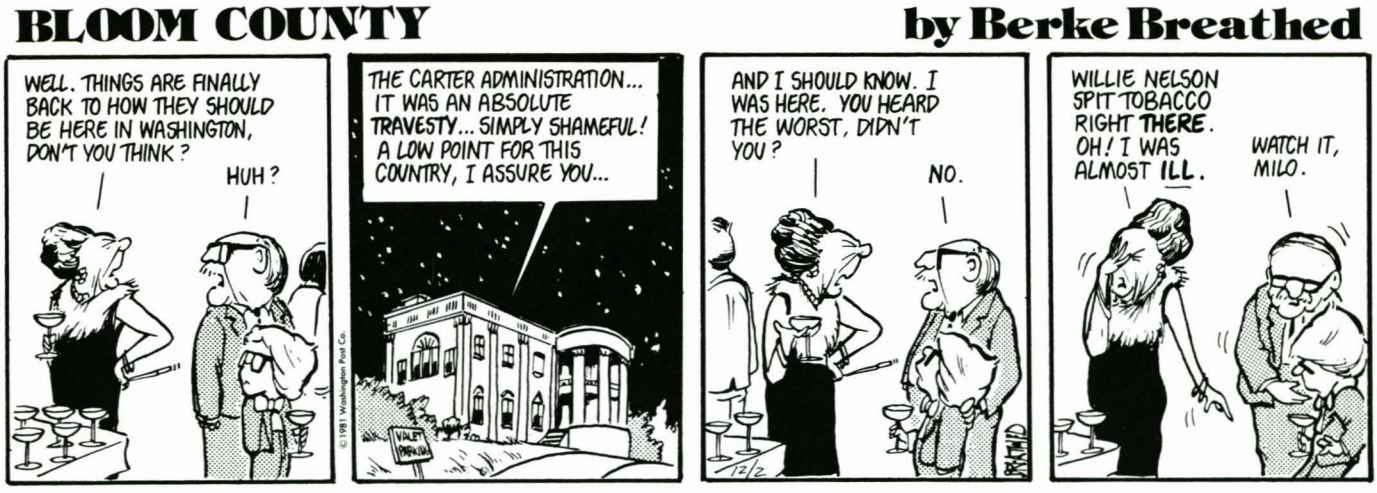
Compiling a guest list for a state dinner is complicated. It's part formula, part First Family preference. The first slots go, of course, to the foreign visitor and his entourage; the second batch goes to their U.S. counterparts. A list of suggested additional names trickles up to the East Wing from various governmental entities, including the State Department, the National Security Council, and the White House Office of Public Liaison. The final cut is made when the First Lady and the president add their choices. Who gets invited? "We're interested in people who're currently in the news," explained Elaine Crispen, Mrs. Reagan's press secretary. "Nobel Prize winners, sports figures who've won championships, and authors. The list is a mix taken from science, the arts, and business."

As the list emerges, it begins to reflect the social consciousness of the president and his wife. Some perennials, however, pop up from administration to administration. Advice columnist Ann Landers, for example, was a guest at Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter's dinner for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and again at the Reagans' dinner for Menachem Begin. Chicago oilman and banker John Swearingen (who actually cut in on President Reagan on the dance floor!) was also a double header. Andy Warhol—apparently the guest of choice for authoritarian regimes—supped with the Shah of Iran at the Carter White House (at which Warhol told a reporter he'd seen no repression on his recent trip to Iran) and was invited back by the Reagans to meet Imelda and Ferdinand Marcos.

Frank Sinatra is another regular. "Sinatra has mystique, he's unique," explained Tish Baldridge, Jacqueline Kennedy's social secretary. Socially popular during Camelot, he was back in the limelight when the Reagans arrived in Washington. But, biographer Kitty Kelley's revelations that Sinatra was using the Reagan connection to polish his tarnished social image had a devastating effect. Now Sinatra's name is said to be high up on a clandestine White House list of people who're *not* coming to dinner any time soon.

At one time, artsy types and celebrities like Warhol and Sinatra were rare at state dinners. Dwight Eisenhower's guest lists were typical of the old style—composed almost entirely of corporation heads. Any celebrity who made it to dinner in Eisenhower's White House was probably there to sing for his supper. "Whenever you saw an entertainer," recalled Hill and Knowlton's Robert Keith Gray (Ike's cabinet secretary), "you knew he was going to get up and perform before the night was over." Eisenhower's tastes ran to Mantovani and Fred Waring.

Even a visit from the Queen of England, special as it was, didn't budge the Eisenhowers from their old habits; they trotted out the usual corporate heads. Society columnist Betty Beale was appalled. So drab! Beale wrote a column chiding the president for his dull



guest list and went on to propose one of her own. It included William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and Leonard Bernstein. "We don't have the English system of rewarding the people with a knighthood," Beale remarked recently, "so the least we could do was ask them to cross the threshold of the White House and show them off." Eisenhower didn't alter his lists, though he did begin to invite a few prominent U.S. scientists to the White House in the wake of the Soviet Union's *Sputnik* triumph. But real change had to wait for the Kennedys.

One of Mrs. Kennedy's first callers was New York City Ballet choreographer George Balanchine, who came to tea. With that, the modern epoch of White House entertaining dawned. The Kennedys invited a multitude of celebrities and achievers to dinner. Movie stars of the Peter Lawford-Frank Sinatra circle and other celebrities were welcome. Intellectuals like John Kenneth Galbraith and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. sat where corporate heads had once reigned. Journalists also made their debut with the Kennedys—an indication that reporters had finally arrived as the social peers of their publishers.

One tradition the Kennedys staunchly upheld, however, was the no-escorts rule. A guest in those days was not permitted to bring along a friend. An exception was made for elderly ladies who might require an arm to lean on—they could bring a son or a nephew. According to Tish Baldridge, the reason for maintaining the stricture was that a guest was all too likely to bring "an undistinguished jerk," thereby wasting valuable space at table. Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson lifted the ban on escorts. Socialite Barbara Howar, then a somewhat outspoken figure, who might otherwise have been invited only to less official functions, was an early date-infiltrator. Then, Gloria Vanderbilt came as a date (of entertainer Bobby Short) in the Carter years. Vanderbilt was promoted to *bona fide* invitee under Nancy Reagan's regime.

Presidents and First Ladies are aware of the image-building possibilities of the guest list. Carter self-consciously used it to paint a folksy, Jacksonian picture of the First Family. A White House description of a guest at the Carters' first state dinner—for Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau—described her simply as "a very interesting person—a numerologist and astrologist." A Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Ledford of Franklin, North Carolina at the same dinner were identified by the White House as "profession unknown—really 'just plain folks.'" Alas, Just Plain Folks don't always come for nothing: Mr. Ledford, a pig farmer, said in a telephone interview that the Carters had paid his way to Washington. He also said he'd be willing to entertain a similar offer from the Reagans.

As a matter of fact, the Reagans have had their own sprinkling of UPFs—for Unidentified Plain Folks—at their state dinners. These have included Mrs. Reagan's Los Angeles greengrocer, a White House secretary who received an invitation as a going away present, and a Catholic nun who works for an educational group on Capitol Hill. Since the Reagan's UPFs are never publicly revealed as such, they're much more difficult to spot on the lists. This may be the Reagans' overture to small "d" democracy.

Insider Trading

But the dominant flavor at a Reagan state dinner is undeniably rich and famous. "Let's face it," argued Joe Canzeri, a Reagan insider, "the president and Nancy can't help where they come from. They've lived in Beverly Hills, and that's where their friends are. If you're from Plains, Georgia, that's where your friends are, and if you're from Grand Rapids, your friends are going to be from Grand Rapids." Among the frequently invited friends are: Betsy Bloomingdale, the Armand Deutsches, designer Adolfo, Jerry Zipkin, and the Jack Wrathers. Hollywood actors have included Zsa Zsa Gabor, Kirk Douglas, Charlton Heston, Debbie

Reynolds, and Mary Martin.

As might be expected, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter's table was heavily flavored with old pals from Georgia and family members. Jesse Hill of Atlanta Life Insurance and Carter intimate Charles Kirbo joined Miz Lillian, Brother Billy, Ruth Carter Stapleton, and Mrs. J.W. Dolvin, the president's aunt from Calhoun, Georgia. A special feature of Carter state dinners was Little Amy, now making headlines as a Brown University activist, who was frequently seen—but not heard—reading Nancy Drew novels during state dinners. ("Imagine waiting all your life for a White House invitation," shuddered Robert Keith Gray, "and you end up next to a nine-year-old girl reading a book." Edmund Muskie was Amy's dinner partner for the Trudeau dinner. As a souvenir, Amy gave him her place card on which she'd printed, "Eat your spinach.")

The Carters' guest lists were more overtly political than the Reagans' have been. Political associates, not all of whom were plain people, loomed large: Pamela and Averell Harriman; the Smith Bagleys of the Reynolds Tobacco fortune; the Bruce Sundluns of Newport, Rhode Island and the Middleburg horsey set; and Washington superlawyer Lloyd Cutler. Union leaders also figured prominently, with early Carter supporter Sol Chaikin of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union receiving special favor: two state dinners and a small lunch upstairs with the First Family. When asked why he made it to the White House so often, Chaikin replied, "I was one of the union leaders who resisted the blandishments of Teddy Kennedy."

A category that Nancy Reagan seems to have gone out of her way to enlarge is writers—something that hasn't been much credited in the media, perhaps because many are conservative. Tom Wolfe, Irving Kristol, and Norman Podhoretz have been invited. But so have Theodore White, John Updike (who went out of his way to tell the *Post* reporter that he's a Democrat), and John Irving, a leader in the pro-choice movement. *American Spectator* editor R. Emmett Tyrrell has been to two state dinners. Why is he in such demand? "I don't understand why," Tyrrell said, "except that I have impeccable table manners and can speak Spanish to the Spanish and Australian to the Australians."

One category the Reagans have neglected is the New Right. Mr. and Mrs. Reagan seem more at ease with the patrician Old Right. Columnist George Will, William Rusher of *National Review*, and James Buckley receive invitations. But the guess-who's-not-coming-to-dinner list includes Paul Weyrich, key New Right coalition builder, and direct mail fundraiser Richard Viguerie. Patrick Buchanan is the closest thing to a New Right invitee. He went to a 1984 state dinner.

The Reagans also seem to have a preference for conservative representatives from well-heeled organizations: W. Glenn Campbell of the Hoover Institution and Ed Feulner of the Heritage Foundation have come to dinner. Millionaire Republicans Lew Lehrman of New York and Richard Mellon Scaife have, too.

At least two journalists are asked to each state dinner, as a rule. Selections are made by the press secretaries, often with an eye to wooing a hostile member of the media. An invitation is "a high form of bribery," Mrs. Reagan's former press secretary Sheila Tate giggled. But when asked if the bribe works, Tate replied, "Never!" Sam Donaldson, consistently negative toward the Reagan administration, has been to a state dinner. Steve Weisman of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* reporter Elisabeth Bumiller (his wife) have been on the list, as has the *New York Times*'s William Safire. (Safire may be on the guess-who's-not-coming list after his column accusing Mrs. Reagan of masterminding Donald Regan's ouster.)

A great deal of consideration is given—no matter what administration—to finding guests of special interest to the guest of honor. This is probably one of the best ways to become an invitee. When, for example, the Carters hosted a state dinner for Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, they assumed he would especially want to meet black Americans. On the guest list that night were *Roots* author Alex Haley, Coretta Scott King, and actress Cicely Tyson. When Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser came to town, the Reagans invited Olivia Newton-John, who is of Australian descent, and Evonne Goolagong Cawley.

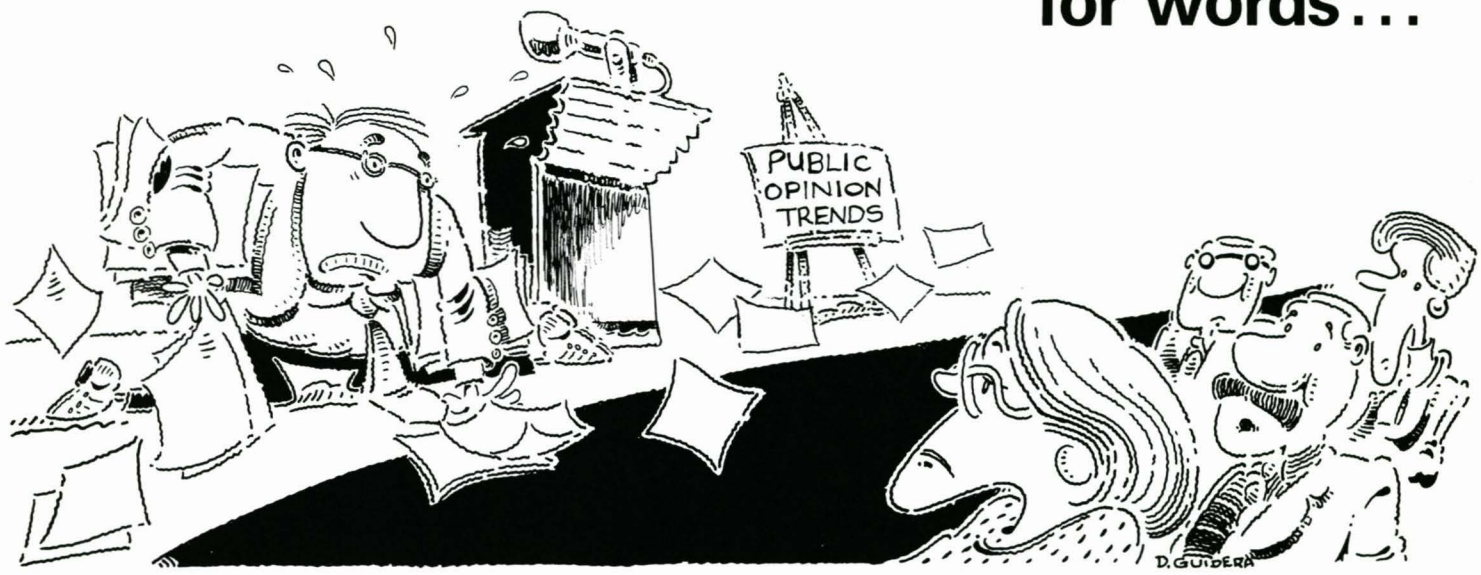
A final miscellaneous category takes in the people whom the First Family finds interesting. Arianna Stassinopoulos Huffington, socialite C.Z. Guest, Clare Boothe Luce, Paloma Picasso—all Reagan guests—might fit in this group. A similar category for the Carters would include, judging from the lists, the mayor of Oak Ridge, Tennessee; the sheriff of Springfield, Massachusetts; and a Democratic committeewoman from Florida. European titles were rare as hen's teeth in the Carter years, but the Reagans quite like them. The Countess de Ravenel, the Vicomte and Vicomtess de Ribes, Count and Countess Rudi Crespi, not to mention Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, have all been to state dinners.

But what can *you* do to go to a state dinner? At present, a discreet contribution of $100,000 to Blair House is said to ensure an invitation. Some people, however, have been luckier. Bob Colacello, at the time a writer at Warhol's *Interview* magazine, thinks he knows why the Reagans invited him: Doria Reagan, Ron Reagan, Jr.'s wife, was Colacello's secretary. Colacello had been to the Carter White House as a journalist and didn't like what he saw as its lack of sophistication. He had a marvelous time with the Reagans, though, who had him to the Marcos dinner. "It was quite beautiful," he recalled. "When the Marine announces your name and they play 'Hail to the Chief,' you can't help but be excited."

As a perusal of guests lists seems to imply, this may well be one of the few times in history when Republicans have more fun. ☑

Charlotte Hays is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.

Avoid being at a loss for words...



. . . by participating in a Cambridge Reports syndicated national opinion research program

Unique benefits you'll receive:

- Exclusively generated opinion trend information taken from the Cambridge Reports series of quarterly national research studies done for over 750 of the country's leading corporations and institutions
- Accurate opinion trend and behavior data based on samples of thousands of Americans
- Useable information on a wide range of economic, business, public policy, marketing, and consumer issues
- Analysis and interpretation of opinion trends from America's leading opinion research group
- On-line access to the unique Cambridge Reports opinion trend data base—over 10,000 questions asked since 1973

What others say about us:

"*. . . the most comprehensive, continuous, face-to-face, consumer polling effort in the nation today.*"
—The New York Times

"*. . . delves deeper than others to determine the basis of American thinking.*"
—The Washington Post

"*. . . in-depth analysis of Americans' attitudes on economic issues.*"
—The Wall Street Journal

For information, fill out the coupon or call David Williams at **617/661-0110.**

☐ Please send me more information on Cambridge Reports syndicated national opinion research programs.

Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone ( )

Cambridge Reports, Inc., 675 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139 P05

CAMBRIDGE REPORTS

America's leader in syndicated opinion research

Cambridge Reports, Inc.

675 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 617/661-0110

CLASS DIFFERENCES: AN ISSUE FOR 1988?

Class differences in political outlook within the United States strike many observers as curiously indecisive; they are sufficiently large and persisting so that they can hardly be ignored; yet they are sufficiently modest in degree and limited in reach so that they hardly sustain the left's historic expectation that they must be decisive.

In these pages, we review recent survey findings using family income as a rough measure of class position. Most of the distributions here show three broad income strata: low (annual household income of $15,000 or less); middle ($15,000-$39,999) and upper ($40,000 and higher).

Class differences are consistently greatest in two areas: (1) personal satisfaction and efficacy, and (2) support for government services. Low-income respondents are less likely than those with high incomes to say they are very happy, that they have a chance of achieving the good life, or that they are satisfied with their personal lives and community experiences. These responses to objective conditions carry over into demands on government. Low-income people are more likely to support government programs to help the needy. Those with high incomes are less inclined to back remedial interventions by government (p. 23).

Even in this area, though, income differences are less than overwhelming. Should government do everything possible to improve the living standards of poor Americans, or is that not government's responsibility? The proportion opting for the former position is 18 percentage points higher among the low-income group than the high one. But perhaps more striking is the fact that only 39 percent of people with family incomes of $15,000 or less back unequivocally this call for a strong governmental push on behalf of the needy. The figure on page 23 displaying these data shows *class differences*, but hardly a *class divide*.

In other areas class differences are smaller and often inconsequential. Most spending issues, including defense, show no substantial differences in class outlook (pp. 24 and 28). Government performance is assessed similarly. And, the tax system and tax reform have not developed as class issues (p. 26).

Apparently, class differences are not very large because class resentment is limited. Surveys provide a number of indications of this. The gulf between high- and low-income people is narrow when it comes to assessments of central institutions, even those like business and labor traditionally associated with contending class interests. Virtually identical proportions (90 and 92 percent) of low- and upper-income groups say it is hard work, not connections, that gets successful professional people ahead (p. 27).

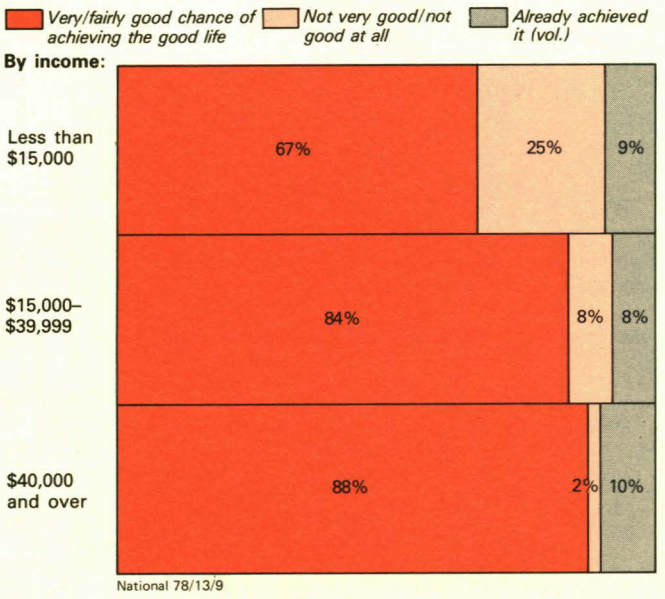
Partisan differences by class are limited and persisting. Thus, low-income voters have continued in recent years to be moderately more supportive of Democrats than high-income voters. According to a composite of eight Gallup polls taken in 1985, people with family incomes under $10,000 were about 14 percentage points more Democratic than those with incomes of $100,000 or higher. The NORC surveys (p. 29) put the margin a bit higher, but it is only when one reaches incomes of $50,000 or above that Democratic support drops off appreciably. Ronald Reagan has received more support among high- than low-income people throughout his presidency, but the differences are not far from the average for recent presidents, nor are they massive (pp. 30-31).

We don't know who the 1988 presidential nominees will be; hence we don't know whether appeals to the electorate will sharpen or diminish class divisions. The likelihood is that the experience of the recent past will be replicated; class differences will remain one of the many sources of moderate divisions in the American electorate.

E.C.L.

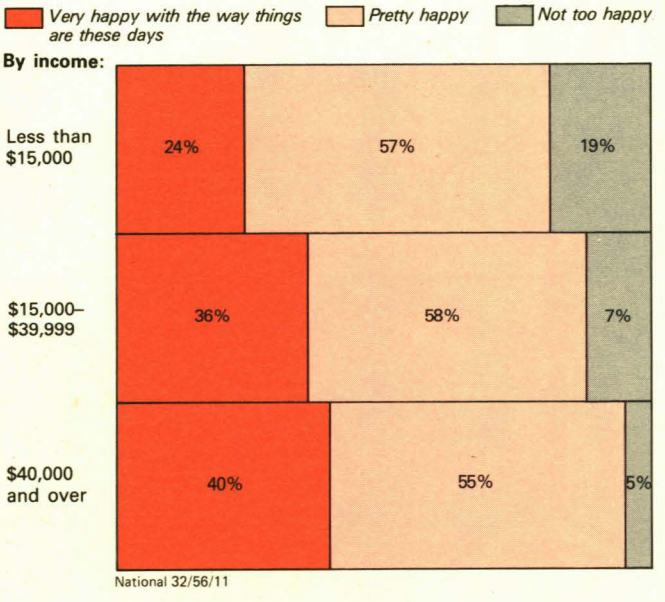
LIFE SATISFACTION: BIG DIFFERENCES BY CLASS

Question: Thinking of your concept of the good life, how good do you think your chances are of achieving it—very good, fairly good, not very good, or not good at all?



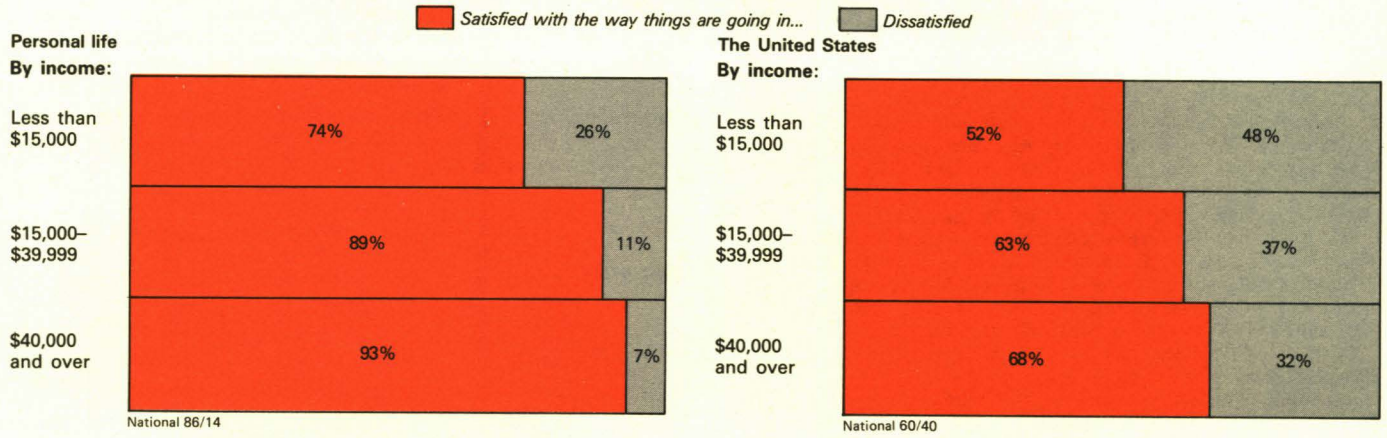
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 85-1), December 1-8, 1984.

Question: Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?



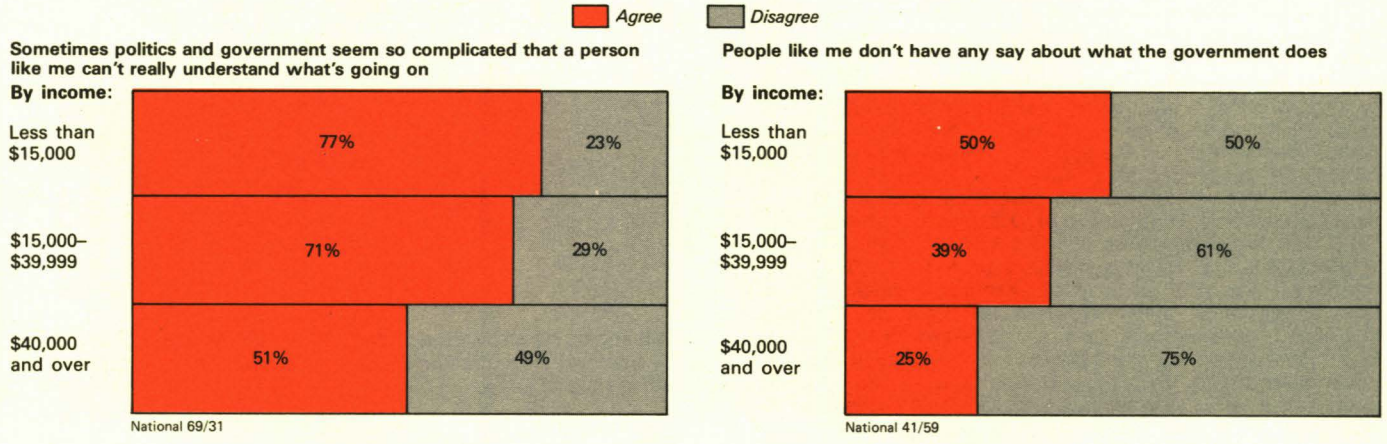
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in . . .



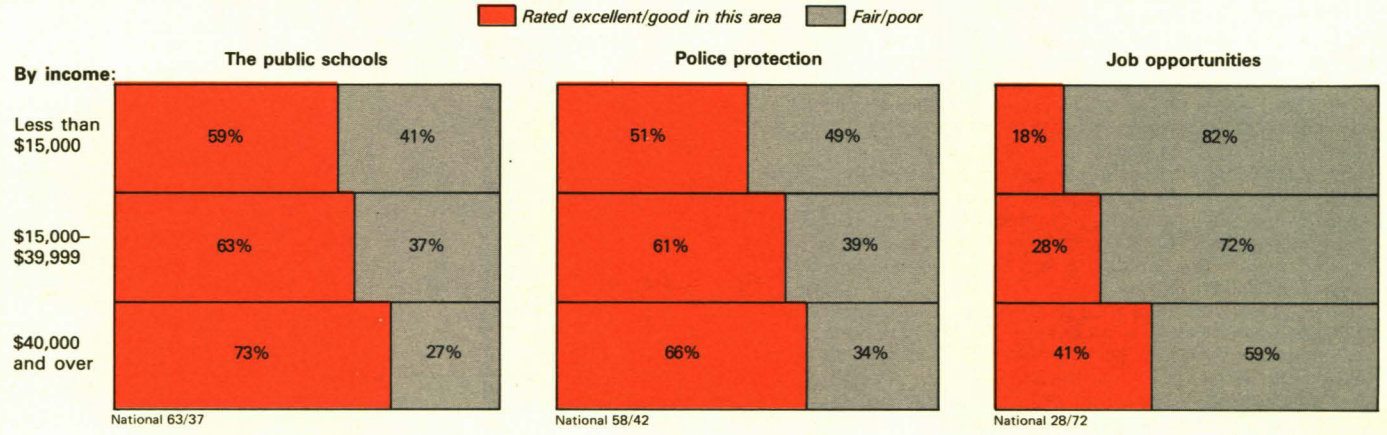
Note: Sample size = 978.
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, September 3-17, 1986.

Question: Next I'm going to read a series of statements. For each one please tell me whether you agree or disagree.



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 27-30, 1984.

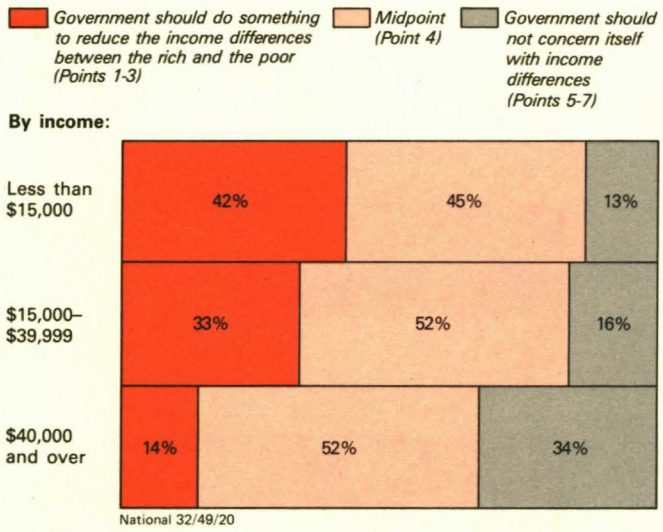
Question: Here is a list of things having to do with community life. (Hand respondent card) Would you go down that list and for each one tell me how you would rate it here in your area—excellent, good, fair, or poor? First . . .



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 86-2), January 11-25, 1986.

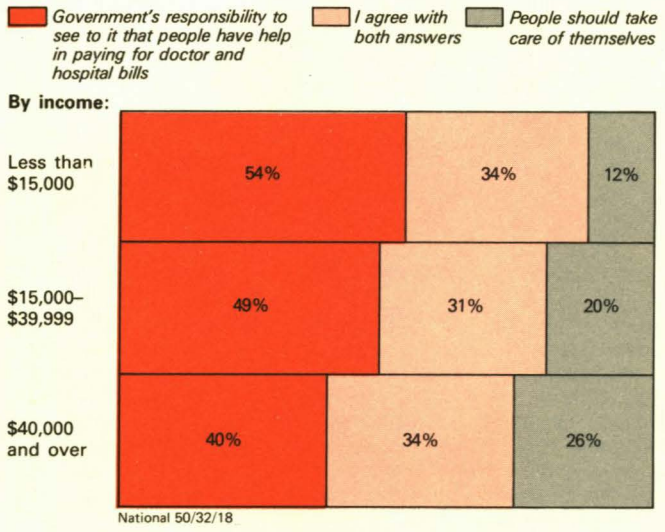
DEMANDS ON GOVERNMENT: CLASS DIFFERENCES, BUT NO CLASS DIVIDE

Question: Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising the taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor. Others think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. Here is a card with a scale from 1 to 7. Think of a score of 1 meaning that the government ought to reduce the income difference between the rich and the poor, and a score of 7 meaning that the government should not concern itself with reducing the income differences. What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?



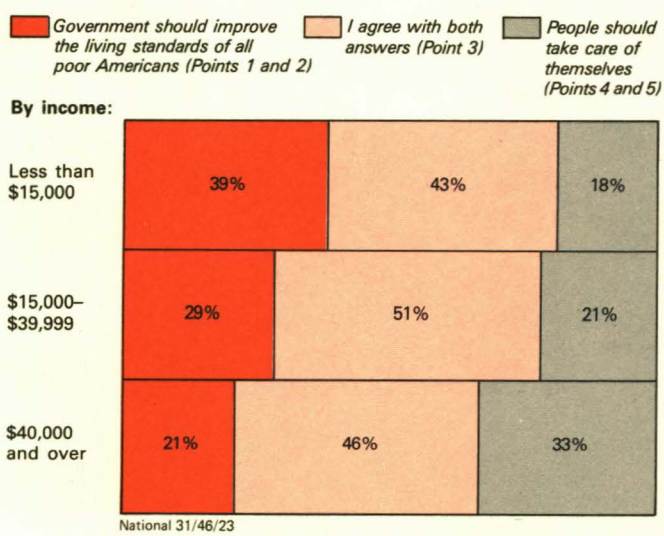
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: Look at card TT. In general, some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctor and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?



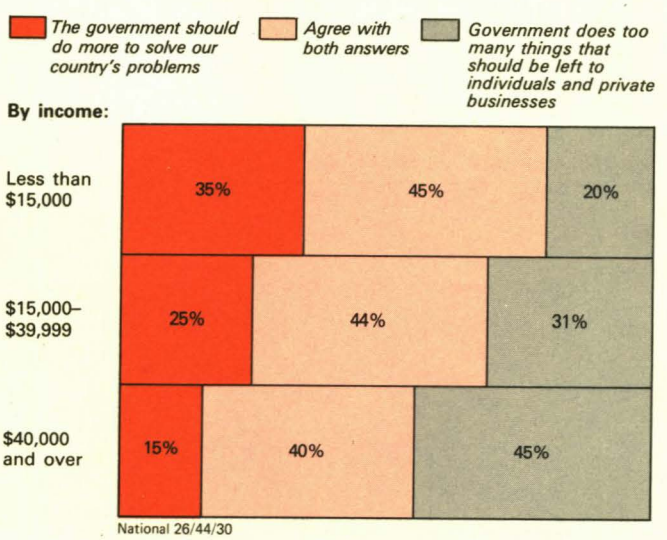
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: I'd like to talk with you about issues some people tell us are important. Please look at card RR. Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans; they are at point 1 on this card. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself; they are at point 5. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?



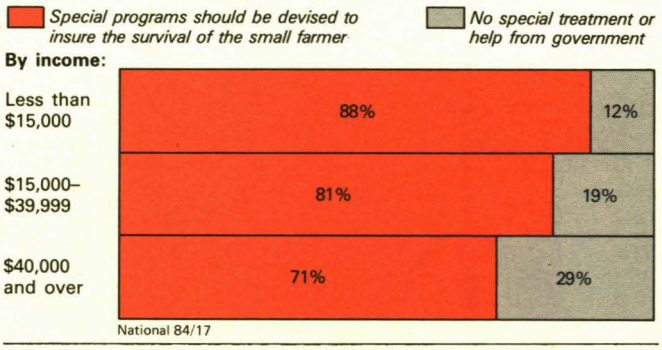
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: Now look at card SS. Some people think that the government in Washington is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think that the government should do even more to solve our country's problems. Still others have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind?



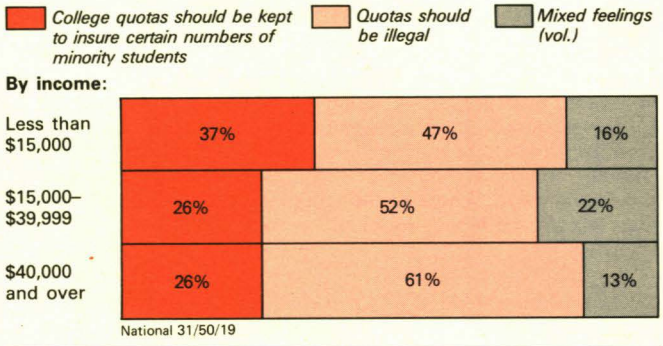
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: Which of these two statements best describes your feelings about the small farmer in America? The small farmer is important to this country in many ways and special programs and efforts should be devised if necessary to insure the survival of the small farmer. *OR* If the small farmer can compete, fine. But if he can't hold his own against the big farming companies without special help and treatment from the government, then big farmers will have to replace him.



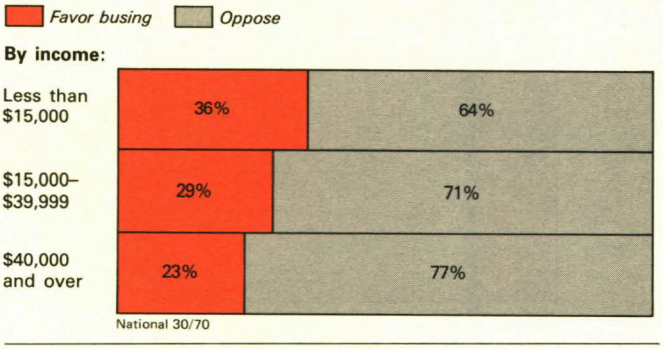
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 85-4), March 23-30, 1985.

Question: . . . There is a controversy over special admissions procedures and quotas for blacks and other minority students in colleges and graduate school programs. Some say quotas and programs are necessary to increase the number of minorities in these schools and make up for past discriminations. Others say this practice discriminates against whites who cannot be considered for the places in the quota. What is your feeling—that the quotas should be kept to insure a certain number of minority students or that they should be illegal?



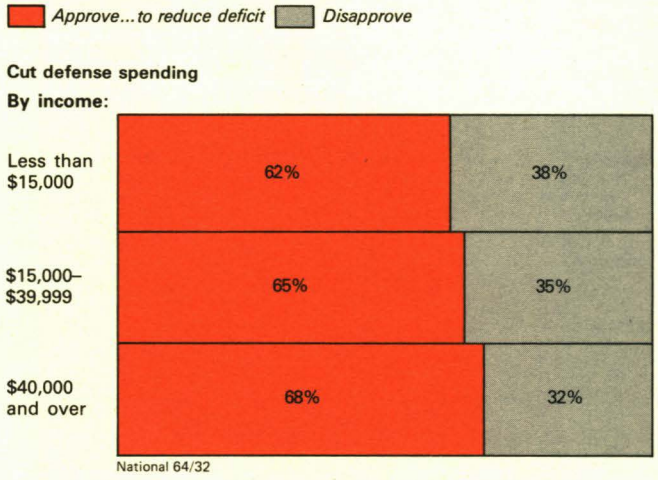
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 85-7), July 13-20, 1985.

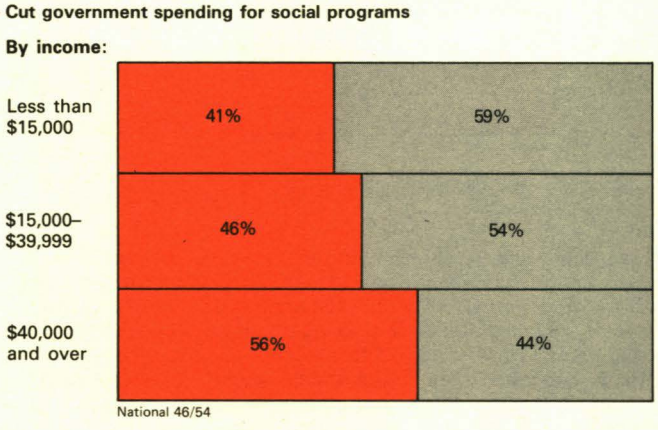
Question: In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of black and white school children from one district to another?

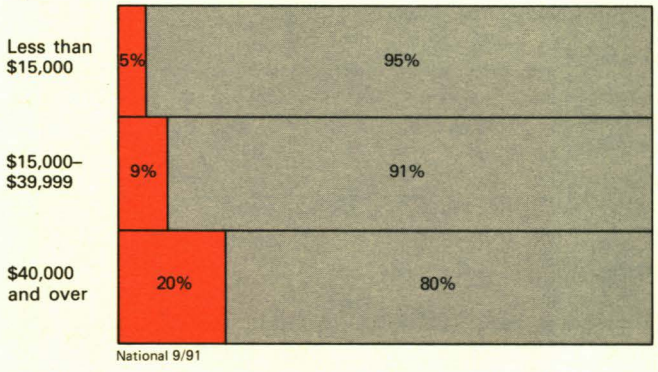


Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: At present, the federal budget deficit is running at the rate of about 200 billion dollars per year. Basically, there are only a few ways this deficit can be reduced. Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of each of the following ways to reduce the deficit.



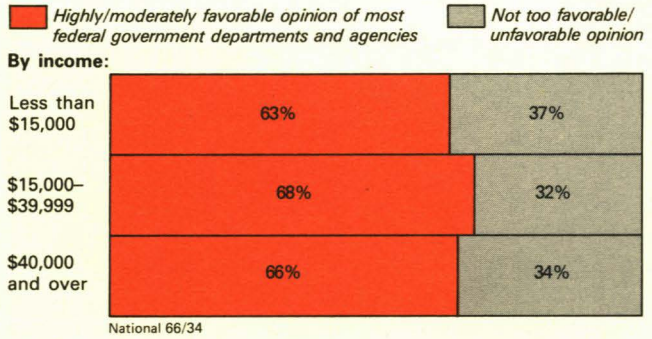




Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, January 10-13, 1986.

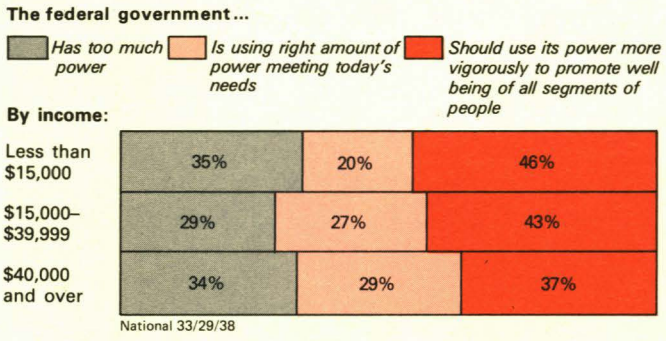
IN MANY AREAS, CLASS DIFFERENCES ARE SMALL

Question: What is your opinion of *most* federal government departments and agencies? There may be exceptions, of course, but would you say your opinion of *most* federal government departments and agencies is highly favorable, moderately favorable, not too favorable, or rather *un*favorable?



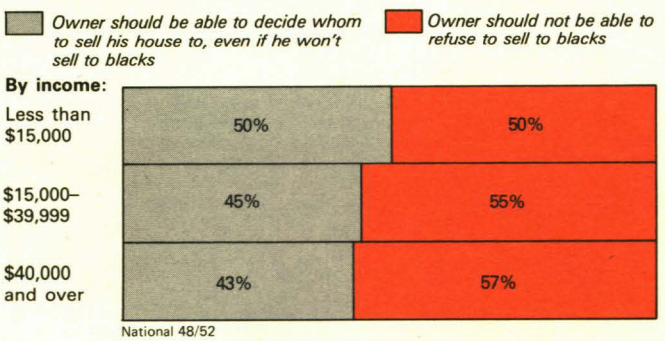
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 86-3), April 26-May 3, 1986.

Question: Which of these statements comes closest to your view about government power today?



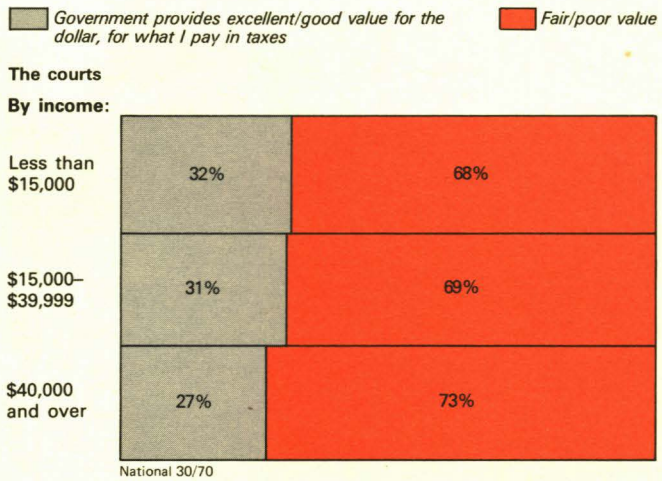
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), May 17-20, 1985.

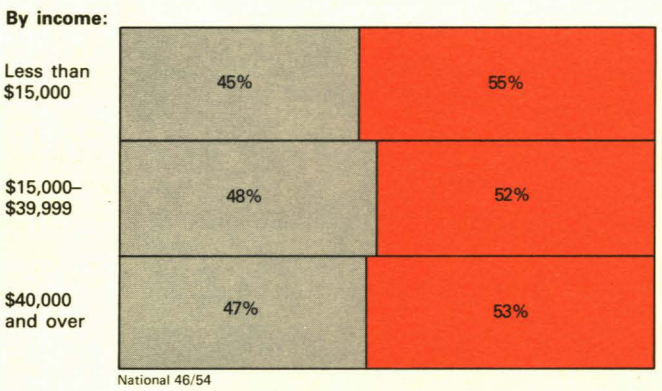
Question: Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to blacks. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?

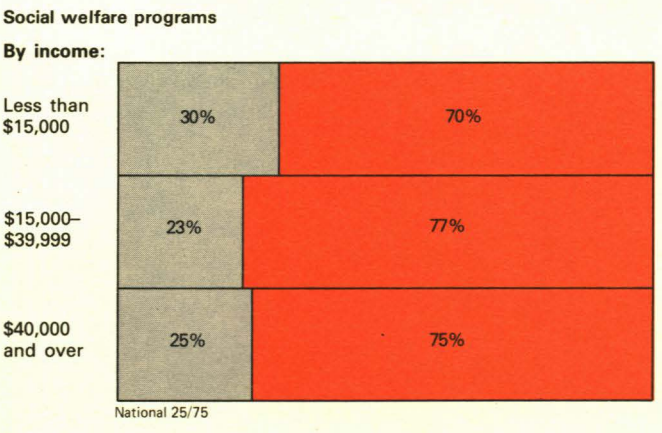


Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: Here is a list of some different services that the government provides, using tax dollars it collects from the public. (Hand respondent card) Thinking of what you get for what you pay in taxes, would you read down that list and for each one tell me whether you feel you get excellent value for the dollar, or good value, or only fair value for the dollar, or poor value for the dollar? First . . .

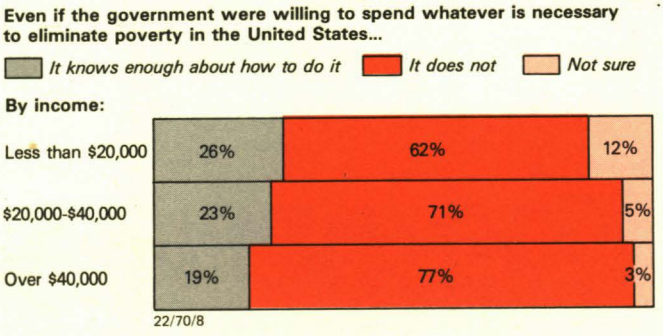






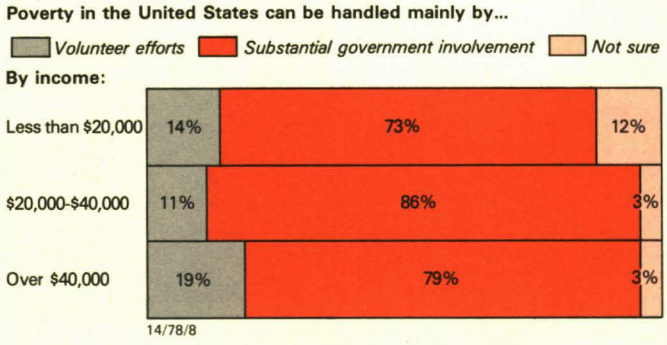
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 86-4), March 15-22, 1986.

Question: Even if the government were willing to spend whatever is necessary to eliminate poverty in the United States, do you think the government knows enough about how to do that, or not?



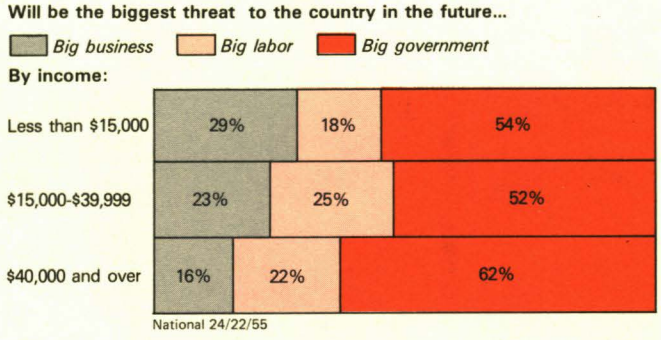
Source: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, April 20-26, 1985.

Question: Do you think that the problem of poverty in the United States can be handled mainly by volunteer efforts, or do you think that there must be substantial government involvement, as well?



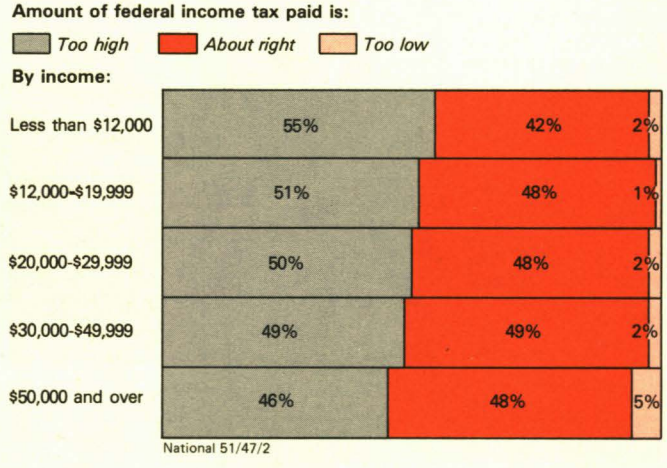
Source: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, April 20-26, 1985.

Question: In your opinion, which *one* of the following will be the biggest threat to the country in the future—big business, big labor, or big government?



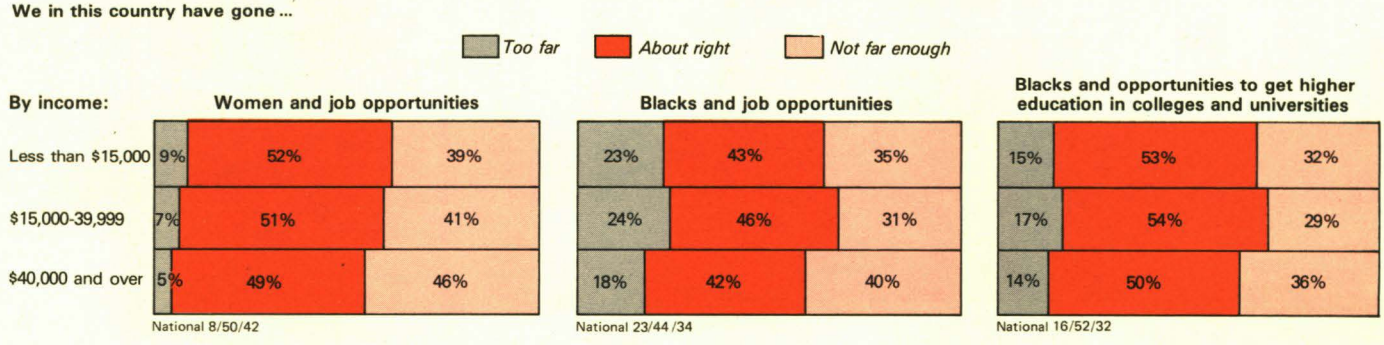
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, June 7-10, 1985.

Question: Thinking about your paycheck since the beginning of the year when the new tax law went into effect, do you consider the amount of federal income tax which you have to pay to be too high, about right, or too low?



Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, January 15-19, 1987.

Question: A number of efforts have been made to help certain groups in this country improve their opportunities. For example, women have been given more consideration than in the past in getting jobs and in being promoted on the job. Thinking about women and job opportunities, do you think that we in this country have gone too far, not far enough, or have done about the right amount in making job opportunities for women?



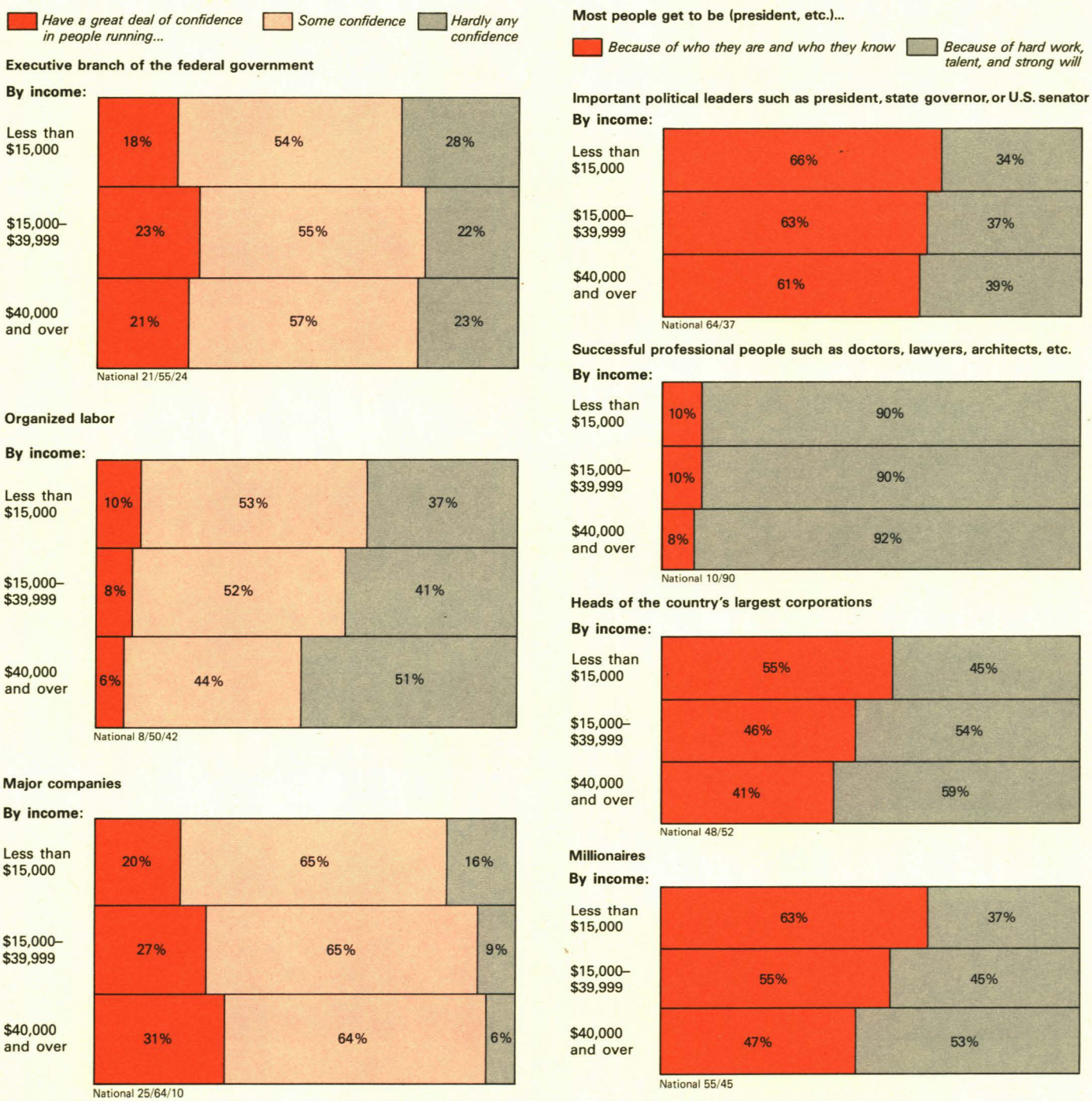
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 85-3), February 9-23, 1985.

LIMITED CLASS RESENTMENT

Question: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the *people running* these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

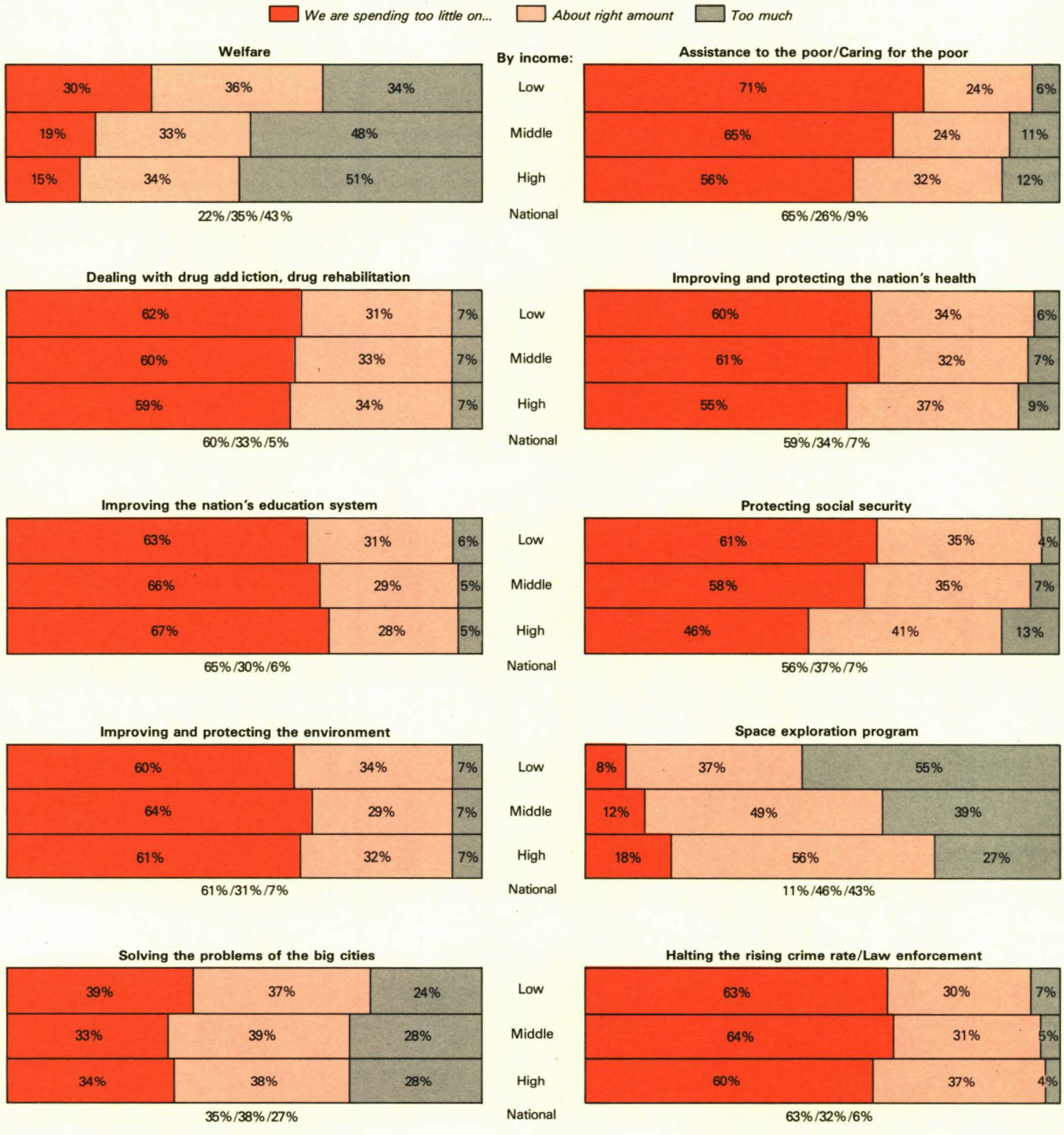
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April, 1986.

Question: I'm going to read a list of some of the top positions in our society. (Hand respondent card) For each one, would you tell me the reason you think most people reach them—is it because of chance, say the type of family you are born into, who you know, etc., or is it more due to talent, hard work, and a strong will on the part of the individuals to reach those positions in spite of chance? First, do you think most people get to be . . . because of who they are and who they know, or more get there because of hard work, talent, and strong will?



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 86-2), January 11-25, 1986.

Question: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount?



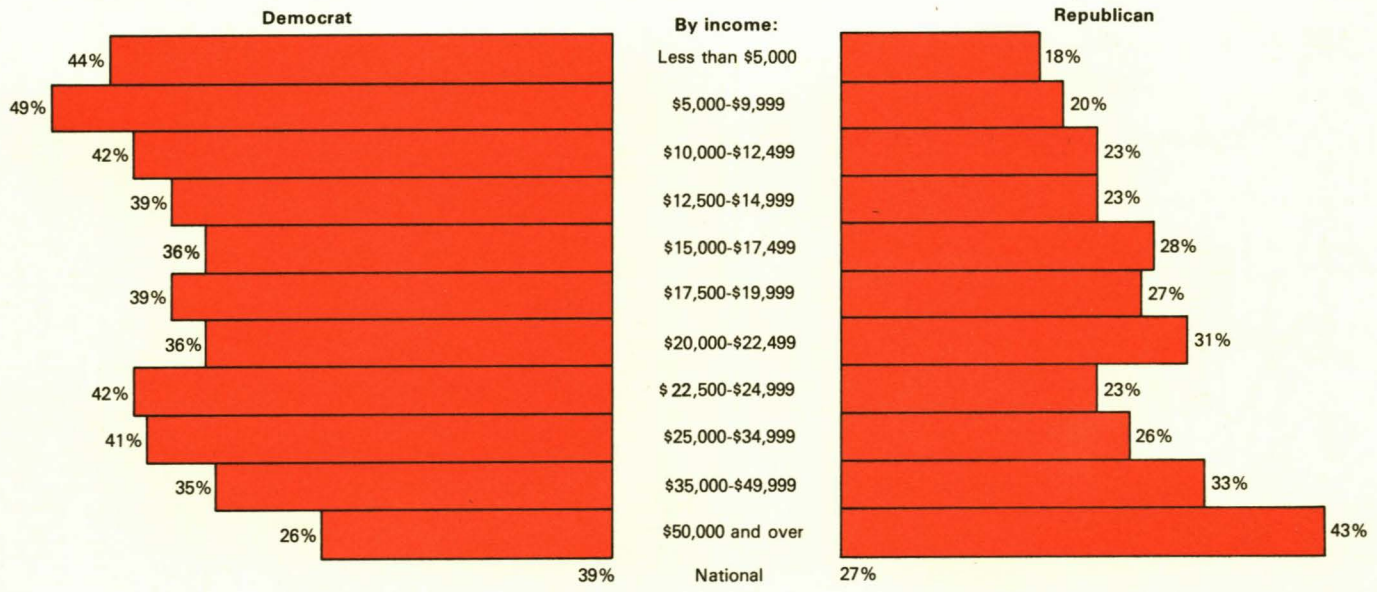
Note: "Low income" = less than $15,000 for 1984-1986; "Middle income" = $15,000-34,999 for 1984-1985, and $15,000-39,999 for 1986; "High income" = $35,000 and over for 1984-1985, and $40,000 and over for 1986.

Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, 1984-1986 combined.

PARTY ID: CLASS DIFFERENCES MODERATE

Question: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

Generally think of self as...

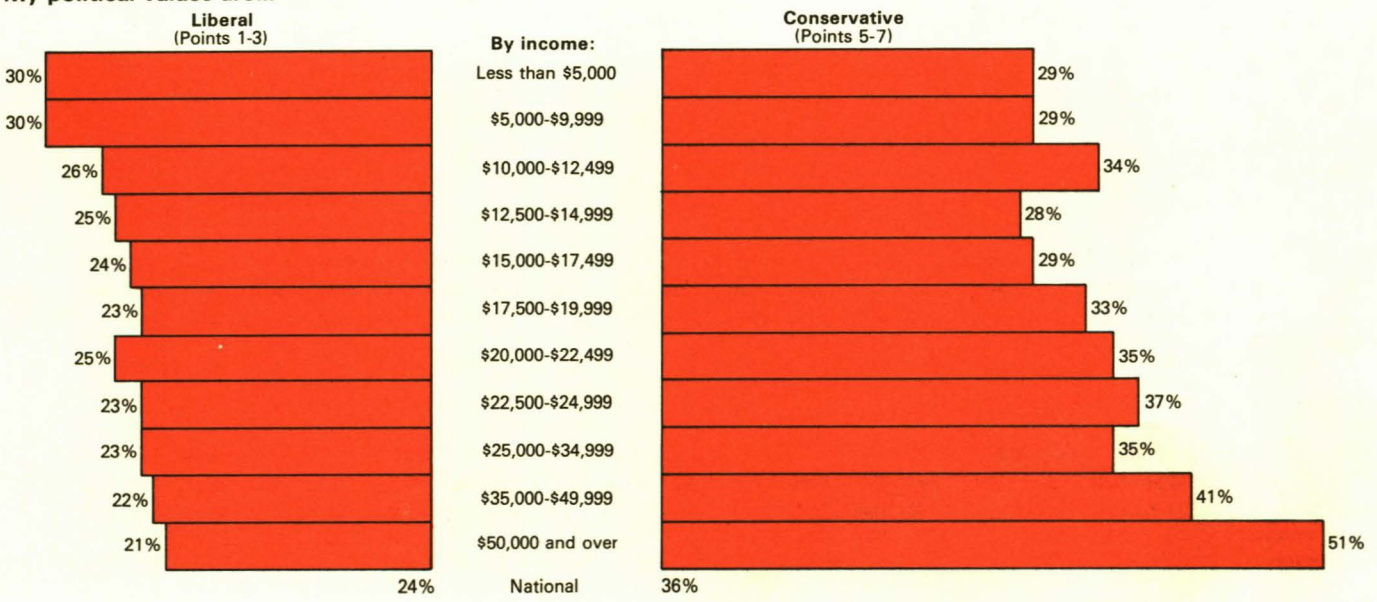


Note: "Independent" not shown

Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, 1983-1986 combined.

Question: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the *political* views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal—point 1—to extremely conservative—point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

My political values are...

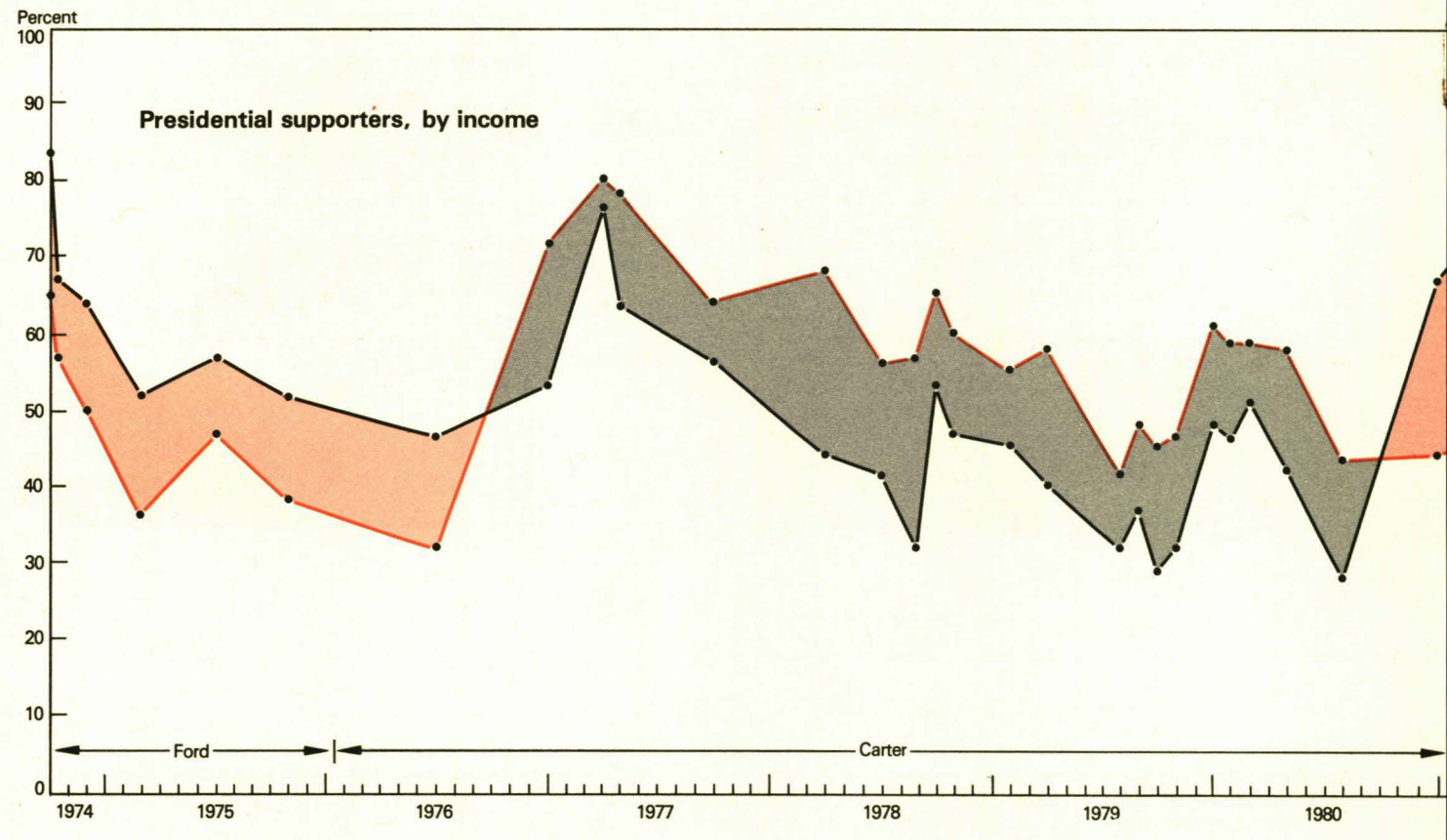


Note: Point 4 "Midpoint," not shown.

Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, 1983-1986 combined.

A Touch of Class: Com

Question: How do you feel about president . . .? At the present time would you describe yourself as a strong supporter, a moderate supporter, a moderate critic, or a strong critic of the president?



	1974			1975		1976		1977			1978				
	Sep	Sep	Nov	Feb	Jun	Oct	Jun	Dec	Mar	Apr	Sep	Mar	Jun	Aug	Sep	Oct
Low income	65%	57%	50%	36%	47%	38%	32%	71%	80%	78%	64%	68%	56%	57%	65%	60%
High income	83	67	64	52	57	52	46	53	76	63	56	44	41	32	53	47
Difference	–18	–10	–14	–16	–10	–14	–14	18	4	15	8	24	15	25	12	13

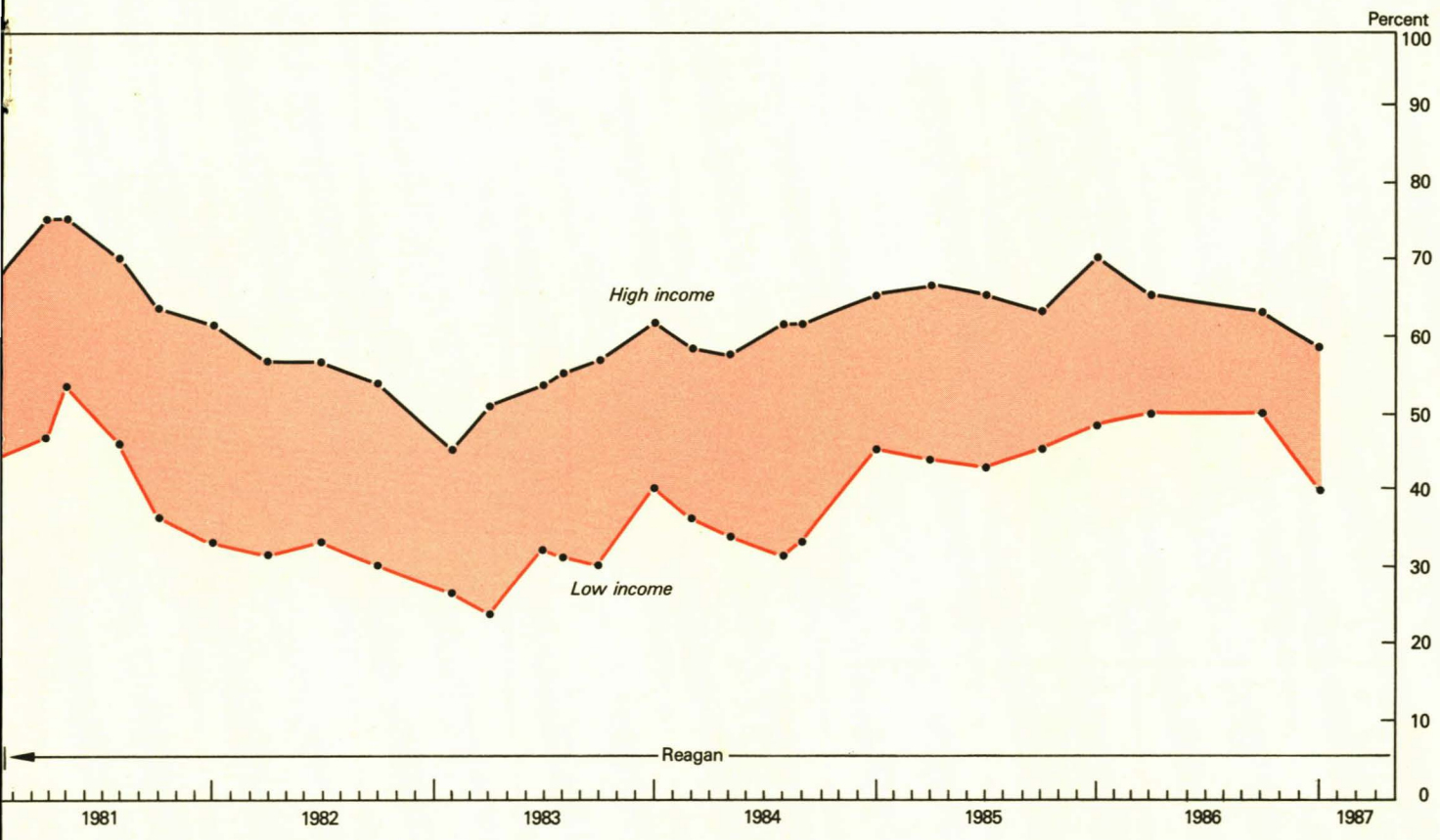
	1979							1980					1981					1982			
	Jan	Mar	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Dec	Jan	Feb	Apr	Jul	Dec	Mar	Apr	Jul	Sep	Dec	Mar	Jun	Sep
Low income	55%	58%	41%	48%	45%	46%	62%	59%	59%	58%	43%	44%	47%	53%	46%	36%	33%	32%	33%	30%
High income	45	40	32	37	29	32	48	46	51	42	28	67	75	75	70	64	62	57	57	54
Difference	10	18	9	11	16	14	14	13	8	16	15	–23	–28	–22	–24	–28	–29	–25	–24	–24

	1983								1984				1985				1986		
	Jan	Mar	Jun	Jul	Sep	Dec	Feb	Apr	Jul	Aug	Dec	Mar	Jun	Sep	Dec	Mar	Sep	Dec	
Low income	27%	24%	32%	31%	30%	40%	36%	34%	31%	33%	45%	44%	43%	45%	48%	50%	50%	40%	
High income	45	51	54	55	57	62	59	58	62	62	65	66	65	63	70	65	63	59	
Difference	–18	–27	–22	–24	–27	–22	–23	–24	–31	–29	–20	–22	–22	–18	–22	–15	–13	–19	

Note: From September 1974-December 1976, "Low income" = $6,000 and under; "High income" = $18,000 and over. For March 1977-December 1980, "Low income" = $7,000 and under; "High income" = $25,000 and over. From March 1981-December 1984, "Low income" = $10,000 and under; "High income" = $30,000 and over. From March 1985-December 1986 "Low income" = $15,000 and under; "High income" = $35,000 and over.

Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 87-1), latest that of December 6-13, 1986.

paring the Presidents



VOTE BY INCOME

Vote for President

By income:

	1976			1980			1984	
Less than $10,000	58D	40R	Less than $10,000	50D	41R	Less than $12,500	54D	46R
$10,000-$14,999	55D	43R	$10,000-$14,999	47D	42R	$12,500-$24,999	42D	58R
$15,000-$24,999	48D	50R	$15,000-$24,999	38D	53R	$25,000-$34,999	40D	60R
$25,000-$50,000	36D	62R	$25,000-$50,000	32D	58R	$35,000-$50,000	32D	68R
Over $50,000	NA	NA	Over $50,000	25D	65R	Over $50,000	31D	69R
National	50D	48R	National	41D	51R	National	41D	59R

Vote for Congress

By income:

	1978			1982			1986	
Less than $10,000	62D	35R	Less than $10,000	70D	28R	Less than $12,500	57D	40R
$10,000-$15,000	58D	40R	$10,000-$19,999	59D	39R	$12,500-$24,999	54D	44R
$15,001-$25,000	56D	42R	$20,000-$29,999	59D	40R	$25,000-$34,999	53D	45R
Over $25,000	45D	53R	$30,000-$50,000	46D	49R	$35,000-$49,999	54D	44R
			Over $50,000	36D	64R	$50,000 and over	47D	51R
National	55D	43R	National	55D	43R	National	53D	45R

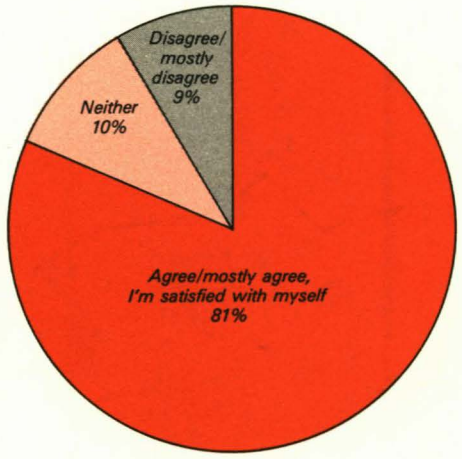
Note: All surveys are of voters as they left voting booths.
Source: Survey by CBS News, CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of November 4, 1986.

TEEN ANGELS

I'M OK AND SO'S EVERYTHING ELSE

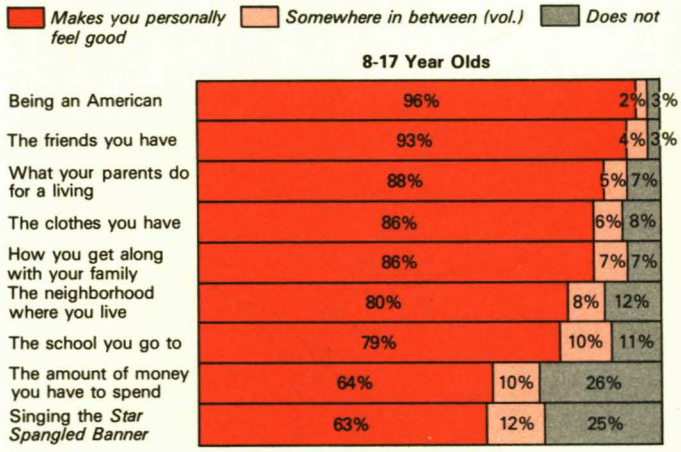
Question: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? . . . On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself.

High School Seniors



Source: Survey by *Monitoring the Future*, Lloyd D. Johnston, Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1985.

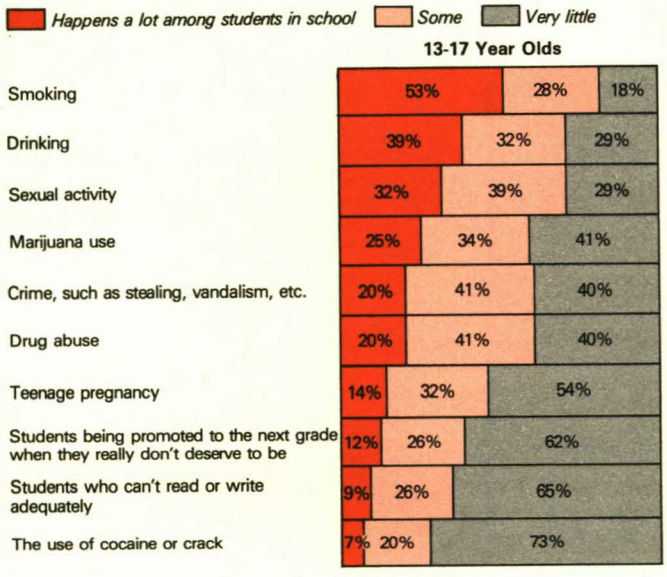
Question: Here is a list of things. (Hand respondent card) Some of the things on that list are things which make people feel good; others are things which don't really have that effect. As I read each item, please tell me whether it is the kind of thing which *does* or *does not* make you personally feel good.



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCIES

Question: Here is a list of things that we hear go on in certain schools. (Hand respondent card) Thinking about the students in your school—not just the ones you know—for each thing on the card would you tell me if there is a lot of it among the students in your school, some of it, or very little of it? First . . .

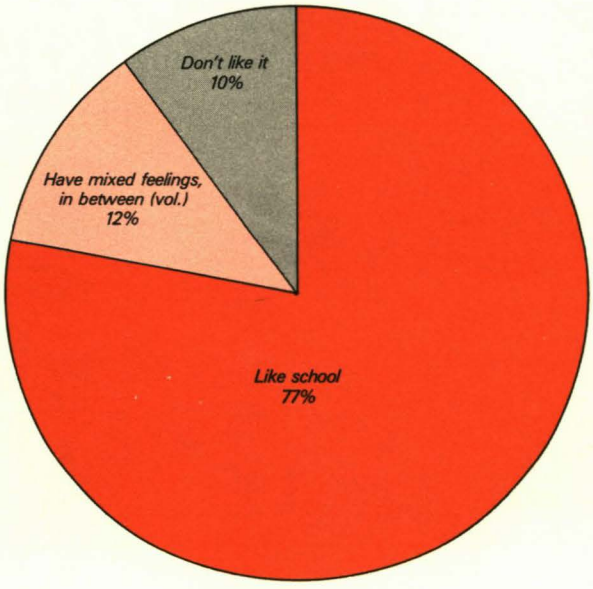


Note: Sample size = 531.

Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

Question: Now I'd like to ask you some questions about school. Generally speaking, do you like school, or don't you like it?

8-17 Year Olds



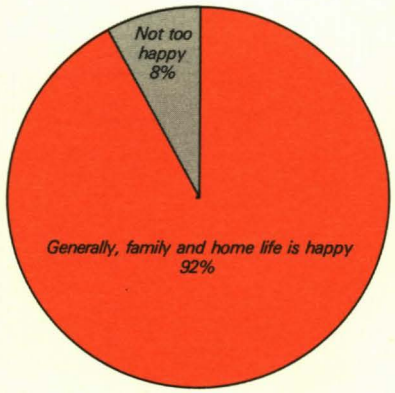
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

Family Feelings

HAPPY TOGETHER

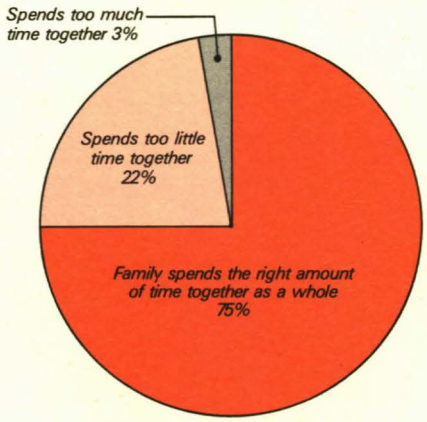
Question: Now I'd like to talk with you about your family and home life. Generally, would you say your home life is happy or not too happy?

8-17 Year Olds



Question: Thinking about the amount of time your family spends together as a whole, do you feel you spend *too much* time together, *too little* time, or *just the right amount* of time together?

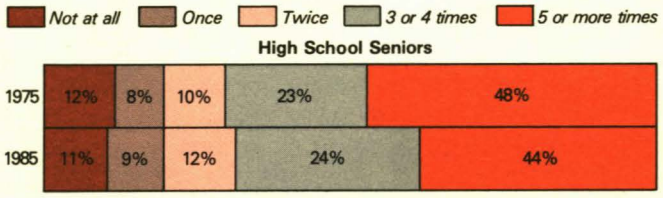
8-17 Year Olds



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

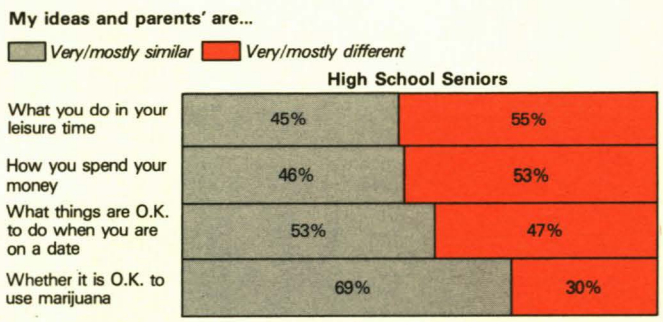
THE FAMILY FEUDS

Question: During the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often have you . . . Argued or had a fight with either of your parents?



Note: In 1975, question asked "During the last year how often have you. . . ."

Question: How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about . . .

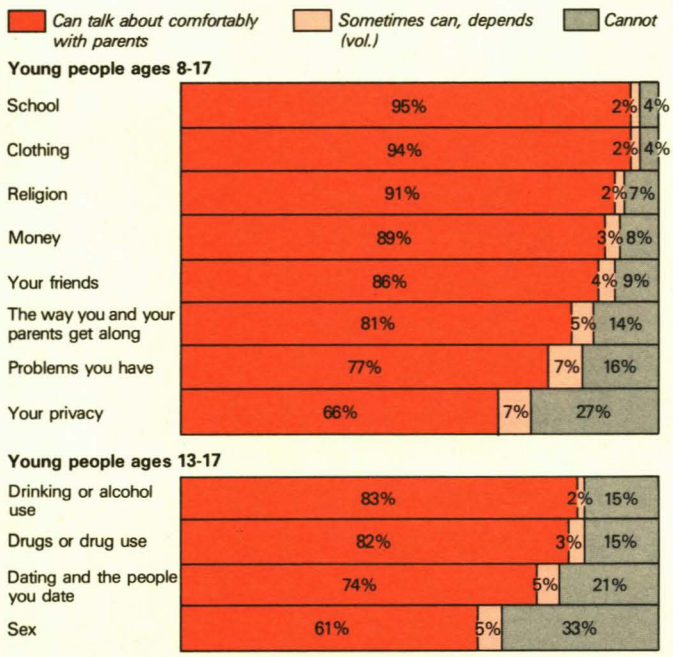


Note: "Don't know" calculated out. For "What things are O.K. to do when you are on a date" equaled 13%.

Source: Surveys by *Monitoring the Future*, Lloyd D. Johnston, Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, latest that of 1985.

KIDS SAY THE DARNEDEST THINGS

Question: Here is a list of some different things. (Hand respondent card) For each one, please tell me whether you feel that this is something about which you feel you can talk about comfortably with your parents or not?



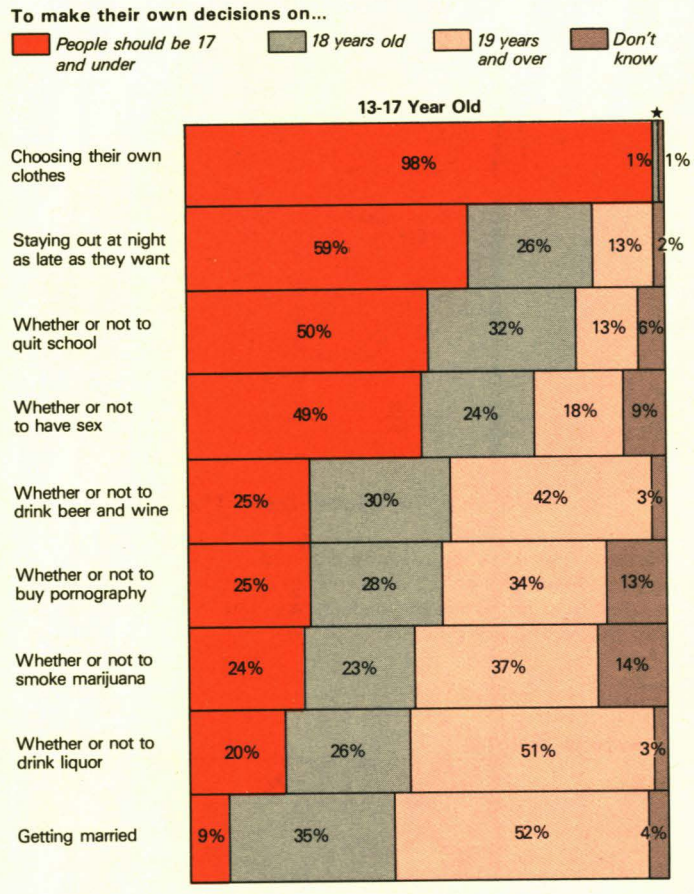
Note: Sample size = 469 young people ages 8-12, and 531 ages 13-17.

Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

Peers And Pressure

REBELS AND THEIR CAUSES

Question: Now, here is a list (hand respondent card) and, for each one I'd like you to tell me how old you feel people should be before they make their own decisions on those things. First . . . how old do you think people should be to make their own decisions?

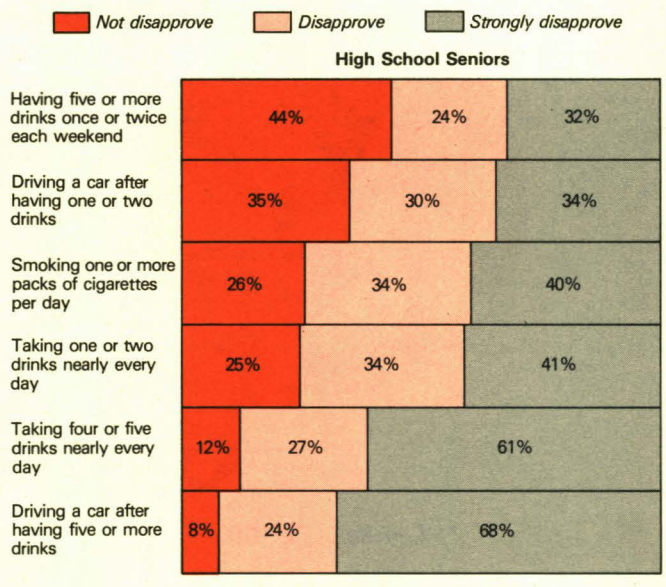


Note: * = less than 1%. Sample size = 531.

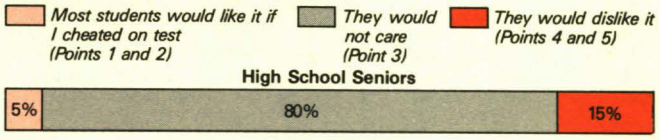
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for The American Chicle Group, *The American Chicle Youth Poll*, November 16-26, 1986.

RISKY BUSINESS

Question: How do you think your CLOSE FRIENDS feel (or would feel) about YOU doing each of the following things?



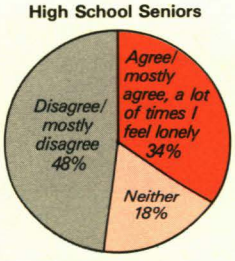
Question: The next questions are about your experiences in school. . . . How do you think most of the students in your classes would feel if you cheated on a test?



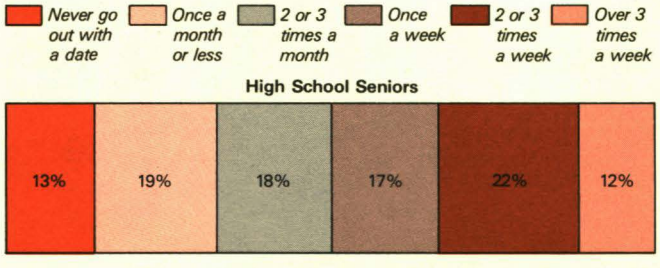
Source: Survey by *Monitoring the Future*, Lloyd D. Johnston, Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1985.

ANOTHER SATURDAY NIGHT AND I AIN'T GOT NOBODY

Question: Do you agree or disagree with each of the following? . . . A lot of times I feel lonely.



Question: On the average, how often do you go out with a date (or your spouse, if you are married)?

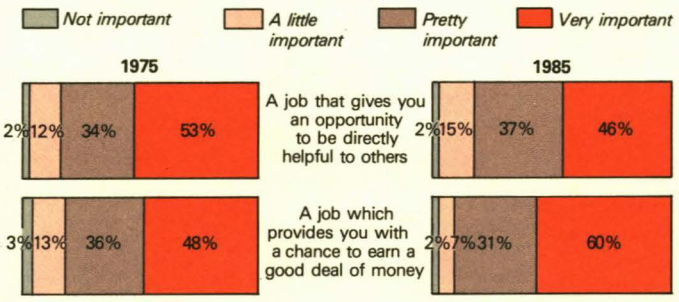


Source: Survey by *Monitoring the Future*, Lloyd D. Johnston, Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1985.

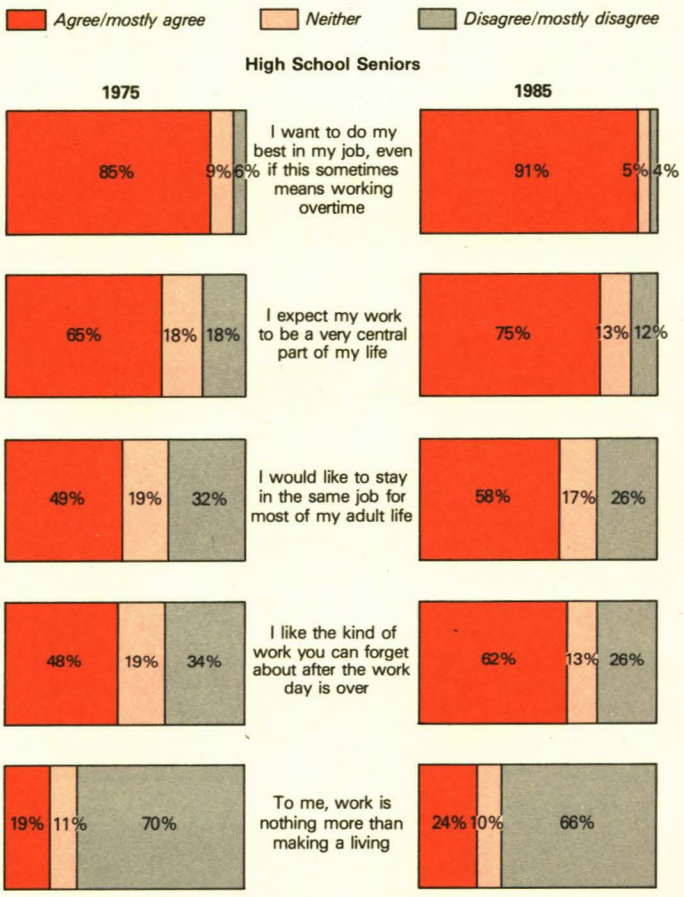
Future Perfect

JOB DESCRIPTIONS: ME vs THEE

Question: Different people may look for different things in their work. Below is a list of some of these things. Please read each one, then indicate how important this thing is for you.

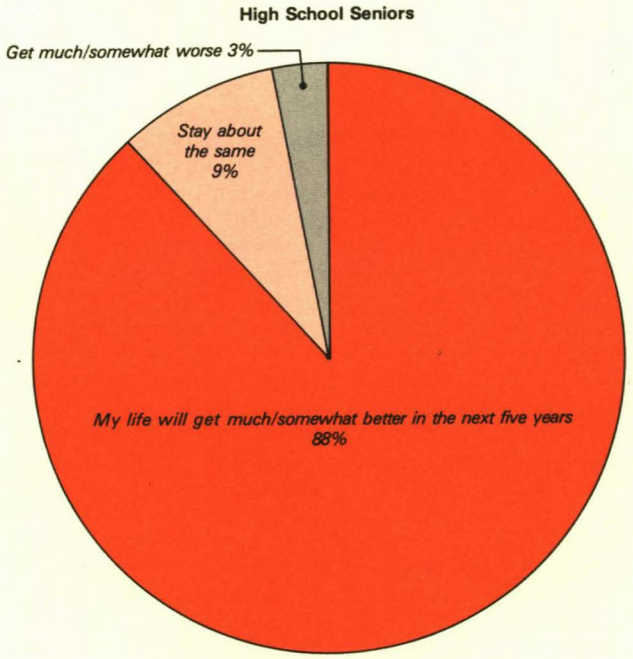


Question: In the following list you will find some statements about leisure time and work. Please show whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

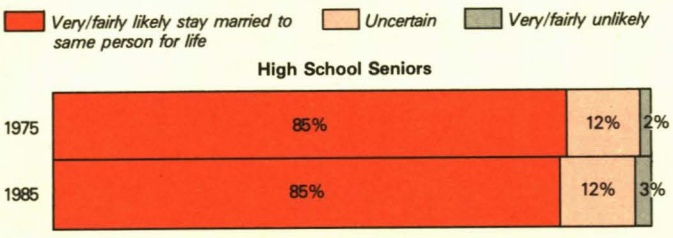


FUTURE TRADITIONS

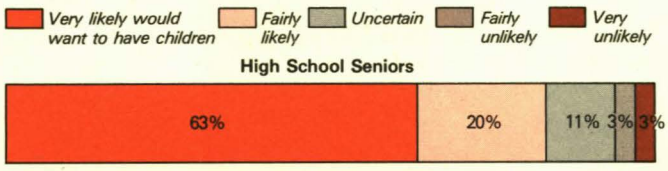
Question: How do you think your own life will go in the next five years—do you think it will get better or worse?



Question: If you did get married (or are married) . . . How likely do you think it is that you would stay married to the same person for life?



Question: If you did get married (or are married) . . . How likely is it that you would want to have children?



Source: Surveys by *Monitoring the Future*, Lloyd D. Johnston, Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, latest that of 1985.

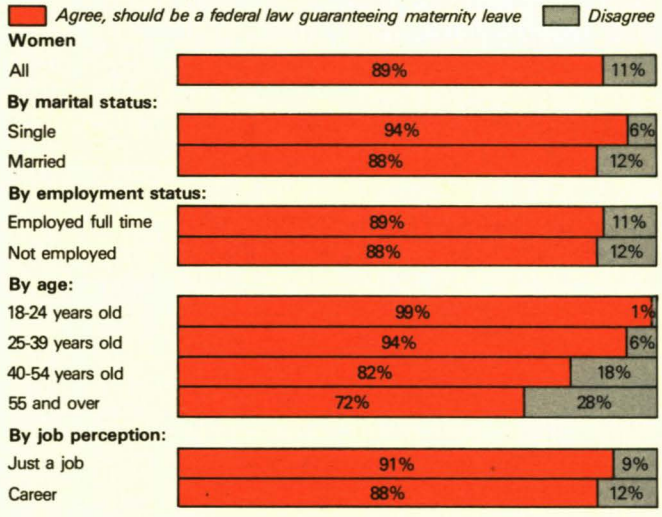
PARENTAL LEAVE:

In February 1987, Representatives Patricia Schroeder and William Clay introduced the Family and Medical Leave Act, H.R. 925. The bill entitles employees who have worked for three consecutive months, or 500 hours, to parental leave in certain situations. The bill provides unpaid family (maternal/paternal) leave of up to eighteen weeks over a twenty-four month period for the birth or adoption of a child; unpaid family leave for care of a seriously ill parent; unpaid employee leave for illness; and the creation of a commission to study paid leave. The bill has been dubbed "Yuppie welfare" by its critics, and hailed as essential and long overdue by supporters. What do most Americans think about it?

A solid majority of Americans think that unpaid parental leave is a good idea. When asked about *paid* leave, however, overall support shifts to opposition, although there are striking differences by age, sex, and ideology. There is more sympathy for requiring companies to provide leave for care of a sick child than for the birth or adoption of a child. The final question in this series shows that a plurality of Americans think that parental leave is a nice thing for companies to offer, but slightly less than a third think it should be required. The data show that Americans like parental leave, but balk at the notion of requiring companies to provide it.

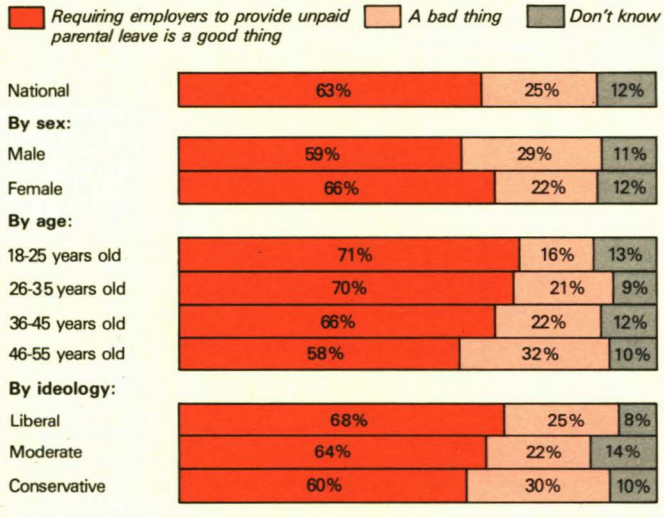
KHK

Question: I am going to read some statements to you about current issues. Please indicate if you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, or strongly disagree. . . . There should be a federal law guaranteeing maternity leave.



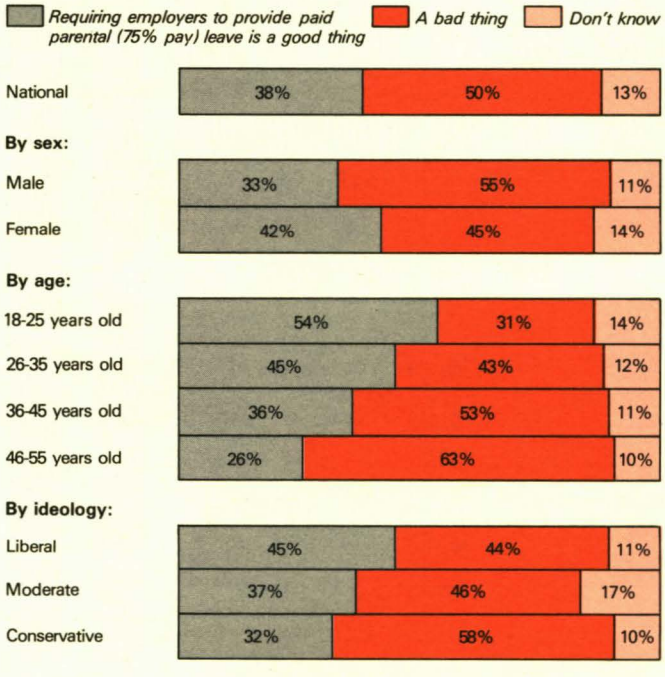
Note: Sample = 800 women.
Source: Survey by Mark Clements Research Inc. for *Glamour*, August 1986.

Question: Congress is now considering a bill, often called the "parental leave" bill, that would require employers with five or more workers to offer both mothers and fathers an unpaid leave of up to eighteen weeks after a birth or adoption. The legislation would require employers to give parents their former jobs or comparable ones when they returned to work. The bill would also allow parents time off to care for a seriously ill child. Do you think requiring employers to provide unpaid parental leave for employees is a good idea or a bad idea?



Note: Sample size = 1,430. Not all age categories shown.

Question: What about paid parental leave: Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to enact a law that would require employers to give both mothers and fathers three months of leave at 75 percent pay following a birth or an adoption?

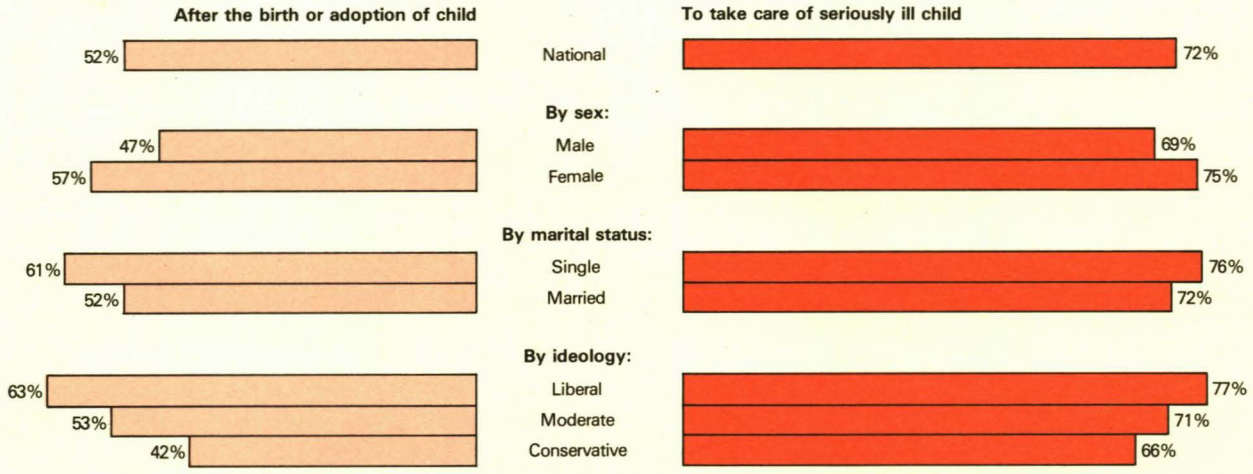


Source: Survey by Cambridge Reports, Inc., July 7-August 8, 1986.

PERK OR PRIORITY?

Question: Do you think companies should be required by law to let men and women take up to eighteen weeks of unpaid leave from their work (after the birth or adoption of their child/to take care of their seriously ill child), or don't you think so?

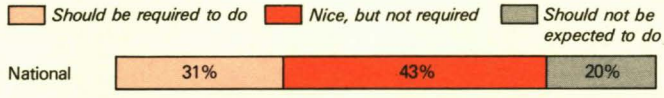
Companies should be required to provide up to 18 weeks unpaid parental leave...



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, July 14-15, 1986.

Question: Congress is considering a bill that would require companies employing more than fifteen people to grant up to eighteen weeks of *unpaid* leave to employees under certain circumstances and be required to hold the employee's job for him or her. Here are those circumstances. (Card shown respondent) Let's talk about the up-to-eighteen weeks leave first. Do you think granting such leaves is something companies should be required to do, or something that would be nice for them to do but not required, or something that they should not be expected to do?

Granting unpaid parental leave is something companies...



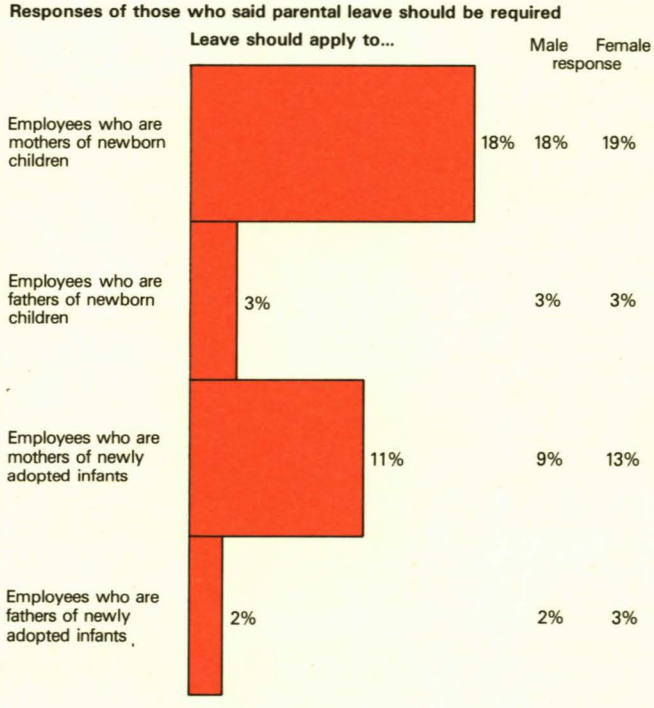
By selected groups			
By age:			
18-29 years	40%	40%	15%
30-44 years	33	47	16
45-59 years	27	43	21
60 years and over	20	43	29
By household income:			
Under $15,000	35	38	18
$15,000-24,999	30	44	20
$25,000-34,999	30	50	15
$35,000 and over	30	46	23
By occupation:			
Executive/professional	26	51	20
White collar	35	45	18
Blue collar	36	39	17
Homemaker	29	43	17
Employed women	38	42	15

Note: "Don't know" = 6% (national).

Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 87-1), December 6-13, 1986.

Question: (Asked of those who said parental leave should be required = 31%) Do you think the eighteen week leave should apply to all those on the list or only some of them? (If "only some") Which ones?

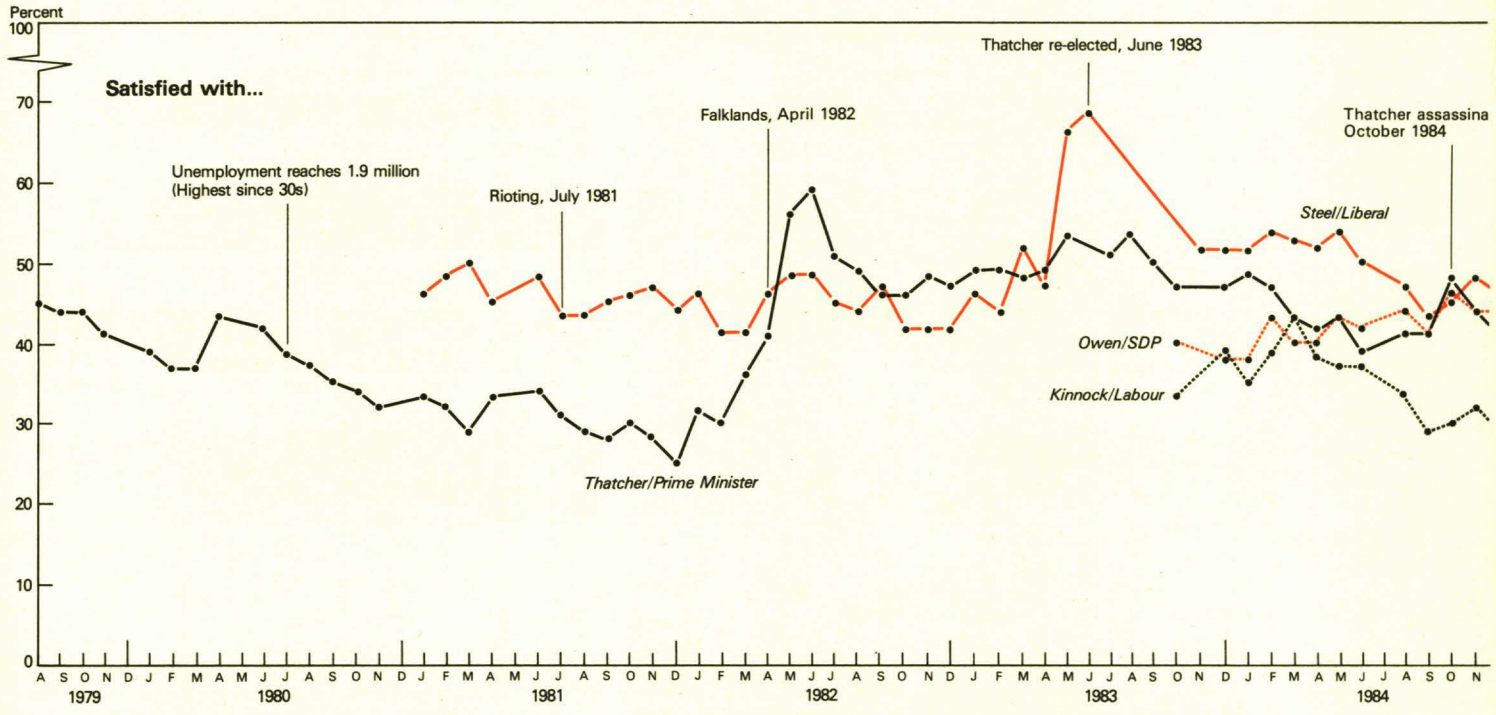
Responses of those who said parental leave should be required



Note: Ten percent of those who said parental leave should be required said it should be provided in all of these cases.

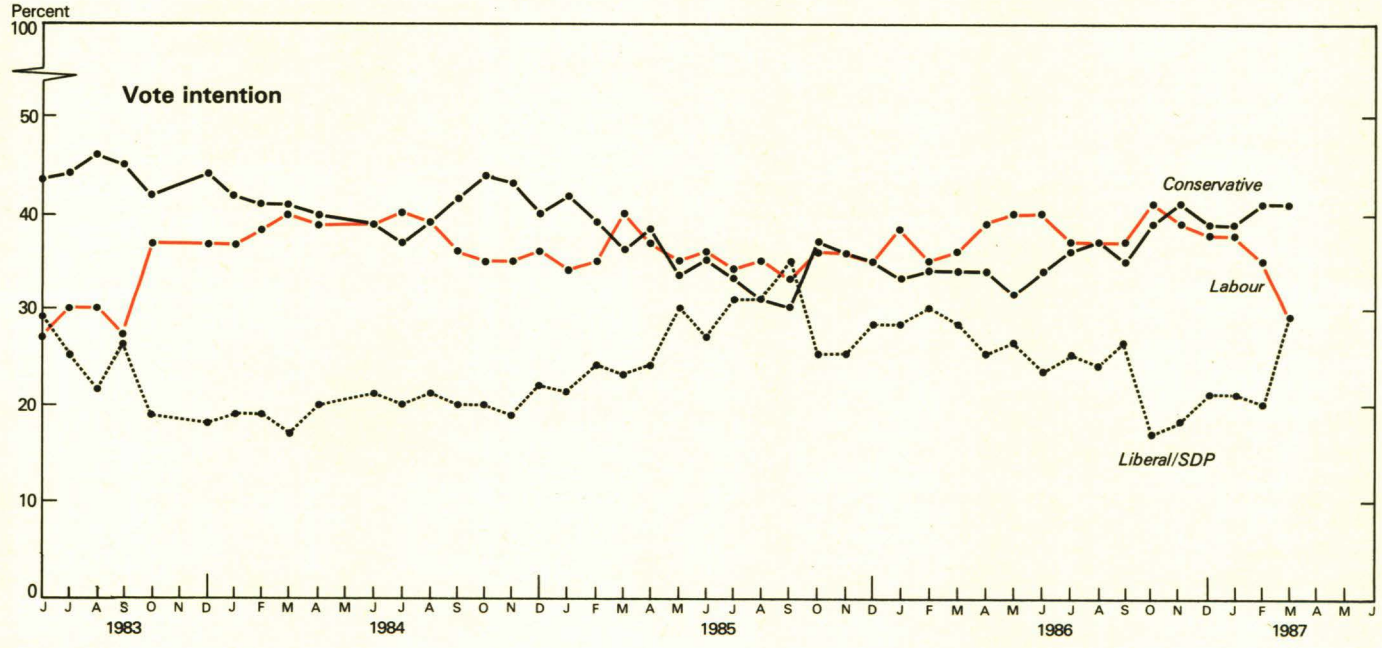
THE BRITISH LOOK

Question: Are you satisfied with the way . . . Mrs. Thatcher is doing her job as prime minister? . . . Mr. Kinnock is doing his job as leader of the Opposition? . . . Mr. Steel is doing his job as leader of the Liberal party? . . . Dr. Owen is doing his job as leader of the SDP?



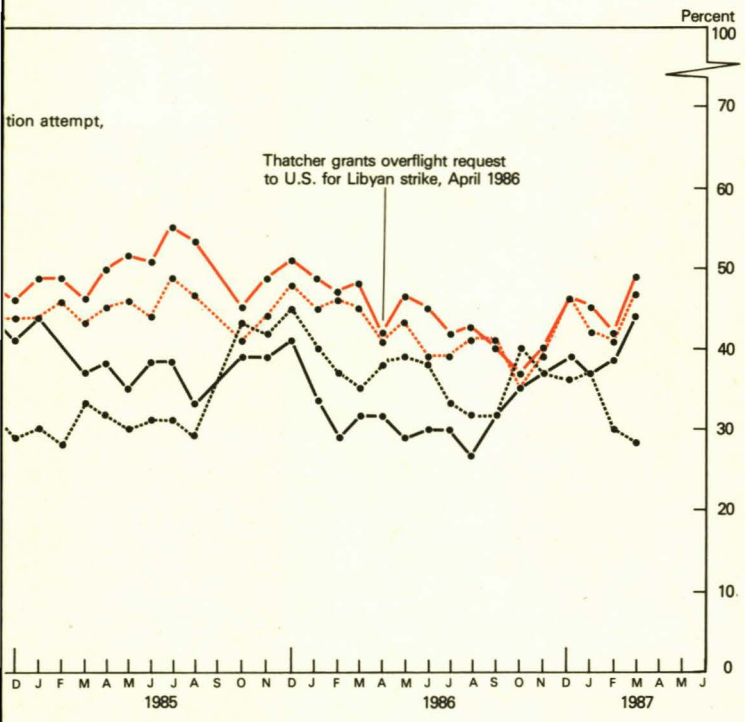
Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International (MORI) London, latest that of March 26-April 2, 1987.

Question: How would you vote if there were a general election tomorrow? (To those "undecided" or "refused") Which party are you most inclined to support?



Source: Surveys by Market & Opinion Research International (MORI) London, latest that of March 26-April 2, 1987.

TOWARD AN ELECTION



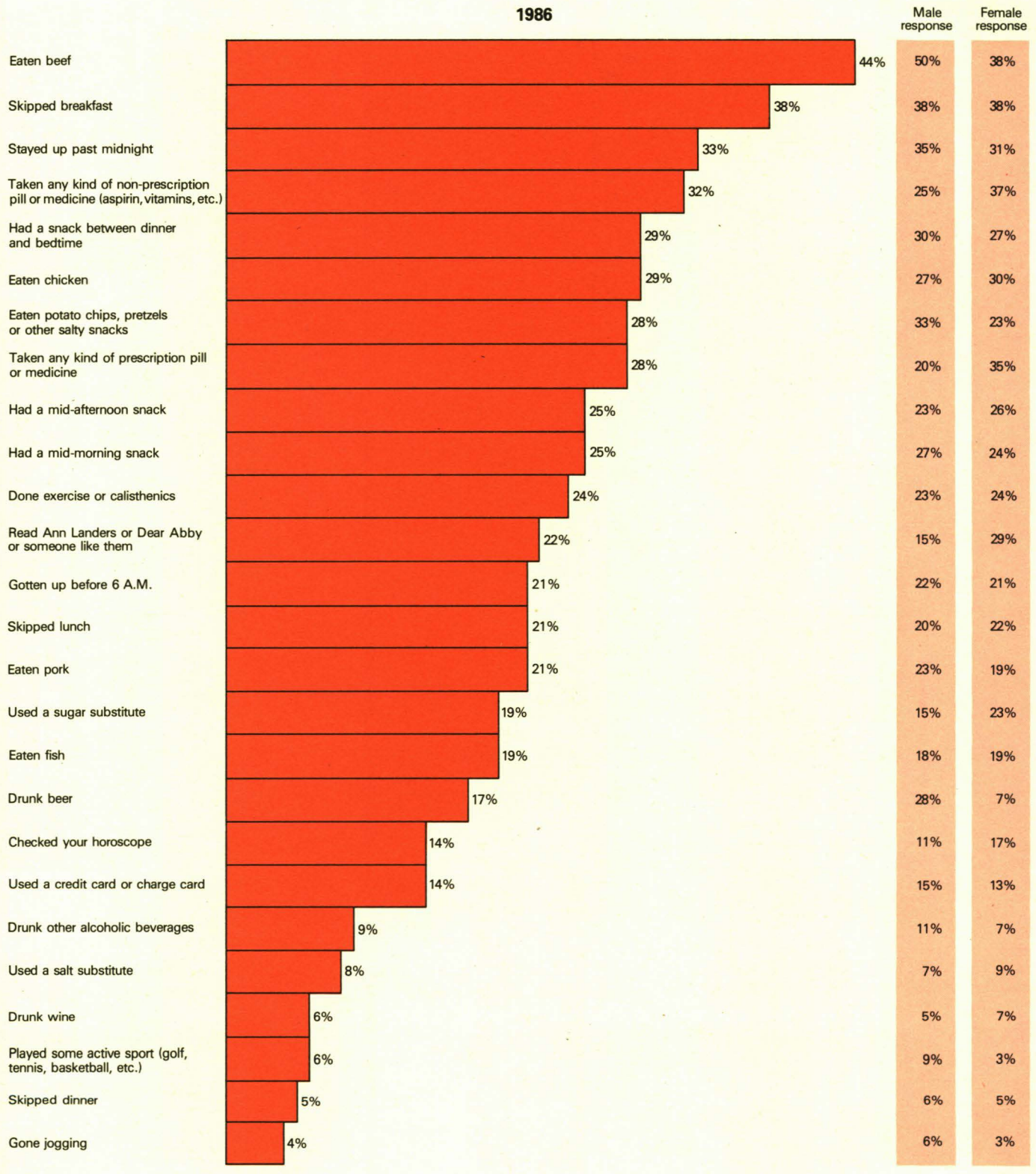
	Thatcher sat/dis	Steel sat/dis	Kinnock sat/dis	Owen sat/dis
1986				
Jan.	34/58	49/24	40/40	45/26
Feb.	29/64	47/29	37/46	46/29
March	32/61	48/29	35/46	45/29
April	32/61	42/33	38/45	41/31
May	29/64	47/28	39/42	43/30
June	30/62	45/30	38/43	39/33
July	30/63	42/29	33/44	39/30
Aug.	27/65	43/31	32/48	41/32
Sept.	32/59	40/33	32/46	41/31
Oct.	35/55	37/33	40/40	35/33
Nov.	37/54	40/35	37/45	39/34
Dec.	39/55	46/32	36/50	46/31
1987				
Jan.	37/56	45/27	37/47	42/30
Feb.	38/54	42/33	30/53	41/31
March	44/50	49/29	28/58	47/29

	Conservative	Labour	Liberal/SDP
June 1983	43%	27%	29%
July	44	30	25
Aug.	46	30	22
Sept.	45	27	26
Oct.	42	37	19
Dec.	44	37	18
Jan. 1984	42	37	19
Feb.	41	38	19
March	41	40	17
April	40	39	20
June	39	39	21
July	37	40	20
Aug.	39	39	21
Sept.	42	36	20
Oct.	44	35	20
Nov.	43	35	19
Dec.	40	36	22
Jan. 1985	42	34	21
Feb.	39	35	24
March	36	40	23
April	38	37	24
May	33	35	30
June	35	36	27

	Conservative	Labour	Liberal/SDP
July	33	34	31
Aug.	31	35	31
Sept.	30	33	35
Oct.	37	36	25
Nov.	36	36	25
Dec.	35	35	28
Jan. 1986	33	38	28
Feb.	34	35	30
March	34	36	28
April	34	39	25
May	32	40	26
June	34	40	23
July	36	37	25
Aug.	37	37	24
Sept.	35	37	26
Oct.	39	41	17
Nov.	41	39	18
Dec.	39	38	21
Jan. 1987	39	38	21
Feb.	41	35	20
March	41	29	29

ALL IN A DAY

Question: Which have you personally done in the last 24 hours?



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 86-3), February 8-22, 1986.

The Rise and Fall of the Pinstriped Populist

by Ronald Brownstein

Here is one of the country's most frequently quoted business critics offering his opinion of the Business Roundtable, an elite lobbying group of chief executive officers who wield great clout in Washington: "Anytime I see 200 of the largest corporations in America in association in a secret meeting, I got to think they can't be in there trying to figure out how to get cheaper prices for the consumer and more taxes for the government."

That's not Ralph Nader. It's not former Federal Trade Commission Chairman Michael Pertschuk. It's not Senator Howard Metzenbaum, either. The man with the itchy suspicions is oil executive and corporate raider T. Boone Pickens, Jr. This multimillionaire Republican has become as much a symbol of populist discontent with business as Nader was ten years ago.

Times change. In the conservative Reagan years, liberal business critics have stewed on the sidelines, and business executives sit in high-ranking positions throughout the government. Labor has been virtually neutered as a political force in Washington, and public interest groups have been reduced to defending victories of the 1960s and 1970s. These traditional voices of populist discontent with business—labor, liberals, public interest groups—might as well have unlisted phone numbers, for all the attention they have received in the past six years.

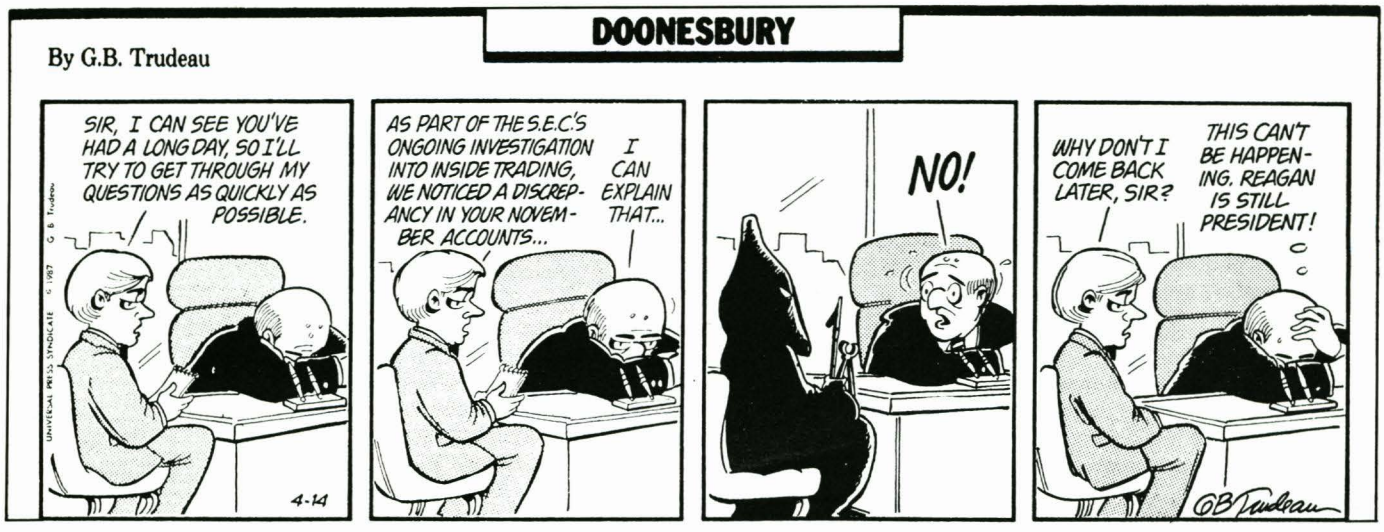
The populist distrust of large institutions, though, is such a deeply rooted force in American life that it can never be extirpated. It just bends to the times. In the 1980s, populism has worn pinstripes.

Crying on the Inside

In the past half decade, our most prominent populists have been businessmen. Billionaire H. Ross Perot replaced Ralph Nader as the most visible critic of the auto industry, and especially its leader, the giant General Motors Corporation. Perot joined GM's board of directors after the company acquired his Electronic Data Systems Corporation in 1984. From that improbable podium, he showered GM's management with volleys of determined, acerbic criticism. As a liberal academic or a union leader might have done in years past, Perot castigated the company's management for being ossified, too slow to change, and insensitive to its workers. He talked publicly about the need to "nuke the GM system."

Since its inception, General Motors has thrived on a close-knit, company-man culture. By those lights, Perot's public campaign was unseemly and disloyal. To some of his fellow executives, Perot—though a walking affirmation of capitalism's most dizzying rewards—metamorphosed into a latter-day Nader. "If there was one thing that all of the directors regarded as unacceptable, it was Perot's going public and becoming some sort of Ralph Nader while serving as an inside director of the company," one source close to the company told the *Washington Post* last December. Eventually, GM bought out—and shut up—Perot for about $700 million.

Perhaps even more unlikely than Perot's emergence was Chrysler Chairman Lee A. Iacocca's eleva-



tion to folk hero. The deification of Iacocca is a full-fledged social phenomenon: try to remember the last time you were on an airplane and didn't see at least one business traveler settling into his seat with the chairman's folksy autobiography.

Iacocca's public persona is built almost entirely on populist themes. As steward of the once-crippled Chrysler Corporation, Iacocca has successfully painted himself as an underdog, a little guy kicking the ankles of the industry's giants. Iacocca has moved into deeper, more dangerous, populist waters by offering an economic nationalism that blames the pain in the industrial heartland on distant, inscrutable forces—the Japanese and other foreign competitors. In cities that house the hulks of the steel and auto industries, protecting American jobs against foreign competitors is seen as almost a patriotic imperative. With his incessant warnings about the Japanese and his unabashedly flag-waving car commercials, Iacocca has proven himself more willing than any current national politician to tap into that powerfully populist (and ultimately xenophobic) current. That may be why, for a time, Iacocca was widely discussed as a possible presidential candidate.

And then there's T. Boone. The chairman of Mesa Petroleum and one of the most richly compensated executives in America, Pickens is the paradigm of the corporate populist. He has the language and the aw-shucks manner of traditional southern rabble-rousers, even as he lives the lifestyle of their traditional adversaries. Pickens, though, spots nothing to Huey Long in his disdain for business leadership. In his new autobiography, *Boone*, he writes: "Only a few chief executives have ever made any money on their own. In fact, most of them haven't made much money for their shareholders either; they just aren't moneymakers. They are bureaucrats, caretakers."

Pickens's critique of business runs along a straight line. He argues that corporate America needs to be shaken up, not by government, or by liberal do-gooders, but by "raiders" such as himself, who weed out unproductive managers through hostile takeovers. It is capitalism policing its own; Darwin in the boardroom. Aggressively popularizing this argument, Pickens almost singlehandedly changed the image of corporate takeover artists. He transformed them from rapacious anarchists (the prevailing view at the turn of the last decade) to champions of the little guy, battling against greedy managers to push up stock prices and to put more money in the average Joe's pocket. When a 1985 *Time* cover portrayed Pickens as a sort of Brooks Brothers Rhett Butler, his apotheosis was complete.

Pickens celebrates this view in his new autobiography. The book is moving up the best seller list briskly, but it isn't likely to approach *Iacocca*'s success. Pickens's memoir is hitting the stands just behind the curve. The day of the pinstriped populist as the principal voice of discontent with American business is fading; more traditional populist critics, with more severe prescriptions than Perot's or Pickens's or Iacocca's, appear poised to reenter the game.

The recent silence of those voices helps explain why business leaders have commanded so much attention. Also, the pinstriped populists have been so visible because the press is paying closer attention to business, finding distinctions and conflict in a community formerly considered monolithic. But, for the most part, Pickens and the rest have had a high profile because they have had the field to themselves.

Businessmen's Falling Stock

Under Reagan's administration, the Republican party has been bonded to business in outlook and priorities (notwithstanding well-publicized thrusts by politically shrewd corporate critics such as former Deputy Treasury Secretary Richard G. Darman). The Reagan years also coincided with—and accelerated—a Democratic courtship of business that pulled the party's center of gravity away from its populist wing. In recent years, the Democrats have aggressively recruited business leaders into a web of advisory and fund-raising organi-

(Continued on page 50)

A Portrait in Black and White: Out-of-Wedlock Births

by Douglas J. Besharov, Alison Quin, and Karl Zinsmeister

A taboo topic for two decades, the high out-of-wedlock birth rate among blacks can now be discussed openly. Until recently, even broaching the subject invited charges of racism. Ironically, now that it can be talked about freely, race has become a less important factor in illegitimacy rates. When income and education are taken into account, racial differences are cut in half. And the gap between black and white rates is closing rapidly.

In his 1965 report "The Negro Family," Daniel Patrick Moynihan voiced his concern about the breakdown of black families and the poverty it created. Because he used evidence emerging from the black community, out-of-wedlock births came to be considered a "black issue."[1] Moynihan was branded a racist, and the subject almost immediately moved off limits, for black leaders as well as social analysts.

As time passed, however, the evidence of rising illegitimacy among blacks and its social consequences grew impossible to avoid. In 1984, 59 percent of all black births took place out of wedlock, more than four times the white ratio, 13 percent.[2] Nearly 90 percent of black teenage mothers had their babies out of wedlock.[3]

The "family" question—particularly as it is applied to blacks—worked its way back into the public debate, and inspired such disparate discussions as George Gilder's *Visible Man* (1978), Ken Auletta's *The Underclass* (1982), Glenn Loury's "The Moral Quandary of the Black Community" (1985), and William J. Wilson and Kathryn Neckerman's "Poverty and Family Structure" (1986). Now, black leaders identify illegitimacy, abandonment, and female-headed families as problems threatening the future of the black community. The National Urban League's *The State of Black America, 1986*, for example, states that "teenage pregnancy in the black community is no longer . . . discussed in hushed tones among blacks."[4]

So, when the 1986 Bill Moyers CBS documentary "Vanishing Family—Crisis In Black America" finally cemented the new wisdom in the national consciousness (in the way only television seems able to), there was little argument. But there should have been.

Closing the Gap

Although black out-of-wedlock births are disconcertingly prevalent, illegitimacy is not simply a black problem. It is an American problem that, increasingly, cuts across all racial communities.

There are three ways to measure the out-of-wedlock births: *absolute number; birth rate;* and *ratio*. By each measure, black and white levels are converging.

First, the *absolute numbers:* From 1960 to 1980, black unwed births actually *exceeded* white unwed births. Only since 1981 has the number of white out-of-wedlock births surpassed that of blacks.[5] In 1984, unmarried white women gave birth to 391,929 children. The black figure was 350,896.[6] Thus, black women accounted for 46 percent of all out-of-wedlock births, a number disproportionately high given their percentage of women of childbearing age (16 percent).[7] Yet, the number of out-of-wedlock births is increasing more rapidly among whites than among blacks. Since 1969, the number of black out-of-wedlock births has increased 85 percent; the white number has increased 139 percent.[8]

The second measure, *birth rate,* is the number of births to unmarried women per thousand unmarried women of childbearing age in any given year. This tells us whether increases in the absolute number of out-of-wedlock births are attributable to increases in the number of unmarried women. In 1984, the black out-of-wedlock rate was 76.8, compared to 20.1 for whites.[9]

Although the black rate is almost four times that of whites, again, whites are catching up. The difference between the two races fell from about 7:1 (in 1970) to less than 4:1 (in 1984). Moreover, as the white rate has been increasing (up 45 percent since 1970),[10] the black rate has been declining (down 20 percent in the same period).[11]

The rise in the white out-of-wedlock birth rate is particularly striking in light of a 26 percent decline (between 1970 and 1984) in the birth rate for all women.[12] Unmarried black fertility rates are down, in line with the overall trend. But fertility among unmarried white women is up, going against the tide.

The third measure is *ratio*, that is, the proportion of unwed births to all live births. This controls for the number of births, as opposed to the number of unwed women of childbearing age. If women, in general, were having more children, that could account for a rise in both the absolute number and rates of unwed births—but the ratio would hold steady. The ratio for both blacks and whites has increased, but it is increasing faster for whites. Since 1970, the proportion of unwed births among whites has increased 58 percent,[13] while the black increase was only 38 percent.[14]

The Impact of Poverty

Differences in black and white illegitimacy are exaggerated by the failure to consider income and educational differences. About half of all out-of-wedlock births are to families with annual incomes under $10,000. According to an unpublished Census Bureau analysis, among families in this income range, the 1985 difference between the black and white out-of-wedlock birth rates drops from 4:1 to less than 2:1.[15] Although the black rate is still higher, the difference is of markedly less social significance.

A similar correlation between poverty and illegitimacy was found by Charles Murray in his study of illegitimacy rates in Ohio. He found that poverty and lack of education were more accurate predictors of high illegitimacy rates than was race; poverty and lack of education accounted for 67 percent of the variation in illegitimacy rates among white communities and 79 percent of the variation among black communities.[16] Although Murray concedes that "substantial black-white differences persist even after taking education and poverty into account," he concludes that "we have barely started asking the right question. When illegiti-

macy is so intertwined with socioeconomic class, it is absurd to use the black-white difference as the benchmark for discussion."

Not that the concern for black families is unwarranted. Blacks in female-headed families are inordinately likely to be poor. They account for, and suffer from, a disproportionately large share of our national pathology—crime, drug abuse, delinquency, teenage pregnancy, and so forth.

Black out-of-wedlock births have gained singular attention only because they have already become a majority phenomenon among blacks. It is in the black community where the centripetal forces acting on the American family can be seen most clearly. The out-of-wedlock birth ratio among American whites today is roughly what it was among non-whites thirty-five years ago.[17] If present trends continue, the time for TV specials about white illegitimacy will soon come.

The national out-of-wedlock birth ratio, calculated without regard to race, has increased from 5.2 percent of all live births in 1960 to 21 percent in 1984, a 74-percent increase.[18] The economic consequences of this soaring illegitimacy should be an urgent concern. Over the past several decades female-headed families with children have made up an increasing proportion of the poor. And, while divorced women are part of the "feminization of poverty," never-married women tend to be much poorer than their divorced counterparts. In 1985, the mean family income for a never-married mother with children under the age of eighteen was $6,225, less than half the average income of divorced women with children, $13,281.[19]

The extreme poverty of unwed mothers and their children is reflected in their high welfare recipiency rates. It appears that in 1982, almost three-fifths of all out-of-wedlock children in the United States were on AFDC.[20] Furthermore, unmarried mothers tend to stay on welfare for a much longer period than divorced mothers. According to David Ellwood, "Almost 40 percent of the women who have never been married when they begin to receive AFDC will have total welfare time of ten or more years, while less than 15 percent of the divorced women have such long welfare times."[21] Ellwood estimates that never-married women who go on AFDC stay on for an average of 9.3 years, while divorced women stay on for an average of 4.9 years.[22] One study estimated that the welfare costs for families started by teenage mothers, about 55 percent of whom are unmarried,[23] were $16.6 billion in 1985 and that the 385,000 children who were the firstborn of teenagers in that year would receive $5.2 billion in welfare benefits during the next two decades, a figure that does not include other services such as child protection, foster care, or day care.[24]

The causes of out-of-wedlock births are deeply rooted and complex. Certainly, new personal values, sexual practices, and cultural attitudes have had their effect. Poverty, however, does stand out. Looking at the strong correlation between poverty and out-of-wedlock births, some will say that the conditions that lie behind poverty help cause illegitimacy; others will look at the same data and conclude the opposite—that illegitimacy begets poverty. Still others would argue that the availability of welfare at least facilitates and perhaps encourages births out of wedlock. The data we have described do not settle this argument. But one thing should be clear: in looking for the causes of illegitimacy, we should look first at this correlation, rather than at the race of the mother. ☑

Douglas J. Besharov is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown and American Universities. Alison Quin is a research assistant at AEI. Karl Zinsmeister is a free-lance writer and demographic consultant. Krista Peterson helped prepare this article.

NOTES

1 In 1965, Senator Moynihan wrote: "The Negro family in the urban ghettos is crumbling. . . ." Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case For National Action* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Labor, 1965), p. xx.

2 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," *Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 35* (4) Supp. DHHS Pub. No. (PHS) 86-1120, Hyattsville, Md.: Public Health Service, July 18, 1986, pp. 13 and 31. [Hereinafter cited as "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984."]

3 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

4 National Urban League, *The State of Black America, 1986*, pp. 75-76, quoted in B. Bernstein, *Saving A Generation* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1986), at pp. 21-22.

5 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States: Natality* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 1-33, table 1-32; "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

6 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

7 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1986* (106th ed.) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1985), p. 26, no. 28.

8 *Vital Statistics of the United States: Natality* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960-1981).

9 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

10 From 13.9 births per thousand unmarried white women in 1970 to 20.1 in 1984. "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," pp. 32-33, table 19.

11 From 95.5 per thousand unmarried black women in 1970 to 76.8 in 1984. "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," pp. 32-33, table 19.

12 From 87.9 births per thousand women of child-bearing age in 1970 to 65.4 in 1984. "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 13, table 5.

13 From 6 percent of births to whites in 1970 to 13 percent in 1984. *Vital Statistics of the United States: Natality* (1970), pp. 1-30, table 1-32; "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

14 From 38 percent of births to black women in 1970 to 59 percent in 1984. *Vital Statistics of the United States: Natality* (1970), pp. 1-30, table 1-32: "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

15 M. O'Connell (March 1987). [Comparison of out-of-wedlock birth rates for blacks and whites, by income.] Unpublished data tabulated and graciously provided by Dr. Martin O'Connell of the United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Among women with incomes above $25,000, the difference between blacks and whites widens again to about 8:1. An explanation offered by some is that there is a shortage of suitable black men to marry middle- and upper-class black women. *See* W.J. Wilson and K. Neckerman, "Poverty and Family Structure," in S. Danziger and D. Weinberg, eds., *Fighting Poverty* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981) pp. 232-59.

16 C. Murray, "White Welfare, White Families, 'White Trash'," *National Review*, March 1986, vol. 38, pp. 30-34. Murray's study was based on Ohio illegitimacy statistics among blacks and whites in cities, suburbs, towns, and rural areas, and on socioeconomic data from the 1980 census.

17 For non-whites in 1950, the ratio was 16.8 percent, while for whites in 1984, it was 13.4 percent. *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1986*, at p. 64, no. 94; "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 32, table 18.

18 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 13, table 1 and p. 31, table 18; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1975), pp. 49 and 52.

19 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (July 1985).[Living arrangements of children, by characteristics of the parent, by marital status of the parent: March 1986.] Unpublished data graciously provided by Arlene Saluter. The income difference between divorced and never-married women does not appear attributable to a difference in average household size. The mean number of siblings in households headed by divorced women was 1.09, while for those headed by never-married women, it was 1.21.

20 N. Eberstadt, "Economic and Material Poverty in Modern America." Paper presented to the Working Seminar on the Family and American Welfare Policy, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., 1987.

21 D. Ellwood, *Targeting 'Would-be' Long-term Recipients of AFDC* (Contract No. 100-84-0059). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, January 1986, p. xiii.

22 D. Ellwood, p. 42, table IV.1.

23 "Advance Report of Final Natality Statistics: 1984," p. 31, table 18.

24 M. R. Burt, "Estimating the Public Costs of Teenage Child Bearing," *Family Planning Perspectives*, September/October 1986, pp. 221-226.

Why Growing Old is Getting Better

by Leslie Lenkowsky

High on any list of Hollywood's all-time tear-jerkers would undoubtedly be a now-forgotten movie, *Make Way for Tomorrow*. The movie, starring Victor Moore and Beula Bondi, appeared in the mid-1930s. It told the story of an endearing elderly couple in the midst of the Great Depression, living together in their own home, seemingly in good health but facing the prospect of their declining years with no one to care for them. Their children, beset by their own concerns or living too far away, showed no eagerness to be helpful. In the end, after much family agonizing, the parents accept the inevitable. Not an eye could have possibly stayed dry as Moore finally placed his wife on a train to *her* nursing home, while he prepared to board a different one to *his*.

Just as this film was prompting a run on Kleenex, the Roosevelt administration was drafting legislation that aimed to make such family dramas a thing of the past. Though also concerned with the unemployed, the main purpose of the Social Security Act of 1935 was to ensure that the elderly would have enough to live on after retirement. Because so many were thought to have exhausted their savings (or lost them in a bank collapse), to have inadequate financial support from their children, and to dread the prospect of going to local welfare officials for relief, poverty in old age became a major concern. The 1935 law was designed to deal with the problem and, by most accounts, it has done so successfully.

According to the official Census Bureau statistics, fewer than one in seven people above the age of sixty-five were poor in 1985 (the last year for which figures are available). If in-kind benefits, such as food stamps, Medicare, and Medicaid were taken into account, the elderly poverty rate might drop below 3 percent. To no small extent, the increasing value of social security benefits has had much to do with the steady decline in poverty among the elderly since the 1960s. Indeed, without the program, close to half the aged might be poor. As Senator Daniel P. Moynihan has observed, "Social security has removed much of the fear of growing old."

Old Myths

Nonetheless, the belief that the "golden years" are not really so golden dies hard, especially on television. After reviewing nearly 150 stories on the aged that were broadcast by the network nightly news shows between 1980 and 1985, the University of Rochester's Bruce Jacobs concluded, "The vast majority of segments in which individual old people are portrayed have as a central theme some form of deprivation or victimization." And even though many commentators have also noted the improved well-being of the elderly, a 1985 *Los Angeles Times* poll found that two-thirds of the public thought the percentage of old people living in poverty was increasing.

More recently the Villers Foundation, a Washington, D.C. charity that assists the aged, issued a report aimed at disproving the supposedly growing myth that the elderly are "living very well—at the expense of everyone else." To the contrary, argued the report, even after counting social security benefits, a vast portion of older Americans—42 percent—are poor or close to it and are "economically vulnerable." (That is, have annual incomes below $10,312 for an individual and $13,006 for a couple—twice the poverty line.) Moreover, many of the elderly incur extraordinarily high expenses for medical care, leaving them in greater need than the poverty figures alone suggest.

While social security and other programs have helped enormously, major gaps in the safety net remain. Generally, no more than a third of the elderly estimated to be eligible receive aid from means-tested programs like supplemental security income (SSI), Medicaid, and food stamps. Budgetary measures (such as the 1983 delay in cost-of-living adjustments for social security and increases in what Medicare recipients must pay out-of-pocket for hospital bills) have also hurt older people.

Far from having done too much, we still have far to go to defeat "the ancient economic foes of the elderly: poverty, economic vulnerability, fear, uncertainty." According to the Villers Foundation, "Too many Americans spend their last years living in shadow on the wrong side of Easy Street." To brighten their lives, however, we must first "rid the neighborhood of a few myths."

The Cares of the Aged

If that is really the case, the place to start may have to be with the elderly themselves. For, at the same time the Villers Foundation was issuing its gloomy assessment, a Louis Harris poll of the aged conducted for the Commonwealth Fund Commission on Elderly People Living Alone revealed a different picture. Only one in seven older people reported that not having enough money to live on was a "serious problem." Slightly more (17 percent) felt they had too many medical bills. Similar proportions were concerned about being in poor health or needing money in the future. Altogether, according to the Harris poll, far more than a majority of the elderly go through each day without frequent difficulties, serious problems, or worrisome fears.

But what about the minority who do encounter such troubles? Roughly half, it turns out, say they get the help they need. This is especially true for physical problems, such as going shopping or cooking meals; of those who require help, hardly anyone fails to get it. Approximately one-third reported that they received needed financial assistance; those who did not amounted to less than 10 percent of all the elderly. This is about half the number estimated to be eligible for SSI who for one reason or another are not claiming it.

To be sure, the Harris survey concluded that, based on reported income, 21 percent of the elderly were living below the poverty-line. Three-quarters of this group, however, said they did *not* regard themselves as having been poor before reaching age sixty-five; no effort was made to determine how many thought of themselves as poor when polled. Furthermore, more than half of the aged poor said they did not have even one serious problem or worry, and of those who did, many appeared able to obtain help.

The portrait of the elderly that emerges from this survey is certainly not one of a group living on "Easy Street." But it is not one of vast distress and "economic vulnerability" either. More than 90 percent say they are "satisfied" with their lives. Indeed, the most startling finding in the Harris poll is that the aged seem to be four times more likely to *give* financial assistance to family members and friends than to receive it. In stark contrast to the 1930s, when the elderly relied on the charity of their children, a large segment of today's elderly are likely to find their children or other relatives relying on them.

Living Alone and Liking It

Not all older people are so fortunate. Both the Harris survey and the Villers Foundation report pay particular attention to the plight of the elderly who live by themselves. Typically widows in their eighties, this group is considerably more likely to be poor, infirm, and without close relatives. For them, growing old does indeed entail increasing hardships, often culminating in institutionalization and loss of independence.

Nonetheless, though the plight of these so-called "old-old" (age 85 and above) is tragic, it is important to put it in perspective. In the first place, the proportion of all elderly who are poor and living alone is small—roughly 8 percent, according to Harris. (The number above the age of eighty is smaller still.) Moreover, all are people who worked (or whose spouses worked) at a time when private pensions and deferred savings plans were less widely available. Hence, a smaller portion have income besides social security than is the case with the "young-old." Not least important, efficient ways of helping this group—means-tested programs like SSI and Medicaid—are already in place. Indeed, nearly 40 percent of the elderly, the Harris survey reports, would be willing to have their own social security benefits reduced in order to provide more assistance to the aged who live in poverty. What may stand in the way of such a solution is the reluctance of many of the "old-old"—who came of age during the Depression—to accept help from programs that are reminiscent of "relief."*

Ironically, the worry now expressed by foundations and policy makers about people who live independently into their eighties is a considerable tribute to the progress the elderly have made. No longer is assuring financial security their main problem; rather, coping with the inevitable consequences of a longer life span—social and medical as well as economic—is. This is a more difficult matter, and we may find that the very independence social security and other programs have permitted and encouraged hinders our efforts at a solution. But that is in the future. In the meantime, it will do no good pretending that a large proportion of the elderly still live in circumstances not far removed from the past, when reaching the age of sixty-five might have meant being carted off to a nursing home—if one was lucky. ☑

*Much the same observations apply to the older members of minority groups, who are also disproportionately poor. They are relatively small in number, their earnings and savings histories were affected by discrimination or other kinds of disadvantages that are no longer considered as common, and they share the distaste that others of their generation have for public assistance. Without minimizing the hardships they currently endure, the prospects for minority group elderly in the future are likely to be no better—or worse—than for the aged as a whole.

Leslie Lenkowsky is president of the Institute for Educational Affairs.

ARE COLLEGE COSTS A PROBLEM?

by Terry W. Hartle

College degrees have become more expensive just at the time that their quality is being questioned. Since 1980 the price charged by colleges has climbed 75 percent, while the consumer price index has advanced by just 33 percent. Over the same period, median family income has grown by roughly 34 percent.

People have noticed the change. In a December 1986 survey by the Opinion Research Corporation (ORC), 82 percent agreed that costs were rising at a rate that will put college out of reach for most people.

A college education can cost a phenomenal amount of money. The average annual cost to attend a private university (including tuition, fees, room, and board) has more than tripled in fifteen years—from $3,163 in 1970-1971 to $11,765 in 1986-1987. Public universities went from $1,478 a year to $4,410 over the same period. In the 1980s, college tuition has risen faster than the cost of food, energy, new cars, new houses, and even medical care (see table 1).

Table 1

PRICE INCREASES IN THE 1980s:
COLLEGE TUITION LEADS THE WAY

College tuition	75%
Medical care	63
New houses	42
All consumer prices	33
Food	26
New cars	25
Energy	3

Source: Basic data from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Department of Education. Calculations by the author and Arthur Hauptman.

Rising college costs create problems for everyone. For many families, higher education will be more expensive than anything except a new house. Students often borrow huge amounts of money to finance their education, and there are mounting concerns that some college graduates are excessively indebted when they leave school. Colleges and universities have struggled to explain why tuition is rising so rapidly, but so far they've been unconvincing. Policy makers face growing demands to expand student aid programs (or to create new ones) to guarantee that qualified students can afford a college degree.

Despite these concerns about rising college prices, many adults continue to believe that higher education is affordable. In the December ORC poll, 52 percent—an all-time high—said that they would be better able to afford college today than five years ago. Among college graduates in the ORC poll—the type of adults most likely to send their children to college—60 percent said they could better afford it now.

A similar pattern emerges among college students. For more than a decade, the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles have surveyed college freshmen to determine their attitudes and characteristics. Among other things, the surveyors ask students if they are concerned about financing their education. Over the last ten years, their answers have changed little.

In 1976, 35 percent of all college freshmen expressed "no concern" about paying for their education, compared with 36 percent last year. The percentage of students who called the financing of higher education a "major concern" actually declined over the same period (see table 2).

A few minor shifts in perception have taken place, but the general trend has not changed: college freshmen have about the same level of concern about financing their education that they did a decade ago. Indeed, the only significant changes that have taken place are at the predominantly black colleges, where the percentage of students expressing no concern has *increased* and major concern has *declined*. Since these schools enroll large numbers of economically disadvantaged and minority students, the results are surprising.

Table 2

CONCERN ABOUT FINANCING COLLEGE
(Responses of college freshmen)

Students in:	1976	1980	1986
All institutions			
No concern	35%	34%	36%
Some concern	49	52	50
Major concern	16	15	14
All two-year colleges			
No concern	37	35	34
Some concern	47	52	51
Major concern	15	14	15
All four-year colleges			
No concern	33	33	37
Some concern	50	52	49
Major concern	17	15	14
All universities			
No concern	34	34	38
Some concern	50	51	49
Major concern	16	15	13
Predominantly black colleges			
No concern	22	28	28
Some concern	48	51	50
Major concern	30	21	21

Source: *American Freshmen: National Norms for Fall . . .*, Cooperative Institutional Research Program, American Council on Education and the University of California, Los Angeles.

Affording the Opportunity

This evidence is not definitive, but it does suggest that the cost of higher education *may* not be the overwhelming burden that popular stories suggest. Why would this be?

There are several possible explanations. The first is lack of awareness. Some adults and many college freshmen may simply fail to anticipate the substantial expense involved in financing a higher education. In these cases, the first tuition bill might come as a tremendous shock. The flip side of this offers another possible explanation. Parents may have anticipated higher college costs and prepared themselves better by putting money aside.

A second explanation is that many parents and students recognize that financial aid can greatly reduce the actual cost of college attendance. There can be a substantial difference between the *posted* price of a college education (what colleges say they charge) and the *net* price to students/parents after financial aid has been figured into the equation. Most people seem to recognize this. Seventy percent of the respondents in the December 1986 ORC poll said that they would not be able to afford higher education without the help of low-interest loans or grants. Today, roughly half of all college students receive some financial help from the federal government to meet college bills. At some schools, especially private institutions, the percentage is much higher.

The belief that federal student aid programs should be protected from budget cuts is well established. A February 1985 Harris poll found a 79 percent majority convinced that it would be "a serious mistake to cut a federal student loan program." More recently, a January 1987 ABC News/*Washington Post* poll found that 46 percent wanted to increase loans and grants to college students, and 39 percent wanted them left at

Reprinted by permission, United Feature Syndicate.

about the same level. Only 14 percent wanted to see less student aid available.

A third possibility is that most college students (80 percent) attend public institutions, where the price is subsidized and relatively affordable. Roughly 35 percent of America's college students go to community colleges, where the average annual tuition in 1986-1987 was about $660. Another 25 percent of college students are in four-year public colleges (as opposed to universities), where tuition is roughly $1,300 per year. In both types of schools, students often commute and save on room and board.

For those contemplating tuition at a private college or university, attitudes can be quite different. A 1984 Roper survey found that 37 percent of parents wanted their children to attend a private college, but less than 40 percent of those thought that was where their children would go. (Only about 20 percent of college students attend private institutions.) In most cases, those who preferred a private college but expected their children to go elsewhere said it was because they would not be able to afford the higher priced schools.

Finally, perceptions about the affordability of higher education may be shaped by general economic growth. For the last four years the nation has enjoyed slow but steady economic growth with incomes rising slightly faster than consumer prices. Thus, some may believe they are in a better position to afford a college education than they would have been in the late 1970s or early 1980s. Then, incomes were rising slower than consumer prices and public confidence in future economic growth was low. The reality, of course, is that with college price increases far outstripping income growth, many families are falling behind.

One concern is whether consumers will continue to regard higher education as a good investment. Public estimates of the value of a higher education have been increasing. Yet, growing worry about college quality—fueled by Education Secretary William Bennett's tough questions and several critical reports—suggests that public views may begin to change, as they did toward elementary and secondary education in the mid-1970s. If this happens, and college costs continue to soar upward, America's colleges and universities might find themselves priced out of the market. ☑

Terry W. Hartle is the chief education adviser for the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. He wrote this article while he was a resident fellow at AEI.

Brownstein

(Continued from page 42)

zations affiliated with the official party committees. Though these groups had nowhere near the impact their critics suggested, they symbolized a larger truth: with both parties trying to demonstrate their fitness for running the economy, neither wanted to be viewed as the enemy of business.

That's still true, but less so. Times are changing again. The spreading scandal on Wall Street—reinforced by the Iran scandal in Washington—is already reactivating the voices of liberal populism.

The fall of Ivan F. Boesky and a raft of his high-living compatriots, allows liberal populists to suggest (as they have been longing to do for six years now) that immorality is the inexorable result of a culture based solely on the acquisition of material reward. Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., keen as always to changes in the political curve, was among the first to sound the new cry. He wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* last December: "The Reaganite ethos is at bottom the ethos of greed, and Ivan Boesky is the predictable result."

The Democratic presidential contenders are close on Schlesinger's heels. They found during the tax reform debate last year that business was still a good target for popular discontent. Now, emboldened by the headlines from Wall Street, they are attacking the underlying tenet of the business culture: that self-interest, aggressively pursued, inevitably yields public benefits.

Joseph Biden, one of the Democratic hopefuls, expressed the new old counter-argument in a February speech to the AFL-CIO: "For too long, we have pushed individualism over community. It's been 'I got mine, you get yours' and 'What's in it for me?' Ronald Reagan's standard has been wealth and economic gain for the individual. That measure of the bottom line can tell us everything except that which has been most important to this country."

That standard—of maximizing individual wealth—has been the pinstriped populists' standard too. As it faces challenges, so will they. At one level, the insider trading scandals are undoing the incredible public relations job Pickens has done burnishing the image of corporate takeovers. Once again, threatened executives are picturing the raiders as rapists, and pressure is growing in Congress for action to restrict takeovers.

The more lasting damage will be to business's image. The Wall Street scandals virtually guarantee that the pinstriped populists will be outflanked by other voices less sympathetic to the basic values of corporate managers. Business executives didn't like getting nailed to the wall by Pickens and Perot. They're probably going to like what's coming even less. ☑

Ronald Brownstein is the West Coast correspondent for the National Journal.

Is Congress about to wage war against the forces of change?

Not a day passes but a major company announces a restructuring. Job layoffs, takeovers and raw—sometimes criminal—speculation accompanies it. Some people say: All these layoffs and plant closings mark the end of the U.S. as a manufacturing power. They say: We're living in a casino society. They say: Our economy is nothing but "hollow" corporations.

Forbes says: Nonsense.

Four times in this century restructuring has occurred on a frightening scale in U.S. business. Each time we emerged stronger than before. Joseph Schumpeter, the great Austrian economist, called such upheavals "The process of creative destruction."

Yes, a destructive gale rages today. Once-great corporations like RCA, Sperry, General Foods and International Harvester disappear. Greenmail thrives and crooked inside traders make hundreds of millions of dollars. One car in four sold in the U.S. today is Japanese and mighty General Motors is shaken by dissent and lagging sales.

But in sweeping so much away, this latest gale of creative destruction has added 10 million net new jobs in just four years. Semiconductors, fiber optics, and genetics are opening vast new frontiers of wealth creation. Lively new companies are springing up and growing fast. The financial system is evolving new forms in response to modern communications and economic complexity.

Drawing on the magazine's unique knowledge about business and business people, Forbes' 70th Anniversary Issue will pull together the seemingly contradictory events of the past few years into a meaningful pattern that will help executives cope with the current turmoil and uncertainties.

Forbes' 70th Anniversary Issue will feature lists of the leading companies of the past and of today. These statistical rankings will show, more dramatically than prose can, that change, not stability, has been the defining characteristic of the U.S. corporate system.

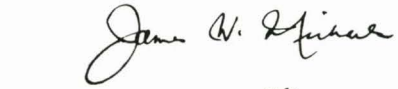
Feature articles will answer such key questions as:

- Where is all this restructuring taking us?
- Why have we not caught the British disease?
- Could we have another 1929?
- Is free trade obsolete?
- What causes great companies to decline?
- What became of the other waves of restructuring—and the politicians who tried in vain to check them?

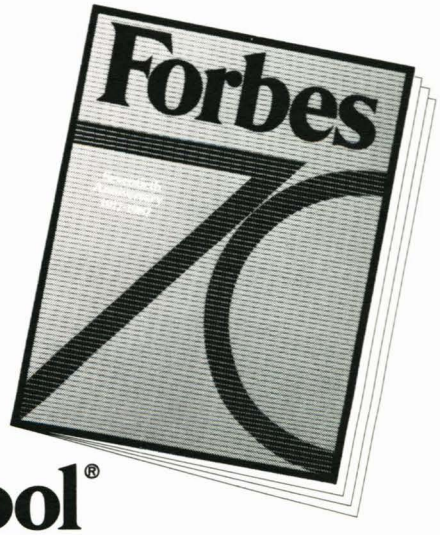
We will look at restructuring in Japan; at the dealmakers of the 20th century, from J.P. Morgan, to Clarence Dillon, to the van Sweringen brothers, to Jimmy Ling, to Michael Milken; and at the internationalization of business—why it is both irresistible and beneficial.

Some of our regular features (Numbers Game, Taxing Matters, Technology, Careers) will treat the theme of change and restructuring from different perspectives. Consider, for example, the great failures of attempts to predict technologies: How much has been lost on "undersea farming" and "magnetohydrodynamics" and "automated highways"—and how many companies missed the opportunity to sell computers for desktops?

Forbes' 70th anniversary issue (dated July 13) will influence the direction of public policy when Congress is tempted to build dams against the tidal wave of change.



Editor



Be present in Forbes magazine's 70th Anniversary Issue - the year's most important issue of any publication. Closing date is June 1st.

Forbes
Capitalist Tool®
Forbes Magazine—60 Fifth Ave., N.Y., NY 10011

Making Mr. Right
(Continued from page 5)

comfortable with himself. That shows and it's important. Sam Nunn comes from a place that a Democrat needs to secure in order to win. He would have to look to the rest of the ticket to do the rest of the job, but that natural Democratic base allows Nunn to do well in a presidential race.

Foreign policy and defense have been Democratic weaknesses. Nunn is in a position of leadership on those issues now. He would still face major battles in the Democratic primaries.

What I would look for more would be an unknown quantity—the Jimmy Carter factor. That might present the biggest problem for Republicans. When Carter emerged from the pack, Republicans were asking, "Where did he come from, how did he get here, and now what do we do?"

Ideal Candidates' Ideals

Wattenberg: *Linda, tell us about your ideal candidate.*

DiVall: A lot of the themes Harrison defined were Republican themes in 1980—running against the establishment, time for a change. The current Iran controversy has allowed the Republican field to speed up the emergence of a post-Reagan generation. Reagan's dominance made it hard to answer questions about the party's future.

The best thing we had going for us in 1979 and 1980 was new ideas. In 1979 and 1980, we were able to define problems. In 1981-1982, we were able to begin to solve those problems with the Reagan economic program.

The problem was the next step. Where was the Republican party going, how were remaining problems going to be solved? Republicans decided to ride the momentum for as long as they could. "It's morning again in America" was representative of that, and it worked. We gave up the change theme in 1984, but we still won.

As we move into 1988, both parties are going to be more demanding of people's awareness of specific problems—farm problems, trade problems, the deficit problem. Our candidates have to be less in awe of magical themes or even of a central message. The America-Can-Win theme, as Harrison defined it, is able to capture people's attention. It's great. But a single message like that is going to be much more difficult for Republicans to use this time around.

Wattenberg: *It's hard to sum up the trade deficit or the farm problem in thirty seconds. Is there a theme that unites these specific issues?*

DiVall: The Republicans have to look at the Democratic experience in 1960. They have to get America moving again.

The candidate who will do the best in 1988 has to move beyond himself and his message to look at varied conditions in different segments of the electorate. This makes it difficult to use one theme.

The candidate who could probably best address specifics while articulating an overall theme, and who comes across well one-on-one with voters in our party right now, is Pete du Pont. He is open, and he listens.

George Bush has the greatest experience and is comfortable with specific answers about where the government has to go. Jack Kemp has a lot to offer, but, frankly, when audiences listen to him, they get tired. It's difficult for them to keep up with him.

Pete du Pont has something—I'm not going to call it charisma or a magnetic quality just yet—but he has the ability, more one-on-one than in speeches, to make people feel that he understands where they are coming from.

What the Republican candidate must be able to do is reach out and say, "I identify with you." A middle-class, midwest or southern background—not J. Press but Marshall Fields—would work best for a Republican.

Wattenberg: *Could I butt in here for a second? Don't people with names like George Herbert Walker Bush and Pierre du Pont IV have the toughest stereotypes to overcome on the Republican side?*

Hickman: When you have the first name of a maitre-d' in a French restaurant and a last name that invokes toxic waste, you have problems. [Laughter]

Someone who can communicate well one-on-one in the early states is likely to be the person who breaks out of the pack.

If Linda is right about the message, and I think she is, there is embodied in that an element of, "Let's get America going again."

There's an element in there that what the Reagans, Bushes, and Doles have done in Washington hasn't been enough. It is a little bit like challenging the Republican party hierarchy. It almost has to be somebody from the outside.

Schneider: *The Republicans have not nominated for president a candidate who was born to wealth and privilege since Charles Evans Hughes. Do you really have to exclude Bush and du Pont?*

DiVall: In terms of personal wealth and name, du Pont has more of a problem than Bush does in the primaries or in a general election. Bush has been so visible that people are more comfortable with him.

Keene: *What are Dole's strengths and weaknesses now?*

DiVall: While he's been an inside-the-Beltway person, people in Iowa and New Hampshire don't think of him that way. In Iowa, they feel he's a friend and a neighbor who understands their problems. He is one of the best backroom players in either political party. He knows how to compromise and negotiate and hammer out deals. He has a sense of humor. That is extremely helpful.

Keene: *Unless it turns nasty.*

DiVall: That's true for anybody. It's a Dole perceived weakness.

Wattenberg: *Does Howard Baker have a chance if there is a hint of a deadlock?*

DiVall: For many reasons, the talk about Baker has not died down.

The reason for that is personal. You can call it "Southern Charm." It is clear that Baker has only one purpose in mind, and that is to do the best job he can for Ronald Reagan. That is appealing to the conservatives. But doing the best he can for Reagan is also a great weakness for him.

If the convention becomes deadlocked, you can't overlook Baker. What's always been amazing to me is Baker's standing in the polls. Without doing anything, he has been at 15 percent. That's not a bad position to be in.

Schneider: *When Cuomo dropped out, he said, "I can't be governor and run for president." Jim Thompson and George Deukmejian have said the same thing. Is our system now biased to exclude the most qualified people?*

Hickman: If you want to be president and aren't willing to give up being governor, then many people would see that as a sign that you wouldn't be a good president.

DiVall: Those people are not getting in for a lot of reasons. The process itself is not holding them back.

Schneider: *Let's say Jim Thompson decided to run and couldn't spend much time in Iowa, or Mario Cuomo decided to run and couldn't spend a lot of time in the living rooms of Iowa or New Hampshire. Is that a serious handicap?*

DiVall: It depends on how they talked about it. If Jim Thompson can't get to

Iowa because he's dealing with Chrysler and trying to get jobs back to Belvedere, or worrying about International Harvester, he's got a good message for Iowans. If he can't translate that, he has a problem.

The media are important in both these states, but the organizational element is extremely important.

Keene: *Both George Bush and Bob Dole seem to have problems with something that George Bush called the "vision thing." How would you define the vision of your ideal candidate?*

DiVall: We haven't heard a vision from Hart yet, either. In 1988, people are going to be less enamored with vision than with defining problems, and talking about how they have dealt and plan to deal with them.

There's no simple answer to the vision thing. Do you need it? Yes. Do you need only that? No.

Wattenberg: *Linda, you said that Harrison was using a lot of the Ronald Reagan themes —America-can-win kind of stuff—and then you also said that the Republicans ought to use a JFK theme.*

Are both of you saying that there is not a dime's worth of difference between the parties?

DiVall: There are important differences. How both parties define the role of government and our place in the world are key.

Wattenberg: *Let me ask you about the proper role of government and our proper place in the world. Linda, is the response for an ideal Republican candidate "less" and "more," and would Harrison say that the Democrats should answer "more" and "less"?*

Hickman: I agree with your assessment of both positions. On these questions, the voters look for what comes after the "yes." "Yes, a bigger role for government and here's how I would do it."

When we ask voters, "What is it you want to see in the next president?" or "What would you ask a candidate to help you get to know him or her better?" they are giving the candidates specific problems to address. This goes to what Linda said about "the vision thing."

Whether it's Iran, or Lebanon, or Central America, they ask "How would you deal with that problem?" They want to see how these candidates work through problems in their minds, not so much because they are going to grade them on whether they agree or disagree but because they want to see whether the candidates have the knowledge and a sense of *their* own priorities which helps them make these very tough decisions.

Wattenberg: *Which party would feel more on the defensive with its more/less positions?*

Hickman: It's half and half. The Republicans will have a hard time defending less government in a period when the country wants more.

Schneider: *But even Ted Kennedy is saying that we can do more without spending more.*

Hickman: Terry Sanford feels that you should go through the Department of Education and put an "X" on every other door and get rid of half of the bureaucrats so that the same amount of federal money can be sent to the states for education. That is an attractive way for Democrats to deal with that type of problem.

DiVall: Republicans don't have a problem being defensive about less of a role for government. That's still a popular message. When it gets down to specific cuts, then we could be on the defensive. A lot will depend on the state of the economy. If things are rolling along well, and there is some new growth, then the issue becomes less of a sticky wicket for the Republican party, particularly if you can remind people more government is going to cost them more.

Hickman: Bob Dole was the author of the largest tax increase in America.

DiVall: And you will remind him of it, no doubt.

Keene: *Has the pendulum shifted from anti-big government sentiment to an anti-big business sentiment?*

DiVall: There has always been anti-big business sentiment. Anti-big anything.

Hickman: That's the history of this country. There's always been a resistance to large institutions. In one sense you might say that 1988—to the extent that it's a name-calling election—is going to be our trying to point out the ills of their big institutions, and their trying to point out the ills of ours.

Wattenberg: *Suppose a perfectly neutral pollster went into the field and gave the American electorate the following facts about two candidates. One is a Republican. He's for less of a role for government and for more of a place in the world. The other is a Democrat. He's for more of a role for government and for less of a place in the world. These are the bumper sticker criteria. No "buts." What happens in that election?*

Hickman: The Democrat would win in a fairly comfortable way.

DiVall: I say exactly the opposite. The Republicans would win comfortably.

Wattenberg: *The meeting's over!* ☑

Sackett

(Continued from page 16)

beleaguered farmer's—should use the occasion to look at the world a bit differently. And if that stroll awakens concern, or sympathy, or anger, then the concerned, sympathetic, or angry have every right—and some would say a civic or moral responsibility—to act on those emotions. Actors as much as any other citizens are susceptible to the emotions and are as responsible for doing something about them. We shouldn't dismiss them, but we should subject them to a bit of healthy skepticism.

The problem is that frequently the situations actors see and react to are scripted, and the concern they feel is too often aroused only by another actor's portrayal of someone's plight. They command so much attention for the recognition they've gained playacting that they may never be required to learn of what they speak. As private citizens, actors have a right to speak out on anything they choose. But the people we choose to listen to should earn the privilege by knowing what they're talking about. Concern alone does not qualify one as an educator on a subject, especially when the concern has been spawned by synthetic circumstances. We listen to and gawk at actors because we admire their fame and their talent as performers. We listen to our elected officials because we assume they have earned the right to be heard. If actors and politicians alike have forgotten their proper roles, then it's up to us to close our ears. ☑

Victoria A. Sackett is the deputy managing editor of Public Opinion.

The supporting cast for this article includes: Julie Christman, Mary Carroll Johansen, Steffanie Kumnick, and Eric Nelson. Special thanks to Allen Rubnitz and Ben Stein.

- More than 75 of the most effective and innovative political commercials ever produced, some never aired.
- An accompanying program providing background about each spot.
- An examination of 35 years of evolutionary development in political television communications—its history, its impact, and its problems.
- A resource for media planning, classroom instruction, or fundraising events.

"Great job! Indispensable . . . Fascinating, entertaining."
CBS NEWS

"Cassette . . . to be a best-seller."
THE NEW YORK TIMES

"Riveting . . . A classic . . . The political buffs answer to The Great Books. Every voter should see it. It's the best collection I've ever seen!"
THE WASHINGTON POST

". . . An absolute must! It includes the classics—from the 'Daisy' commercial of 1964 to 'the bear in the woods' of 1984—but its strong point is its comprehensive coverage of the most sophisticated and the most banal spots employed in dozens of campaigns at almost every level of American politics."
THE BALTIMORE SUN

"For politicians, advertising agencies, media consultants, political scientists, or just fans of the game, this is the equivalent of a double-length episode of The Cosby Show."
THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Soon to Be Released

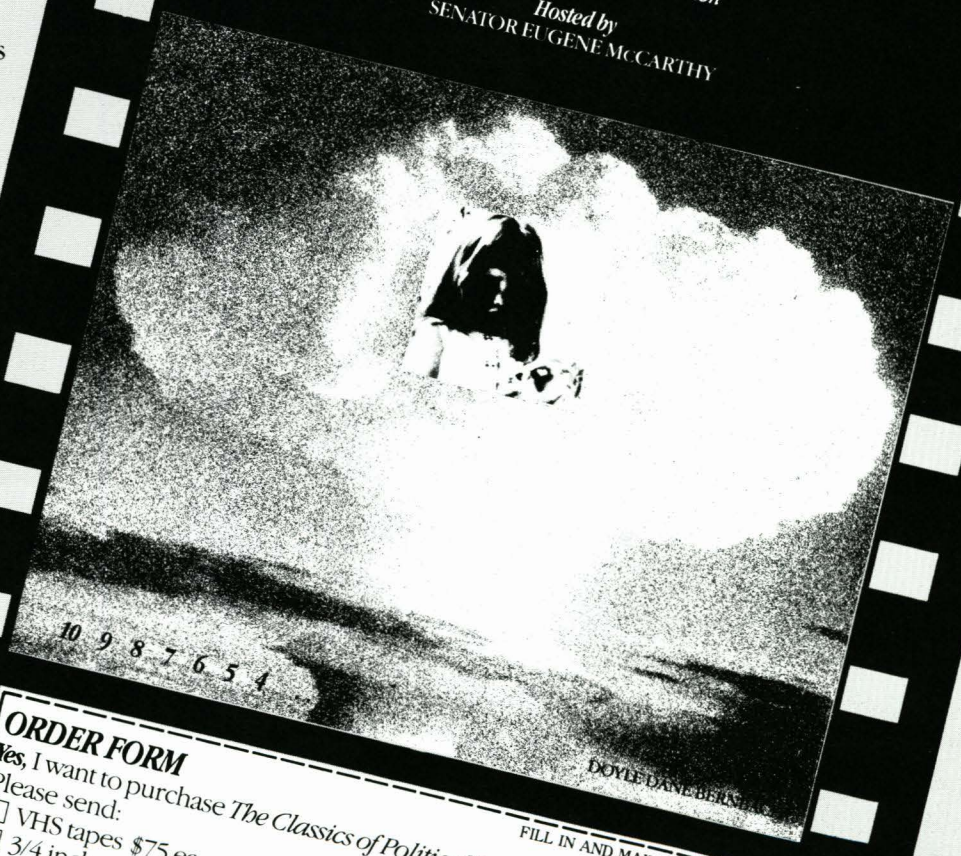
THE BEST OF 1986

The Classics of POLITICAL TELEVISION ADVERTISING

A 60-Minute videotape documentary

Presented by
CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS
The Journal of Political Action

Hosted by
SENATOR EUGENE McCARTHY



ORDER FORM

FILL IN AND MAIL THIS COUPON

Yes, I want to purchase *The Classics of Political Television Advertising.*
Please send:
☐ VHS tapes $75 ea. ☐ BETA tapes $75 ea.
☐ 3/4 inch tapes $130 ea.
☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill my credit card ☐ AE ☐ MC ☐ VISA

CREDIT CARD NO. DATE OF EXPIRATION
NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP
( )
PHONE NO. PURPOSE
DATE SOURCE
SIGNATURE

Mail to: CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS
1331 Penn. Ave. NW, Suite 1200E
Washington, DC 20004
or call 800/237-7842

VBBA

CAMPAIGNS &ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 9)

Gavin: Kennedy had a vision and a sense of competence to support the vision. That is going to be the test for the Democrat. Bob is right about that, but I disagree with him on other things.

Wattenberg: *Bob, in your speech you said that Ronald Reagan hadn't done much.*

My sense is that just isn't so. Whether you agree with what he has done or not, Ronald Reagan has *changed the agenda. Defense is different. The tax situation is different. Deficits have forced us to look at domestic programs in a different way. You can attack him for what he did, but can you attack Ronald Reagan as a do-nothing president?*

Shrum: It would be a mistake to attack him for what he did, because a lot of people liked what he did. The mood in 1988 will be one of an unfinished agenda.

End Notes

Wattenberg: *Do you have a summation?*

Shrum: The idea here will be to try to empower people and to connect that with Democratic history. "The Democratic party in 1988 is new, but it is also rooted in the history of challenge and change. The generation of John Kennedy signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; now our generation has to finish the work of arms control. The generation of Martin Luther King marched for civil rights; now we must finish the journey toward liberty and justice for all. Our parents, the generation of the forties, fifties, and sixties, built unprecedented prosperity; now we in our time, in the 1980s and the 1990s, must rebuild American prosperity and prepare for the new world economy of the twenty-first century. The first generation of Americans invented liberty, now let us in our generation invent a new American future."

This ending doesn't talk about what *government* could do, it talks about what *people* can do and it tries to connect it to the things people feel good about in the Democratic past. The vision as actually articulated will be more tied into the persona of the nominee than my rhetoric is.

Wattenberg: *Let's move on to Brother Gavin here. To empower people is an AEI theme going back to the seventies. It has been a code for both right and left, all power to the people.*

Shrum: Everybody is trying to appropriate that central American idea, and I don't mean Central America. [Laughter.]

Like the bride,
the convention speech must have four things:
something old, something new, something borrowed,
and something red, white and blue.
William F. Gavin

II. The Republican Future

Gavin: I have a rhyme that I think about in working on a convention speech. Like the bride, the speech must have four things: something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue. The first thing both the Republican and the Democrat must do is establish a tie with the past. That's the something old. In this case you were exactly right, Bob, it is going to be to Reagan.

A good portion of the speech will discuss Reagan's ideas and actions in a way that reminds the audience of what a great guy he has been, what great things he has done, and how much we love him. After establishing this link with a great president, the candidate can get into new policies he supports.

The "something new" is our old friend "vision." Some people have it, some don't. I'll go into detail on vision later. But it will be the heart of this speech.

The next thing is "something borrowed." You have to use good quotations and you have to know whom to quote. Reagan quoted Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy at the convention.

Duggan: It was brilliant music.

Gavin: Exactly right.

Shrum: Well, we don't intend to return the compliment. [Laughter.]

Gavin: The third thing is not something blue, but something red, white, and blue. June 1788 was the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire, the last state.

The Republican will not only look back to Reagan, but he will also surround himself with the ideas that come up in a constitutional year.

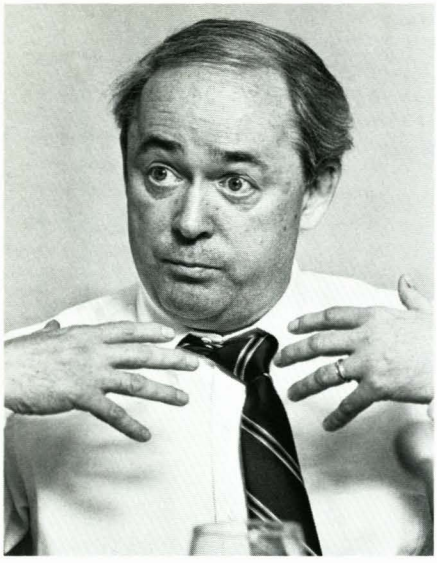
Let's talk about the "new," the vision for a second. Both parties have to be for change. It is going to be more difficult for the Republican because of Reagan, but it can be done. It can be done rhetorically and through policies.

In 1980, family, community, neighborhood, peace, and freedom had a visionary aspect into which many things were folded, including the person Ronald Reagan is. There is an argument about whether Reagan is appealing because of his ideas or because of his personality. But he is appealing because of both, and each enhances the other. The key word this year for the Republicans will be community. The worst thing that has happened to the Democrats thus far is Mario Cuomo's decision not to run. Cuomo understood the power of this idea, and he could have developed it.

There are two different visions of community in America. One is Cuomo's vision of community. In Cuomo's vision —the Democratic vision—we are one big national community in which Washington enlists us in various causes. It is a vision stressing Washington setting the agenda, directing the action. It is the Great Society vision, usually expressing itself in the rhetoric of war—a war on poverty, a war on energy—led by Washington. The other is the Republican vision of a nation of communities, which expresses the Republican idea of diversity. We are one out of many, *E Pluribus Unum*.

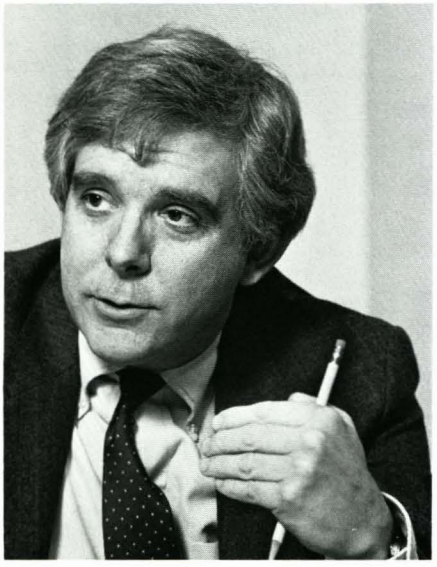
There is a danger that without Reagan, the Republicans can backslide into a kind of a caricature of rugged individualism—what Dick Whalen calls mahogany Republican rhetoric. Reagan took the party away from that. He embodies the kind of community vision I'm talking about. I can't think of any candidate in either party who has understood the importance of this idea and has been able singlehandedly to wed a party to it.

Community is going to be good for Republicans, because it, as Ervin said, reassures the nation about Republicans



"For seven years there has been a tendency in the Republican party, again going back to the personality of Reagan, which emphasizes American optimism, and it has been a winner. It is an attitude, I guess, not an idea. And, it is an attitude that has run its course."

GAVIN



"An acceptance speech not only builds unity and rallies the troops, but also reassures doubters — those fence-sitting voters in each party. The speech tells them it is safe to vote for the candidate."

DUGGAN

by establishing a vision that carries on the strength Reagan brought to the party.

The Republican candidate will juxtapose the two when he would say, "Today, there are two distinct visions of America. One is the Republican vision, one of America as a nation of communities—religious, philanthropic, ethnic. Out of this diversity comes American creativity, innovation, the things that have made America great. The other, the vision of the Democratic party leadership, stresses the central role of government in our lives and sees Americans as members of a monolithic community who need the guidance of federal officials.

"We are one nation, but that oneness is based on diversity. If we lose that diversity, if we tend to go to Washington more and more for answers, we will lose that kind of strength. We were losing that strength in the years prior to 1981. We were moving away from that vision of many communities." That is what the American people saw in Ronald Reagan. He represents something between selfish rugged individualism on one side and statism on the other. What they saw in him was a vision of community. The Republican candidate in 1988 won't be able to do that in the same way. After all, there is only one Ronald Reagan. But the candidate will have to establish his commitment to that vision.

The image of community also allows the Republican candidate to talk about another important area, international affairs. I can see the convention arena, with this line, emblazoned above the platform—"a nation of communities and a community of free nations." The idea of community here stands between isolationism on one hand and one-world utopianism on the other. And the Democratic party seems to me today to represent both of those ideas, isolationism and utopianism. One of the things he is going to have to say is, "We are in a new period of history in our relationships to the world, with our foes and our friends. We are going to have to analyze how we want to relate to the rest of the world—to the economic dynamism and creativity of the Pacific area, . . .

"The vision of the Atlantic community as a group of western nations committed to the same values has to remain, but we have to reinterpret it for the eighties because things have changed in forty years."

Military Posturing

Shrum: Why don't I hear any of the Republican candidates talking about this? What I hear is Star Wars and Central America.

You are right about using community. It is very powerful. And it allows the Republicans to applaud Reagan and say he's great, but also to say the party is going to build on his accomplishments.

Gavin: You are going to get Star Wars and Central America in the "something old" part, in which the candidate establishes a continuity with what is the best in the past. It is hard to list specifically what issues will be hot at convention time. I believe the speech will rise or fall on the strength of the new angle, the vision.

Wattenberg: *Are Contra aid or SDI built-in electoral losers now?*

Gavin: No. Bob told us how the Democrats are going to deal with them. The Democrat will say he is for SDI but not as much as Reagan is, and for freedom in Central America but not for the Contras. I just don't believe this is a strong enough position to give the Democrats an edge. The Democrats are saying that they are for 80 percent of what Reagan offers.

The Republican who stands before that convention in 1988 is not going to turn his back on military aid to the Contras.

The Republican candidate has a three-part program of economic aid, military aid, and negotiations. That is exactly what the administration has been pursuing. What Bob is saying, and the Democrats are saying, is, I have a better way to bring peace, stability, freedom, through economic aid to the democracies and the negotiating process. Well, that is, again, not enough. The cause of freedom in Central America needs military aid.

Shrum: What we are saying is that the Republican position on that issue and the Democratic position on that issue are perfectly predictable.

Gavin: It is not going to cut either way unless events change.

Shrum: Neither party's position right now is necessarily going to be a minus, but who gets the plus depends on events.

Gavin: The community of free nations idea also applies to Central America. This time, it is in our own neighborhood. When we talk about the Soviet Union, I would go back to President Eisenhower. I would say, "President Ei-

senhower, in his farewell address in 1961, said 'We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration.'

"Those words were inspired and their spirit was followed by John F. Kennedy and all of the presidents who served after him. We still face that hostile ideology. When Eisenhower talked about a hostile ideology, he was talking not only about people who have weapons, but about those who have ideas in their heads—powerful ideas that don't just exist in Moscow. The Marxist-Leninist idea exists in Managua. It exists any place where the Communist vanguard party is the party that dictates the way the people of the state live. Détente, arms control, summit meetings—these all have to be seen in the context of a struggle for survival between democracy and totalitarianism wherever in the world it may be."

The End of Optimism?

Let me just finish. For seven years there has been a tendency in the Republican party, again going back to the personality of Reagan, which emphasizes American optimism, and it has been a winner. It is an attitude, I guess, not an idea. And it is an attitude that has run its course.

Optimism of a kind has to be talked about, because it is part of the American character. But another thing that has to be addressed is the harsh reality of the world in which we live—the threat Eisenhower talked about. The Republican candidate is going to have to balance traditional American optimism with a serious, perhaps even solemn, discussion of the threat freedom faces.

Wattenberg: *Bill, how would you handle Jesse Jackson? Do you try to nail the Democrats as a divided party?*

Gavin: I'd let the *Democrats* handle Jesse. We'll stand there watching them. I would not try to nail the Democrats on the Jesse Jackson issue.

Shrum: Attacking Jackson would be a throwback to the old Republican party.

Duggan: Jesse Jackson is the one candidate operating on the campaign stage now who cannot be imagined making the perfect acceptance speech. And the reason is this: Despite his marvelous powers as an orator, there is a sort of litmus test that the American people impose upon a candidate, and that is that he have positive feelings about his country. Reagan embodies those positive feelings. John F. Kennedy embodied those feelings. There is a strain in Jackson's rhetoric that takes an adversarial position toward his own country.

He goes to Cuba and speaks out against his country as exploitative and hostile to third world progress. Quite aside from race or from social welfare, there is a kernel of hostility toward his own country that, in my judgment, would sink him as an orator and make it impossible for him to make the perfect speech.

Gavin: The community vision will conclude the speech. "Three months ago we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution. In 1789, when the First Congress met, we were a nation of four million people, completely isolated from the power centers of the world. France had a population of 25 million. Britain had a population of 15 million, Spain 10 million. We were alone. We started something nobody ever thought would happen and we did it. We did it through a vision of community, through a sense of ourselves as a people living together, bound by common values, free to express those values and see them inspire and guide our nation. This is the kind of spirit we are going to bring to this campaign because the American community dream that was begun 200 years ago still lives. It is a dream that sees the American experiment and the American promise as one." This next phrase will be an important thing for this Republican to say—"The dream involves not only a nation of communities, meaning private sources and ethnic and religious groups, but an effective *national* government as well as effective state and local governments. We will continue to make that national government work effectively."

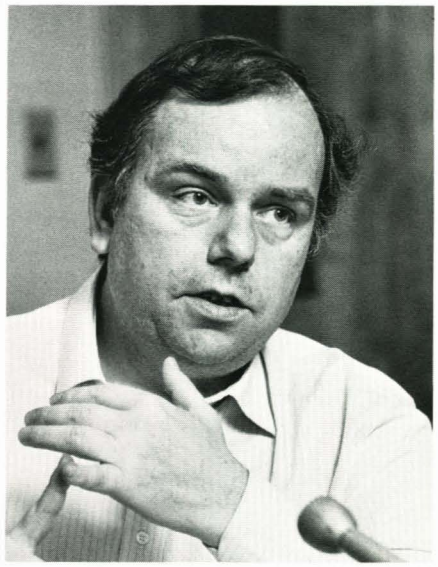
The Republican candidate cannot say he is anti-government. Ronald Reagan is not anti-government. The guys who founded this nation weren't anti-government. They knew we needed a strong federal government. But, they also knew about human nature and they certainly knew about the corrupting influence of power. So, they built a government of delicate checks and balances in order for it to work effectively for the people without dominating them.

The conclusion has to be almost like music—in a sense a rhetorical dance—because you have got to show that what we have in America is something that keeps on moving, that never stops. That sense of continuity and change inherent in the idea of community is at the heart of his speech.

Wattenberg: *How do you deal with sleaze?*

Gavin: Shrum's rhetoric is one of those things that either is going to work or it is not going to work. My feeling is it is not going to work. People are not going to make up their minds on sleaze. People have never said that because some of these things have happened, Reagan is a bad guy. It would be twice removed to try to pin it on a new GOP candidate.

The Wall Street scandals aren't winners for the Democrats either, for the same reasons.



"Americans make a decision about how tough a candidate is . . . more on the personality of the candidate than on the content of his policy. . . . What [voters] pay attention to is the personality of the guy — whether they think he can be pushed around."

SHRUM

Wattenberg: *Sleaze plays into the basic Democratic vision of Republicans—corporate guys becoming consultants, driving around in limousines. It is not Democratic hand-in-the-till corruption.*

Shrum: We intend to try to take that old Democratic wine and put it in a new bottle.

Wattenberg: *W-i-n-e, not w-h-i-n-e?*

Shrum: I don't want to raise taxes. That is part of the old w-h-i-n-e.

Duggan: It is interesting that Bill has had his candidate say something positive about government. One of those reassurances the Republican has to give

is that he believes government can do good and has a positive role to play.

There are two other missing pieces that the Republican speaker has to supply. The Republican candidate is going to have to reassure people, first, that we are committed to arms control and have a credible plan for achieving it. The other reassurance that any Republican needs to give is some vision of diplomatic solutions that involve playing more than the military card.

Perhaps the most successful years for U.S. foreign policy were the years after World War II when we had a military alliance at work—NATO—but also a Marshall Plan. You can't really succeed in foreign policy without both hands at work: the military and the moral-diplomacy plan. There is a perception that the Republicans have been playing foreign policy with only the military hand.

So, just as Bob needs to reassure us on the defense side, the Republicans need to reassure us on the diplomatic side.

Attacking Democrats

Wattenberg: *Bob told us how he would attack the Republicans. How would you attack the Democrats?*

Gavin: Very carefully. Republicans are a minority party trying to be the majority party. Most of the people you are trying to reach by television are Democrats. You attack the policies of the Democratic candidate, not the Democratic party.

Shrum: You use the flag. It has been done a million times. "The Democratic party has abandoned its own heritage."

Gavin: Yes. Something like, "Democrats want SDI but they don't want it unless it really works. They want peace and freedom for Central America, but they don't want to have a three-part program, which is the only way it can be done. They want this, but they don't want that." You can go down a whole list doing that. Then talk about the leadership if you have to.

Duggan: I would like to suggest a line of attack against the Democrats, even though I am a Democrat. Their vulnerability is the internal confusion that exists within the Democratic party.

Bob talked about sounding the historic notes of the Democratic party, but in fact the Democratic party has a divided history. It has been both the party of isolation and of vigorous intervention on behalf of freedom. Which party is it today? Similarly, you could ask whether the Democratic party is the party of the work ethic and traditional middle-class values, or the party of alternative lifestyles.

You can attack the Democrats as the party of moral and political confusion. Since they are unable to work out these disputes within their own political house, how can we call upon them to govern a great nation?

Moral Issues

Gavin: You mentioned the word moral. Anyone who gives an acceptance speech, Republican or Democrat, has to speak of morality without appearing moralistic. That is extremely difficult. A lot of guys can't pull it off. Carter couldn't; Reagan could.

And then, of course, there are new and unique areas dealing with basic moral issues. In the last fifteen years, the United States has faced AIDS, surrogate motherhood, and gene splicing. These are new problems, and most of these involve issues which the government alone can't deal with. Again, the strength to deal with these must primarily come through community-based values. Nobody running for president of the United States can afford not to talk about them. But, they are going to have to be talked about very carefully.

Duggan: Would you talk about any of those things, Bob?

Shrum: No.

Americans have never really believed Ronald Reagan was going to outlaw abortion. Jack Kemp could convince them that *he* really was.

Gavin: The Republican candidate should and is going to mention federal funding for abortion and a constitutional amendment for abortion. To forge or at least hold together an alliance of Republicans and blue-collar Democrats and others, anti-abortion rhetoric will be used.

Shrum: He has to say it and hope not everybody believes it.

Gavin: No, people will take it just like it is. A candidate says what he believes about abortion, and people say, uh-huh. Then they judge other things around it.

Wattenberg: *Shrum says if Kemp says it people will believe it.*

Shrum: They might believe it. It depends if it is two lines in the speech—the lines he *has* to give—or if it is three paragraphs and it sounds like the heart of a crusade. That creates problems for the party with baby boomers, suburbanites, et al.

Duggan: The perfect speech cannot contain words about this issue without becoming a very imperfect speech.

Shrum: I agree.

Gavin: I disagree. It creates problems with certain segments of the population, even among some traditional Republican voters, but that position will have a positive ring with other groups who, historically, are not Republican.

Shrum: People want government to stay out of this issue. If you ask them if they want a pro-abortion or an anti-abortion candidate, they don't want either. In this area, the Democrats are the non-interventionists.

Keene: *Reagan opposed ERA and abortion, yet Americans supported him in 1980 and 1984.*

Duggan: You alienate enormous numbers of swing voters who need to be brought into the Republican camp.

Gavin: I was told that in 1980, but it didn't happen.

Shrum: May I ask one other question? How many times, if George Bush is the nominee, will he mention Ronald Reagan? If he mentions Reagan eight times in the speech, he suddenly looks like he is not his own person.

Gavin: You handle that in the something old and something new section.

The vice president would praise him and then go into the new vision, recapitulate at the end, and say we have had eight years of a great president, 200 years of a great country. If the music works there, then Bush, or whoever the candidate is, will come out of the speech as his own man.

Duggan: Do you think it would help Bush to find an issue on which he parts company with Reagan?

Gavin: I don't think he has to. Community gives George Bush or whoever it happens to be that unique status that separates him from Reagan, but at the same time doesn't completely divorce him from Reagan. One of the things you have to do is achieve a balance between wrapping yourself in the good things that Reagan has done for this country and stepping far enough away from him to be perceived as your own man. It can be done, and any of the three major guys, and perhaps even the minor guys, can do it.

Duggan: But it has never been successfully done. Nixon didn't do this. Humphrey did not do it.

Gavin: That is because they didn't have the vision of a nation of communities and the community of free nations.

Shrum: Or because you were not there to write Humphrey's speech.

A Dance to the Music of Prime Time

Keene: *It is said that when Cicero spoke they listened, when Demosthenes spoke, they marched. Who do you see getting them to march this time, and does it matter?*

Shrum: You said something I was about to say. The musical notes really matter, but what matters most is the harpsichord.

Gavin: This is turning into a bebop session. [Laughter.]

Shrum: If you could write a speech the equivalent of Mozart, but somebody can't play it, it won't work.

Bush starts out underrated, so if he does well at all, people will give him points. Kemp made a terrific announcement speech. I didn't hear it, I read it. If he delivered it half as well as it read, he is lucky. He had a few disagreements with the White House in it.

Du Pont is a side show.

Gavin: Du Pont is an idea guy. He has a lot of good libertarians working for him. Libertarianism in the Republican party is very deep, but quite narrow. If you are a libertarian, you are going to have to branch out into a communitarian idea. I don't know if he can do that. Kemp can do it much more easily, because of his emphasis on traditional values.

Shrum: Du Pont has the least chance to be nominated. I am very skeptical about Dole. He is great in Washington, but I don't know how he is going to play out in the country. He tends to think in legislative paradigms and not in political ones. Dole used to make the Senate march when he was leader, but can he make the country march? I have never seen him give a good dramatic speech. Sometime maybe I will. I have watched him for a long time. Bush could give the speech that Bill has described. Kemp could give it. It probably would be a more right-wing speech if he did, but he could pull it off. I don't expect to hear it given by du Pont or Robertson.

Gavin: I can't see Gary Hart making them march. I can see him giving a very thoughtful speech, but the marching isn't there.

Biden is an excitable guy. He could deliver one heck of a speech, but he would have to come far from where he is now.

Why don't you Democrats call Mario Cuomo and tell him to change his mind?

Gephardt couldn't make them march. Nunn couldn't do it either. He is thoughtful and knowledgeable about issues. Those are marvelous qualities, but they don't make people march.

Wattenberg: *If you look back in the last twenty or so years in American politics, everybody is always looking for the guy who can make people march. George McGovern couldn't get a John Philip Sousa band to march. Everyone said John Lindsay could make them march, and he turned out to be a turkey. Lyndon Johnson, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, didn't make anybody dance and jump, and yet somehow they got to the head of the parade.*

Shrum: Jimmy Carter made people dance and jump for six months in the 1976 primaries.

Let me tell you something. In early 1975, Carter asked to see me. He sat down and described his central platform. He was going to reduce 1,900 federal agencies to 200. He left, and I said this is the last we are going to hear of *that* guy. That may say something about our powers of prognostication—or at least mine.

It is very hard to know how any of these people will function at a precise moment in time. The stump speech Carter gave in the primaries in 1976 was an extraordinary speech, much of which he wrote himself. It had no solutions. He appealed to people and he moved people after Vietnam and Watergate. Under normal circumstances, Jimmy Carter is a terrible orator, and as soon as he became president everybody knew it. But for six months he managed to have the music. It is hard to predict. Who really knows now that Gephardt can't give a great speech?

Gavin: If Gephardt, for example, gets to the convention as the nominee, he will have gone through such extraordinary transformation that he won't be the person he is today.

The only way you can judge them now is by what we know about them today. ☑

scandal story surfaces in the papers. The initial item may not seem very damaging. If it does look disturbing, you might ask the target of the story to explain the item and find that he does so easily. If you are at all predisposed to think that he or she is not a crook, you will conclude that the newspaper has been caught in a grave and embarrassing error or a huge act of injustice. "Aha!" you think. "The charge is false! The vultures have their facts wrong! They must be made to retract and apologize!"

You may even write some such thing in an editorial, op-ed piece, or column.

But then, day by day, the newspaper starts producing more and more information on your friend the target. As he gets to be a hot subject, the investigations really get rolling, and the flow of information about him increases. In the end, he may turn out to be criminally guilty of something after all. Perhaps his violations consisted only of trying to obstruct the investigators' efforts to flush him out. No matter—these secondary crimes are quite enough for an indictment these days.

So you, the commentator—or the supporter who has been defending the poor guilty slob at dinner parties all over town—end up with a large amount of egg on your face. In fact you may have bought yourself even worse trouble: People may begin to charge you, plainly or snidely, with the egregious crime of being insensitive to the pernicious existence of sleaze in government.

If you are a person of normally fearful temperament—if you do not enjoy a fight, and do not relish living outside the pale of respectability—you soon enough begin to look before you leap. You learn not to spring so quickly to the defense of your friend, your political ally, or the man in the news who merely happens to look innocent. You know that tomorrow, or maybe the day after that, as the investigators keep pressing and the accused gets a more extended chance to put his foot in his mouth and his hands around his own throat, the odds of his unharmed survival will keep on dropping.

You may decide to make a statement of solidarity with the accused, but it will be formulaic: "My heart goes out to him in his time of trouble," for instance. Everyone in the community knows by now just what a sentiment like that is worth. You may write something nice about him, but it will always include some version of the by now well-known "Watergate disclaimer": "It is always possible, of course, that new facts may emerge. But for now . . ." Everyone can translate that one, too.

During any scandal, many onlookers feel some of these anxieties and make some of these calculations. The collective effect of all this hedging of bets is to make the accused weaker as the contest proceeds.

But democratic politics has never been famous for the nobility of the characters who populate its halls of power or the generosity with which they are treated in their hours of need. Even if this is a time when the rules of the game are particularly rough, why the concern?

People worried about scandalmongering in Washington usually point to several bad consequences. The best people, they say, will no longer be attracted to public service. Embattled government officials will begin to practice more secrecy rather than less. Officials will be afraid to say controversial things.

From the other side of the fence, those pushing for still higher moral standards in politics say that the worriers are, in truth, merely crying wolf.

The judgment will not be in for some years, of course. But certain consequences of the new style have started to emerge.

The capital city in a democracy, and the capital's outposts in other sections of the country, always have a lot to answer for. The city turns policy thinkers into mush-heads. It makes healthy partisans into mealy-mouths aching for the establishment's dinner table. On the other hand, a political establishment is a political community, whose members can make some judgments about one another's character according to a set of more or less common standards. This virtue may seem small but is not to be sneezed at; heaven knows it has been hard enough in recent years to keep in operation at all.

Nowadays there is less and less of that sense of common language and common standards. It is not that people are yelling at one another over policy, or that electoral contests are unprecedentedly bitter, or even that there is some Watergate-style paranoia—the "us" camp versus the "them" camp. Instead, what you will hear if you listen closely is that communications have become increasingly veiled. There are controversial words that political types will not utter in public or commit to paper. They use code words to one another instead. There are certain arguments they will not make to strangers. Instead, they substitute others, false stand-ins for the real thing. Even to their close organizational associates they will refrain from disclosing their true political agenda. They become inscrutable or talk in bureaucratese, saving their real thoughts for more private gatherings.

In short, they are coming to base their behavior on the conviction that there are two relevant categories in government: the hunters and the hunted.

Will the results of the change be permanent or disastrous? No one can yet say. But anyone who tries to deny that the change is taking place either has not been listening hard enough or is no longer being allowed into the places where he can hear the music. ☑

Suzanne Garment is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Putting the wonders of science at a child's fingertips.

If we want great scientists and engineers tomorrow, we must encourage their love for discovery today.

That's why Dow created the Touch Tech Chemistry Lab at Impression 5, a hands-on science museum in Lansing, Michigan. It's the kind of place where kids and science can really get together with specially designed experiments and exhibits that educate, entertain, inspire...

And who knows what that could lead to?

Dow invites you to contact the people at the Impression 5 Science Museum, 200 Museum Drive, Lansing, MI 48933, (517) 485-8116 if you would like more information.

Dow lets you do great things.

DOW*

Corporate Sponsor of National Science & Technology Week 1987.

HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH TO DRINK IF YOU'RE DRIVING?

USING THIS CHART MAY HELP YOU KNOW YOUR LIMIT.

First, you should understand that drinking any amount of alcohol can impair your ability to drive.

The generally accepted way to measure intoxication is by your Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC). In most areas, the legal definition of intoxication is .10 percent BAC and above. However, long before you reach .10 percent BAC, your judgment and motor skills deteriorate rapidly. In fact, some states include the definition of impaired driving ability, which usually begins at .05 percent.

Important factors to keep in mind are how much you've drunk in a given period of time, how much you weigh and whether you've been eating. Your age, individual metabolism and experience with drinking are also factors. However, it simply is not true that beer or wine is less likely to make you drunk than so-called "hard" drinks. A 4-ounce glass of wine, a 12-ounce can of beer or 1.2 ounces of 80-proof whiskey have about the same amount of alcohol and will have about the same effect on you.

How to estimate your Blood Alcohol Concentration. Although the effects of alcohol vary a great deal, the average effects are shown in the accompanying chart prepared by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Find your weight in the left-hand column and then refer to the number of drinks you have had or intend to have over a two-hour period. For example, if you weigh 160 pounds and have had four beers over the first two hours you're drinking, your Blood Alcohol Concentration would be dangerously beyond .05 percent, and your driving ability would be seriously impaired—a dangerous driving situation. Six beers in the same period would give you a BAC of over .10 percent—the level generally accepted as proof of intoxication.

It is easier to get drunk than it is to get sober. The effects of drinking do taper off as the alcohol passes through your body, but the drop is slow. In the example above, the person who had six beers would still have significant traces of alcohol in his blood six hours later. Having a full stomach will postpone somewhat the effects of alcohol, but it will not keep you from becoming drunk.

Black coffee, cold showers, or walking around outdoors will do nothing to make you sober. Of course, someone who claims, "I'll be okay as soon as I get behind the wheel," may be making a fatal misjudgment.

Today, you the driver, have to know your limits and when you've gone beyond them. If you have any doubts, don't drive.

Even if you're not drinking, other drivers may be. Your best protection is still the safety belts in your car. Accidents do happen, and wearing lap and shoulder belts doubles your chances of coming through one alive.

DRINKS (TWO-HOUR PERIOD)

Weight	1.2 ozs. 80-Proof Liquor or 12 ozs. Beer											
100	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
120	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
140	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
160	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
180	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
200	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
220	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
240	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

BE CAREFUL DRIVING BAC TO .05% | **DRIVING IMPAIRED .05-.09%** | **DO NOT DRIVE .10% & UP**

Source: NHTSA

The chart shows average responses. Younger people generally become impaired sooner, while older people have more vision problems at night. Tests show a wide range of responses even for people of the same age and weight. For some people, one drink may be too many.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck