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1. case file (483983)	re 1987 Agenda issues (5 pp)	1/22/87	B5 MJD 11/15/00
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

483622
1110
FG001

November 19, 1986

NOTED BY DTR

Dear Mr. Reagan,

Some history:

1. The GOP Convention in 1980 (RR ending the "co-presidency" speculation and walking over to announce Bush), the 1980 debate with Carter, the assassination attempt and aftermath, Grenada, Iceland -- whatever we know about Ronald Reagan we know that he is in the words of one advisor: "great in the crunch."

2. Shortly before the 1980 debate with Carter, Cliff White said to Nancy Reagan, after one of the briefing sessions, "Nancy, he should take in all this stuff from the experts, but 24 hours before the debate make sure you tell him to go with his instincts. He got us here -- not any of us."

3. The President is conscientious about his homework -- perhaps to a fault. Before the first 1894 debate with Mondale, Darman and Stockman were permitted to do their thing and at the debate the President was not himself. (I had sent in memos warning about the danger of overcoaching to no avail.)

4. RR's insert on the summit speech was superb. His decision to use it over the advice of "the experts" was exactly correct and I was never more delighted to lose four pages of golden prose.

The President's mood is the most important part of the whole briefing process. The key words are confident, relaxed, and mindful of his past successes, successes brought on by being himself. After all of us staff "geniuses" have had our say; please keep us at a distance.

So, some basic points about the current situation: The only thing that ever in the end seriously jeopardizes a President is scandal -- corruption or dishonesty. Over the long run, the great Iranian news story can't be sustained. But there is another reason why the President will win out: He will be great tonight. He'll be great because he'll be himself. He'll be himself because that's the kind of environment you've created.

Best,

Tag O'Brien

P.S. Endless thanks for your kind note; the entire staff is gratified. Please come see us when things settle down a bit.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

483983

111D

FG001

FG006-01

✶

January 22, 1987

DONALD T. REGAN:

As you indicated, I am resubmitting this memo that makes some suggestions about how we manage our issues for our 1987 agenda. You wanted to take another look at it after we had finalized things.


David Chew

*Lets talk
2-3-87*

Dec 12, 86 David Chew memo for Donald
Regan and Jan 22, 87 David Chew
memo for Donald Regan attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1987

DONALD T. REGAN:

In the memo I make two suggestions:

1. To schedule issue weeks (blocks) highlighting the President's schedule and events to correspond to a predetermined and approved long range schedule.
2. To assign "issue managers" to each of our priority agenda items for 1987.

The second suggestions is by far the most important as we already try to do the first.

Our 1987 issues: (Perhaps there should be others)

- o Passing catastrophic health insurance
- o Passing welfare reform
- o Passing acceptable trade legislation
- o Encouraging budget reform
- o Drug abuse

Who in the White House will take daily responsibility for advancing the substance and the tactics for each of these issues? Someone ought to spend all of everyday pursuing each of these issues. Obviously, I have some people suggestions if you are willing to formalize the process.

I stand ready to help implement these suggestions if you deem it advisable.

David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *David*

12/15

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

*Good ideas; as soon
as we finalize our
1987 agenda remind
me of them, & we'll
get going*

WDR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 12, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: David L. Chew *DL*

SUBJECT: How to Better Manage Ourselves and Our Issues

We have all contributed to the "new ideas/1987 Issues Agenda" that we met about this morning and that we will go over with the President at the Issues Lunch on Monday. It is a good effort that we will continue to refine in the weeks ahead before the State of the Union. In addition to these issues, we will, of course, have to include some of our 1986 issues -- Drugs, Balanced Budget, Line Item Veto, Deficit Spending and SDI.

I want to suggest, however, a way to better manage these issues and control this agenda during 1987. If we do not vigorously ride herd on our issues and our agenda, we will continue to have our resources scattered. We will be driven by the issues that the Washington Post or the network news shows present to us. We will more likely be reactive rather than driving the President's agenda.

Theme Segments and Schedule Discipline

Once we have finalized our 1987 agenda, we should commit on paper, in a formalized fashion, to the 3-4 or 5 broad public themes that flow from these issues and our 1-2 sentence description of these themes with this formalized declaration of our overall themes, the discretionary portions of the President's schedule should be driven only by events, meetings, speeches, and trips that reinforce and amplify these themes.

This will help us keep a tight public focus on the issues that are important to us. Our messages through our public actions and activities will be sharply focused and will be reinforced through public repetition. Events and meetings that are not consistent with our themes should not be put on the President's schedule and not allowed to distract the public focus from our agenda.

After we have agreed to the themes and that the President's schedule will be driven almost exclusively by these themes, then Henkel, Ryan and the Planning Group should be tasked with preparing "theme segments". These "theme segments" would put together packages of meetings, trips, and speeches, over a ten-day to two-week period all focused on the one, current theme.

In addition to the President's schedule, the "theme segments" should also include Cabinet Officers acting independently but in concert with the President's schedule. We should enlist the independent activities of outside groups, and participation of various Congressional elements in events (without the President) that complement our "theme segment." The President's schedule should include a "standard package" of activities -- meetings with Administration officials, meetings with outside experts, key Congressional types, governors or mayors; a press event (regional press lunch, specialized press interviews, etc.); a people/human interest event that helps us overcome the President's biggest negative -- that the President doesn't care about people; and a trip outside of Washington to take the issue "directly to the people."

Not every "theme segment" would have to have every item on this "standard package" list, but we ought to be able to put together a routine or checklist of possible events that could be assigned to various offices here to prepare -- Will on Congressional meetings, Mari with special interest groups, Henkel/Hooley for travel, and Ryan/Buchanan for speech opportunities. Each of these people would know their responsibility and constantly be searching for events within our issue agenda and thematic segment framework.

To allow for scheduling and planning, the thematic segments could be scheduled for 60-90 days out. They could run for two weeks each and they could overlap, starting one and finishing one each week so that there would be two themes going on at each time. Remember, not all theme events would need the President's participation.

Issue Managers

In addition to this "thematic approach" to better manage, coordinate and get the most out of our 1987 issues, I recommend we borrow a technique that allowed our "drug crusade" to work well. Despite a rocky start and everybody at first trying to get their fingers in the pie, Carlton Turner became our issue manager for the drug crusade. He knew all the substance and the institutional history, he had a sense of which interest groups were doing what and what press were interested in what, and he had some feel for the Hill and the relevant Departments and agencies.

I think we should designate "issue managers" for each of our 1987 issues. The issue manager concept need not be constrained by organized structures. Chuck Hobbs could be the welfare issue manager, but Al Kingon (were he staying) might have served as the "trade" issue manager. Maybe someone at OMB should be the "catastrophic health insurance" issue manager. As long as the person is high level, knowledgeable in the issue and capable in

the press, public and Congressional dimensions of the problem, where they are located in the organizational structure is not important. The issue manager would work with the Planning Group to integrate Presidential activities with the substantive development of the issue. (Incidentally, this concept would also apply to Iran, though the "issue manager" would have to be unique.)

By having a single person who is "responsible" for the issue and, assuming we have a qualified person, will help to ensure someone in the White House focuses on the issue each day, that there is a plan to work the issue and that there is always someone we can turn to for answers. I think we would get better management of White House resources, better coordination of the issues and hopefully better results on those issues important to our agenda.

I feel it is important that we not only pick the right issues for next year, but that we stick to those issues and bring all of our White House and Administration resources to bear in an intelligent and efficient way. I would welcome any reaction you might have to these suggestions.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
2-25-87

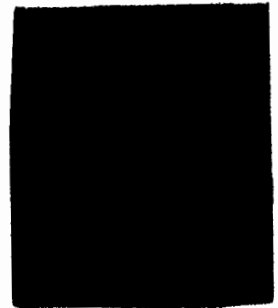
483985
F3001



TO: *James / Bill*
FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

*File and pass it
over.*

DR



TOM C. KOROLOGOS
1850 K STREET, N. W., SUITE 850
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

February 25, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HON. DONALD T. REGAN
FROM: TOM C. KOROLOGOS *TK*
SUBJECT Abshire Proposal Reaction and
Counterproposal

I have read David's proposal and with some modifications, I think there is the germ of a plan for the future here.

- A. Cabinet Visits We need to expand the President's visibility beyond the National Security area. I think it would be a mistake to go strictly to State, Defense, USIA and CIA for highly visible meetings and briefings and even agreements or whatever. If this happens at all, it should include domestic areas as well. A visit to the Labor Department, Education, HHS, HUD and the others should be included. Discussions could be built around the President's legislative proposals. Be careful, however, that in the sixth year of the President's term it won't be perceived that the President has "just discovered the Departments." Perhaps these "visits" should be turned on their head and have the President meet with these groups at the White House, where similar discussions could occur. Either way, showing the President visibly in charge should be the goal.
- B. Fireside Chats Start a series of such chats, but perhaps with another player along. The first could be with Mrs. Reagan talking drugs, or whatever. The others might include Cabinet Members, Hill Leaders, Democrats and Republicans alike; or such as Buchanan, the Nobel prize winner from Northern Virginia, Ellie Wiesel, or similar guests.

- C. Network Anchorman Interviews President Nixon did several of these. One on one with anchormen. Yes, the President needs to bone up on Iran and the like, but a deal could be struck to expand the questioning beyond Iran.
- D. Congressional Visits Go to Republican Policy Committee, both in Senate and House; go to Chowder and Marching Society, other institutional events and places on the Hill. Even go "hang out" in Dole's back room and have Senators come by for a drink or chit-chat.
- E. Speeches Around the Country We all know the "President needs to get out more" has become a cliché. I add it here. He should go to the midwest, to the Mountain states, to other spots around -- in connection with his visits to the ranch. Everytime he goes to California, he should do a speech somewhere along the way both coming and going. Nothing helps like an enthusiastic, applauding crowd of people!
- F. State Visits The time has come to call in some chits with our allies and have some Heads of State pop in on Washington. Formal State visits are best because they're so highly visible. Margaret Thatcher needs to come back, ditto France, Japan and Greece. We might even get some Eastern European types, Central and Latin Americans might join in. This shows the "world still has respect for the President." They should start showing up twice a month.
- G. Opening Day Baseball Games There are several scheduled for April 5 and 6. The President should go to Kansas City, Cincinnati or Milwaukee for an opening. And he should stay for the entire game, and then we need to have him go back in a month or two...not just go to Opening Day and then have him call the winner of World Series seven months later.

- H. Vice President The Vice President should hit the road overseas selling the "President's program" and cultivating friendships. If we bring foreign Heads of State here, they need some reciprocal visitation, and the Vice President could fill the role.
- I. Foreign Trip by the President This is even better than the Vice President going. The beauty of these is that the press can be spoonfed and we can control the agenda. Where hasn't the President been for centuries? Find some exotic spot and have at it.
- J. Attend Washington Events There is scheduled a St. Patrick's Day Reception at the Willard Hotel on March 16. (Self-serving again, since we have a request in for the President to go.) But similar things around town can be put to good use showing the President in a crowd of people, applauding him, standing for him when he comes in and the like.
- K. Cabinet Meeting Have a full agendaless Cabinet Meeting and ask them to go around the table for suggestions and thoughts on "what we do for the last fourth of this term." What is on everybody's long list for the next two years. How can we implement it. Let it run for a couple of hours and kick around ideas as a group. Then they should be asked to put these ideas on paper for implementation.
- L. Cabinet Speeches Have the Cabinet hit the road. Go do editorial boards around the country, speak in Boise, in Peoria and outside Washington. In each speech there should be a boilerplate insert about the President and his achievements. This should be handled like a political campaign with speeches, endorsements and the like.
- M. Visible Visits Start a series like we had in 1982 and 1983 when outside groups were brought in to meet with the President. These would include heads of organizations such as teachers, municipal works, Greeks (self-serving again since I have a request in for a Greek Independence Day event on March 25), other ethnics, Hispanics, small publishers, etc.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
2-25-87

TO:

Dennis / Beil

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

FBI and possible

use

11:29 p

TOM C. KOROLOGOS
1850 K STREET, N. W., SUITE 850
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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CJ

February 25, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HON. DONALD T. REGAN
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1987

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PRDD7-01

FGD11

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM ELLEN M. JONES

SUBJECT PRESIDENTIAL CONTACT WITH SECRETARY OF STATE
GEORGE P. SHULTZ FROM JANUARY 1985 THRU
DECEMBER 1986

The President has met with Secretary of State George P. Shultz on 99 separate occasions from January 1985 thru December 1986. This count included the Secretary's bi-weekly scheduled meetings and any other meetings he had alone with the President.

The count does not include the following meetings in which Secretary Shultz attended during this time frame: NSC, NSPG or national security briefings, meetings with foreign dignitaries, or with Members of Congress. The number also does not reflect phone calls or social events.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2-4-87

TO: *Tom*

FROM: **FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.**
Director
Presidential Appointments and
Scheduling

Per our discussion.

Fred

*Pls used for further
use as in testimony,
or p.r. inquiries*
FJR

484127

FGDD1

PLU

PI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOTED BY DTR

January 6, 1987

DONALD T. REGAN ✓
DENNIS THOMAS
AL KINGON

While this is primarily a
historical analysis, the
Economist has an interest-
ing, and sometimes critical,
perspective on RR as Presi-
dent and a politician.

DC

David Chew

RONALD REAGAN



Ronald Reagan, six-year wonder, six-week mortal

Three months ago, Ronald Reagan was widely regarded as America's most successful president for nearly half a century. Today, his presidency is in danger of unravelling. The spell, it seems, is broken. Yet those, mainly foreigners, who were mystified by the president's popularity would be wrong to assume that recent events prove that their simple view of Mr Reagan—former second lead in "Bedtime for Bonzo" turned trillion-dollar national debtor—is the correct one. Mr Reagan has always been more skilful as a politician than his critics liked to admit, and better at understanding his fellow countrymen than most professional observers. Serious as his current plight undoubtedly is, it would be a mistake to write him off

Nearly all the ingredients of the arms-for-hostages affair are, after all, familiar ones to Reagan-watchers: contradictions, confusions, a swashbuckling approach to foreign policy, largely delegated to people more interested in ends than means, and imperfectly overseen by a well-intentioned but detached commander-in-chief. What differentiates it so clearly from most Reagan foreign-policy ventures is, first, that it was an elaborate scheme, not a bold stroke; second, that the impulse behind it, trading arms for hostages, was so strongly at odds with Mr Reagan's declared policies; and, third, that it failed. Without the hypocrisy and, above all, the failure, all that has followed—the muddle, dissembling and general smell of

something nasty—might not have counted for much in the eyes of a generally admiring public.

Americans, after all, have not been looking for opportunities to deflate Mr Reagan. They badly want to believe in their presidents, and have shown themselves ready to overlook a good many shortcomings in this one because he exemplified certain qualities for which, after a series of failed presidencies, they yearned so strongly. Honesty, decency, leadership, a readiness to speak up for America, these were the qualities they liked in Mr Reagan. They are also the qualities now at risk as revelation follows revelation in Washington.

Even the shortcomings, however, have

seemed less serious to Americans than to foreigners. The first mistake in assessing Mr Reagan is to take him at his word. The Great Communicator has never been too fussy about language. Hence the exaggerations in so many of his claims, the fantastical statistics, the impossible anecdotes and the corrections and clarifications that spokesmen have to offer after his press conferences. The "mis-statements" often reveal the imaginary world that part of Mr Reagan inhabits, and the whoppers surely lower the level of debate. Still, they are generally uttered without malice and, up till now, an indulgent public has not been too concerned about them.

More important, however, than the gap between truth and accuracy has been the gap between words and action. Once upon a time Mr Reagan was, of course, a New Deal Democrat—and always an admirer of Franklin Roosevelt. But ever since the 1950s, first in the Screen Actors Guild, then as a spokesman and broadcaster for General Electric, Mr Reagan's utterances have been those of a conservative. His speech nominating Senator Barry Goldwater for the presidency at the Republican convention in 1964 was a diatribe against taxes, socialised medicine, the United Nations and, of course, communism ("the most dangerous enemy ever known"). As governor of California, as candidate for the presidency in 1976 and 1980, and as president, Mr Reagan has never deviated far from his anti-communism, anti-government, pro-busi-

ness, pro-freedom line. He means it.

But he has not always put it into practice. The most ideological American president of the twentieth century has also been one of the most practical. He can compromise on certain issues, wait on others and simply put others out of his mind. In other words, he is a politician. But for his political skills, he would never have been re-elected governor of California, let alone president of the United States. And he is not impulsive; on the contrary, although a brilliant practitioner of government by gesture (more of that later), he is generally cautious.

Thus, in California, though he promised to "squeeze, cut and trim" spending, he sponsored a tax increase of \$1 billion and let the state budget more than double. He fulminated against welfare, but humanely reformed it (and signed what was then the most liberal abortion law in the country). He excoriated universities for, among other things, "subsidising intellectual curiosity", but the money spent on them during his governorship doubled. He rounded on environmentalists ("A tree's a tree. How many more do you need to look at?"), but approved more conservationist measures than any of his predecessors.

Mr Reagan left the governorship of California in 1975 saying much the same sort of things that he had been saying for 20 years, and went on to say them again during his 1980 campaign for the presidency. Many people heard only the words, and did not look too closely at the actions of his eight years in California. No wonder they had visions of America in turmoil, ghettos blazing, women besieging the White House, national parks going under the plough and the *Fortune* 500 taking over Capitol Hill—all this as ICBMs whistled overhead and the third world swarmed with American armies of intervention.

No doubt Americans are as happy as anyone else that this has not come about. But why should they ever have wanted as president someone who raised such a prospect? The right-wing talk was, after all, part of his appeal, and not everyone could be sure that his words were an imperfect guide to his behaviour. Part of the explanation of Ronald Reagan's six years of popularity lies in understanding the people who held him in such esteem.

A man of his times

Some people believe the Reagan years are an aberration. They are not. America has been growing more conservative since the 1960s, when it became apparent that much of the Great Society was an expensive failure, that wars could be lost as well as won and certainly had to be paid for, and that the New Deal prescriptions of

problem-solving by spending that had prevailed for a generation were no longer grounded in fertile intellectual soil. However, in the 1970s the gradual shift to the right that had begun with the election of Richard Nixon was interrupted. Watergate so shocked Americans that they briefly resolved to value honesty above all else. They did not turn their backs on conservatism. Indeed, they might not have turned their backs on Republicanism had Gerald Ford not chosen to pardon his predecessor. But he did, so they did. The upshot was Jimmy Carter, conservative, Democratic, moral—and the real aberration of modern American politics. But for Watergate he would never have been elected.

Mr Carter was not a success. It was not that he was dishonest; far from it. But he was inept. The whole world heard the scales dropping from his eyes when the Soviet army ambled into Afghanistan. It shook when he declared the moral equivalent of war on energy wastrels—but with giggles, not fear. After 15 months of America's humiliation at the hands of crazed mullahs in Iran, he had become the living embodiment of national helplessness, a reproach to the voters' self-esteem every time he appeared on the television set. On the ballot paper he was a sitting duck.

It was against this backdrop that Americans were prepared to take a chance on Mr Reagan. In fact, only 50.7% of the voters put their trust in him in 1980. But that narrow majority was certainly a bigger proportion of the vote than a European

an equivalent of a Hollywood has-been would have achieved in, say, Britain, France or West Germany, even in similar circumstances. Americans, however, are not Europeans.

America the equal

As de Tocqueville remarked, Americans believe not only in equality of opportunity but in equality of respect. That means no stigma attaches to those in lowly jobs: Americans call their waiters "sir". Similarly, no stigma attaches to undistinguished actors, even if they wear their tie in a Windsor knot: Americans take their presidential candidates as they find them.

The respect that most of the voters paid to Mr Reagan in 1980, out of good manners, soon grew. It was earned. Indeed, it soon became clear that it was a mistake to look upon Mr Reagan as an actor at all. He was never a very good one, partly perhaps because he had too strong a personality himself. In any event, he has been a much better politician than he ever was an actor.

Some of his appointments have been a bit doubtful. He has had more than his share of obligatory resignations; his first labour secretary has the distinction of being the only member of any American cabinet to be indicted on criminal charges while in office; and, long before Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North and Vice-Admiral John Poindexter came to prominence, Mr Reagan showed a fondness for action-men, not all of whom were unduly fastidious about the checks, balances and other restraints that make action so difficult in American politics.

Yet, until the evasions and contradictions of the current scandal, Mr Reagan's personal honesty and decency had never been in doubt. He has certainly never been seen as venal, and his courage and good humour have been exemplary. When Mr Reagan stands up and makes a patriotic speech, when he stops a bullet and cracks a joke—"I hope you're all Republicans," he said to his doctors on the way to the operating table after the attempt on his life in 1981—even Democrats can applaud.

In America, that is important. The president is not just head of government but head of state. He represents the nation on state occasions, he mourns the dead and celebrates the heroes. Ronald Reagan has played this role perfectly. At an economic summit he may make a fool of himself: at his first, in Ottawa in 1981, he told old welfare jokes to the assembled leaders. But when it counts, as, for instance, after the space shuttle disaster last January, Mr Reagan has the measure of the occasion: "The future doesn't belong to the fainthearted, it belongs to the brave." Coming from a victim of both



Kinda likeable

cancer and a would-be assassin, this carries conviction. Mr Reagan can campaign as aggressively as any politician, including Margaret Thatcher; but, unlike Mrs Thatcher, he is not essentially divisive.

This characteristic of the president is more a matter of temperament than of anything else. Mr Reagan is no intellectual. The fondness for reducing issues to the simplicities of 3"-by-5" cards cannot be blamed on old age: the "mini-memos" go back to the California days. Nor are the mix-ups at press conferences indicative of the onset of Alzheimer's: mix-ups nearly cost him his job as an advertisement reader on radio station WOC back in the 1930s. But Americans have not been looking for an intellectual president. Their three most popular of recent times—Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Reagan—have none of them been notable for brains. Either Jimmy Carter or Richard Nixon would probably have seen off all three in any academic contest.

Earnest Mr Carter and farouche Mr Nixon worked long hours and bore the burdens of their office visibly. Mr Reagan enjoys the job and shows it. But he likes to knock off by six in the evening and has no trouble finding time to take in a couple of movies each week. There is time, too, to clear brush and chop wood on the ranch in Santa Barbara and to ride at Camp David. But the viewers will not see Mr Reagan collapsing in a rickle of sweating limbs on a gloomy run, any more than they will see him wringing his hands and asking for tightened belts and understanding of the limits of American power. Up until now, Mr Reagan has always exuded confidence and optimism. For the average American, who may give no more than a minute or two's attention to politics each day, confidence and optimism are what he wants.

So long as things do not go wrong. The trouble now is that Mr Reagan seems to have lost his way. A laid-back president is fine so long as he has a sense of purpose. Mr Reagan had one. It is what drove him to consume 10,000 chicken dinners, harangue 10,000 Rotary Clubs and repeat the same old jokes 10,000 times at an age when other pensioners are content just to grumble about modern youth.

Mr Reagan has never busied himself too much with the execution of his policies. He has delegated. He has picked his men—not always wisely, though in lieutenants like George Shultz, James Baker, William Brock and Caspar Weinberger he could find no more diligent public servants—and then let them get on with it. This, of course, is what seems to have happened in the arms-for-hostages affair. But in this the policy was mistaken and its execution left disastrously unattended. Coming after Mr Reagan's apparent

readiness to compromise with his own principles over the Daniloff exchange, and then at Reykjavik to leave Europe without medium-range missiles, it has raised questions about his judgment.

Once can be enough

The Iranian affair, even without the Nicaraguan curlicue, was also a departure from the Reagan style in that it was so complicated. Just as so many of Mr Reagan's speeches depend for their effectiveness on anecdotes, much of Mr Reagan's prowess as a politician depends on his capacity to make one bold stroke, often without warning. Into one action—the sacking of the air-traffic controllers in 1981, the appointment of Mrs Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court that same year, the invasion of Grenada in 1983 or the bombing of Libya in 1986—he

come from Mr Volcker's monetarism and the Keynesian boost to demand that arose from the 1981 tax cuts. Most of the economic failures have come from a naive faith in "supply-side" economics. In its simplicity and optimism, this school of thought has held a strong appeal for Mr Reagan, whose cheery outlook has always allowed him to believe that there "are simple solutions, just not easy ones". Supply-side economics, however, paid little attention to budget deficits, certainly less than bankers and investors did; and the president's failure to get the spending cuts he wanted and to countenance those wanted by others (notably in defence) meant that government spending has continued to rise like hot air from Capitol Hill.

This inability to cut spending must have been specially painful to Mr Reagan. All



Better at politics than at acting

can concentrate more force than in a five-year sustained policy.

Sustained policies have not, in fact, been his forte. In the management of the economy, for instance, they have had mixed results. On the one hand, inflation has dropped from over 12% to under 2% since Mr Reagan took office and the rate of growth of GNP has risen from minus 1% to plus 2½%. But Mr Paul Volcker at the Federal Reserve can take much of the credit for this, and the record is not all happy. Mr Reagan's tax cuts, which certainly played their part, unfortunately played it not quite as intended: over the past six years, the national debt has more than doubled (to \$2 trillion, half the GNP), the federal budget deficit has nearly tripled (to \$221 billion in the last financial year), the trade deficit has gone from surplus to a deficit of some \$170 billion, and America has become a net foreign debtor for the first time since before the first world war.

Most of the economic successes have

his political life he has been berating big government and blaming "Washington" for practically all the ills of America. Yet federal spending is a higher proportion of GNP (24% in 1985) than it was in Mr Carter's final year (22.2%) and total government spending no better (32.5% compared with 30.7%). The explanation is revealing about Mr Reagan: it lies on the one hand in his stubborn refusal to raise taxes and on the other in a mixture of characteristics which boil down to a lack of effectiveness.

Kind-hearted revolutionary

The first of these characteristics is his detachment. Attribute it to intellectual idleness, excessive trust in subordinates or plain stupidity, the fact is that when it comes to cutting the budget the president is completely confused. As his first budget director, David Stockman, makes clear in his book "The Triumph of Politics: How the Reagan Revolution Failed", the president tends to be in a fog

RONALD REAGAN

throughout budget-cutting sessions, befuddled about what is going on, bamboozled by his colleagues at every turn.

His good nature makes matters worse. As Mr Stockman says, Mr Reagan always goes for hard-luck stories. "Despite his right-wing image, his ideology and philosophy always take a back seat when he learns that some individual human being might be hurt." This capacity for showing sympathy with the plight of individuals is genuine, and the compassion shows. He is a hard man to hate, however much you may hate his policies. But in his mind the divorce between the abstract and the specific is often total; it was probably this that made him so anxious to win the hostages' release (aides say that at his morning briefings their plight was his habitual concern), while castigating others for doing deals with terrorists.

Perhaps because he has not always been on top of issues like farm subsidies or pollution control, he has not always been persuasive. In Congress, for instance, he has won only 57% of the votes on which he has taken a stand. Some of the victories, of course—on tax reform, for instance—have been more significant than some of the defeats. But Republicans have long been as conscious as Democrats that the president's popularity with the voters does not always extend to his policies; accordingly, they have often voted against him.

Not invariably, however, particularly in foreign affairs. Here, despite one sharp setback on South African sanctions, Mr Reagan's powers of personal leadership, his ability to set the agenda and point the direction, have proved more formidable. Grenada was the first, inspired action. The invasion of a tiny island close to American shores could hardly go wrong. Yet in one modest, low-risk enterprise Mr Reagan showed the world that he was prepared to use American forces abroad, he would stand up for democracy and send communists packing.

This and the attack on Libya last April, a riskier operation less popular abroad but hugely well received at home, were the ideal gestures to accompany the defence build-up: America was strong and it would use its strength, but not directly against the Russians. Ronald "Evil Empire" Reagan would not start the third world war.

But would he go further, and bring peace, perhaps even rid the world of nuclear weapons? When, in March 1983, Mr Reagan launched his Strategic Defence Initiative on an astonished world, he was behaving true to form. In concep-

tion, the SDI is daring, moral and simple. Science will save America from nuclear attack. When Americans have worked it all out, they will give the technology to the Russians, so that they too can be safe. Mr Reagan is not a vindictive man; on the contrary, he is quixotic.

The leap from deterrence-through-the-prospect-of-annihilation to a nuclear-free world caught Mr Reagan's opponents unawares. It neatly gave him the initiative, however loudly critics protested that his vision was unattainable. So did the leap in Iceland. One moment the president was going to see Mr Gorbachev to make some preparatory plans about another summit in which you-cut-some-of-your-missiles might be exchanged for I'll-cut-some-of-mine; the next moment, he had almost agreed to the most extensive arms agreement in history.



His wish, their command?

Once again, the usual Reagan qualities were in evidence: boldness, which nearly led to an agreement; stubbornness, on SDI, which robbed him of it; and, perhaps, a certain lack of intellectual agility, which might have saved the day for him. On that occasion, Americans gave him the benefit of the doubt, though the allies were more critical. Domestic opinion was brought round, however, only with a huge public-relations effort, about which, in retrospect, the administration was perhaps too boastful.

Reagan the democrat

Even if he is denied an arms-control agreement, Mr Reagan will be able to take pride in at least some of the turns of world affairs during his period in office. The new democratic tendencies in much of the third world cannot all be attributed directly to the president of the United States. Indeed, Mr Reagan's instincts led

him to be suspicious of Mrs Cory Aquino's rise to power in the Philippines and loyal to Ferdinand Marcos; his old friend, Senator Paul Laxalt (no liberal he), and his politician's instinct for getting on the right side of a winning issue, however, have led to an outcome few would have dared to predict even two years ago. With the Philippines, Haiti and much of Latin America now shot of their despots, the world has some 250m more people living under some form of democracy than six years ago. For them, the Reagan era of world leadership will hardly be identified with a change for the worse.

What of the Angolans and Nicaraguans, whose plight has so captured Mr Reagan's imagination that a doctrine has been declared for them? The "Reagan doctrine", as it has come to be known, in fact applies anywhere in the third world, perhaps even in Europe too. As spelled out by Mr Reagan last March, in a speech entitled "Freedom, Regional Security and Global Peace", it is really a restatement of his long-held view that communist revolutions should not be regarded as irreversible; the Russians should not be allowed to hang on to their successes unchallenged. Mr Reagan, however, has no intention of going to war with Russia and knows that post-Vietnam America will remain shy of committing its troops abroad for anything but the briefest and least controversial of enterprises. So he proposes to roll back communist revolutions by giving American arms and money to indigenous counter-revolutionaries, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola, the contras in Nicaragua.

It is a typical practical Reagan response to a typical ideological Reagan concern. The aim is noble, in that the president is committing himself to democracy and freedom; and the conception is simple. But even before it was enveloped by scandal, it suffered from several typical Reagan shortcomings. The trouble was that most Americans, and most of their congressmen, did not share the president's ideological preoccupations; they did not give a damn how many days' drive Nicaragua was from Harlingen, Texas (and, *pace* Mr Reagan, it is more than two), because they did not see it as a threat. They certainly did not see it as a big enough threat to justify American involvement.

Congressmen, who, despite appearances to the contrary, may be prepared to give more thought to such matters, were not much impressed either. They did not like the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua, but they saw all sorts of complications:



Degrees of unease: Reagan, Ford, Carter, Nixon

local history, unsavoury contras, a government recognised by the United States that is not conspicuously brutal by the standards of the region. Above all was the gap between means and ends: a communist revolution was to be reversed by the grant of \$100m? It was Reagan quixotry on a grand scale. Yet the president is the president and, in foreign affairs at least, congressmen are loth to gainsay him. In the end, his perseverance won the day in Congress, though his overzealous subordinates may have since lost it for him. Their role may yet turn out to be rather like Henry II's knights in the unfortunate matter of Thomas à Becket. But loyalty ranks above contrition among Mr Reagan's virtues and he has yet to show, over arms for Nicaragua or indeed any other embarrassment, Henry's sense of guilt about the murder of his turbulent priest.

The president, not the policies

The Nicaraguan example is instructive. Mr Reagan is a formidable leader, but he is best at leading Americans in the direction in which they want to go. He will use his skills as a broadcaster to persuade the voters that the Iceland summit was a success or that the withdrawal of the marines from Beirut was not a defeat. That is what they want to believe. He is much less successful at persuading them that social security (mostly old-age pensions) needs to be cut or that the Sandinists need to be got rid of, issues on which they are hostile or sceptical.

In fact, all the evidence suggests that it is Mr Reagan the voters like, not his policies. November's elections pointed to it, and the opinion polls confirm it. It raises the question of whether Reaganism will outlive Mr Reagan, or whether, like other isms of today, it will join the wasms

of tomorrow.

The likelihood is that much of what he stands for will endure. Conservatism is clearly still popular; although the Democrats made gains in the Senate elections two months ago and there were some liberals among them, few campaigned as liberals. At the same time, the Republicans made gains in governorships, showing that the voters have not lost faith in the ability of conservatives to run state governments efficiently.

Yet, even before the current troubles, some aspects of the Reagan revolution seemed to be on the wane. The religious right, for instance, may now be a declining force in America. It was always an incongruous handmaiden to Mr Reagan. The gulf between the abstract and the specific was never more apparent than when Mr Reagan, the first divorced man in the White House, not conspicuously close to his children and always an infrequent churchgoer, was proclaiming the virtues of family life and Christian ways. He was, however, a hero to many fundamentalists and perhaps still is. Yet he has not brought them many rewards and, if the November elections are a guide, their concerns stir less excitement among the voters than they used to.

Similarly, other issues of the early 1980s are scarcely heard of these days. Whatever became of the sagebrush rebellion? And where is the new federalism, to which Mr Reagan devoted much of his 1982 State of the Union Address? The fire-breathing zealots of the Interior Department (remember James Watt?) and the Environmental Protection Agency have been sent packing, leaving their successors to carry out, for the most part, fairly traditional roles. The fire burns on in parts of the State Department, in the

Pentagon and in the Justice Department under Mr Ed Meese; he wants to reinterpret the constitution. And, having appointed nearly 30% of all federal judges, with the likelihood of another 15% in the next two years, Mr Reagan will leave his print firmly on the judiciary. But he has not, as yet, altered the balance between state and federal governments, overturned the abortion law, introduced school prayer or ended preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities.

A president at one with himself

By October, six years after his election to the White House, the one thing in which Mr Reagan had conspicuously succeeded was in restoring confidence to America. For that he could take the credit personally. In other areas, he had often been swimming with the tide, an expression of the times rather than their creator.

And he had been lucky, a president who had faced no major international crisis on the scale of a Middle East war, no intractable problem on the scale of Vietnam or the 1979 Iranian hostage-taking. But, in foreign policy, his administration could take little credit for preventing the Middle East fighting from getting completely out of hand; and in economic policy, the invoices had yet to be settled.

However, in the matter of national morale, Mr Reagan had been a clear success, and he had done it on his own. The results were there to be seen in the Olympic stadiums in Los Angeles and on the floor of the Stock Exchange in New York. They had also appeared in the answers to opinion pollsters: paradoxically, the man who had made a career out of attacking government had done more than anyone else to restore faith in it.

That new faith extended above all to the office of the presidency, for which everyone in the world, not just Americans, could be thankful. By being dignified but not stuffy, cheerful but not frivolous, self-deprecating but not self-doubting, the eupeptic Mr Reagan had put Americans at their ease. No wonder. After a run of Johnson, Nixon and Carter, all flawed in their different ways, they had at last in Ronald Reagan a president at ease with himself.

Is that, however, enough? Backing and filling over arms-for-hostages, delaying, sidestepping, blaming the press, a much more familiar type of president has recently been appearing before Americans, and one they like less well. The effectiveness of Mr Reagan's last two years in office, and perhaps the verdict on his entire presidency, may depend on the speed with which he now restores his links with the people, from which he draws all his political strength.

DAVID M. CARMEN

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FG001
PLL

Dear Kathy:

CJ

This article appeared yesterday in
The BOSTON GLOBE. If you think it's
appropriate, I thought you might
want to pass it along to the President.

CARMEN, GERALD
NYHAN, DAVID

All the best,

David

CARMEN, CARMEN & HUGEL, INC.

1667 K STREET, N.W. • SUITE 950 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: David Chew

FROM: KATHY OSBORNE

DATE: 1-13-87

Any need for RR to see?

File

A diehard defender of embattled Reagan

• DAVID NYHAN

And now, for something completely different: a diehard conservative's prediction that Ronald Reagan will not only rebound from this mess, but regain his stature as the colossus of modern American politics.

No, it's not Monty Python; it's Gerry Carmen: "The truth is, the president doesn't need to be defended. We've just hit some bumps in the road. It's the president who gets us out of trouble. You're going to see this whole thing turn around. It isn't going to be like the Sam Donaldsons of this world think it is. When you come right down to it, people are better off under Reagan. This is just a foreign-policy bump. Nobody died. Politics is a very short-range type of perspective."

Just wait till the old Gipper leaves the hospital, rallies the boys in the bunkhouse, and saddles up for his State of the Union speech three Tuesdays hence, predicts Carmen, one of the true-blue Reaganauts. "I'm telling you, the president is a lot stronger than they're writing about him. I see the White House building strength."

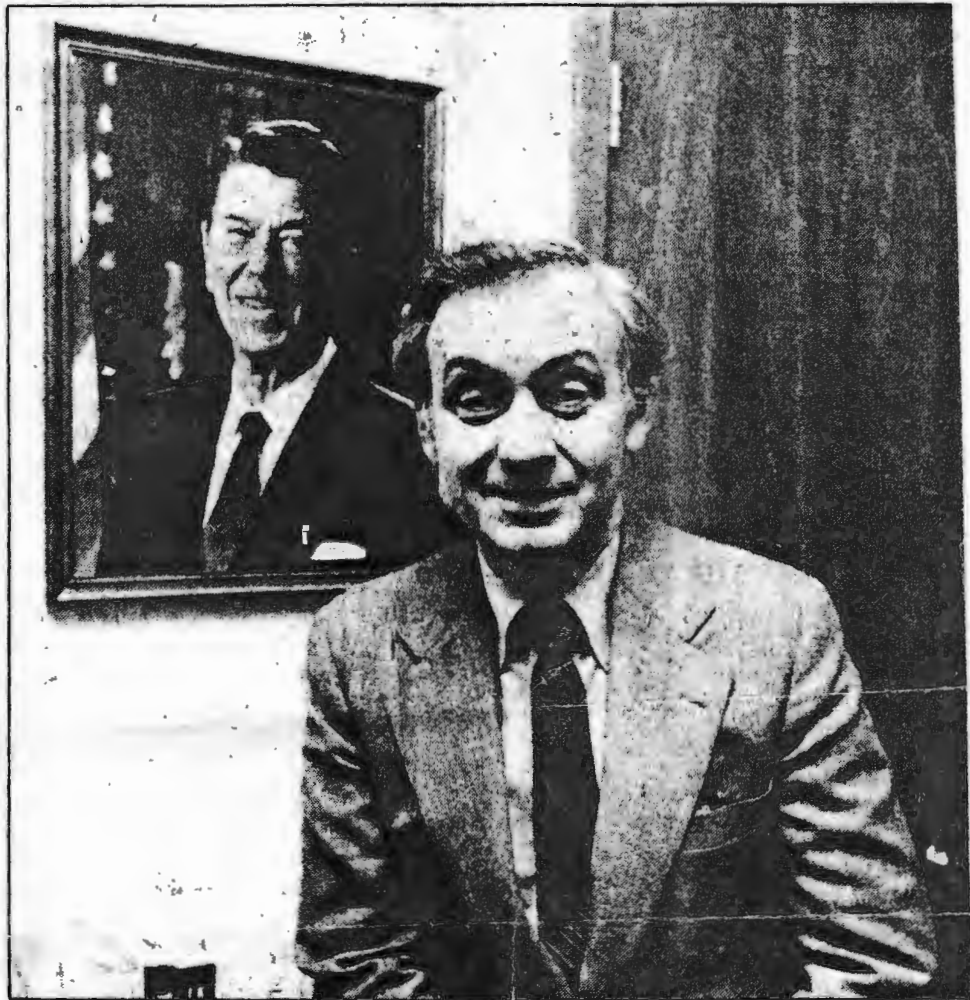
Like every good salesman, Carmen knows the first hurdle is to convince yourself; he has. "I happen to think the president was right in what he was trying to do — protect our interests in Iran for the future, and solve the Central American problem. Those are the 'whys,' the policy goals; I separate the 'whys' from the 'hows.' It got all mushed up.

"Some people don't like how they perceive the Iranian thing, but they don't like the way the president is being treated. There's this rush to judgment, this lynch-mob atmosphere."

This is not the first time that Gerry Carmen has gone into the trenches to save an embattled Reagan. Six years ago this month, the Gipper got clobbered by George Bush in the Iowa caucuses. Reagan limped into New Hampshire, \$11 million of his campaign kitty already spent, humiliated in Iowa, nagged as too old and too radical, trying to work up nerve enough to sack his campaign manager, John Sears, in favor of Bill Casey.

Carmen, running Reagan's New Hampshire campaign, turned the Gipper into an underdog, and helped spring the trap that unhinged Bush and gave Reagan the two-to-one Granite State victory that propelled him to the nomination and the White House.

Since then, Reagan has been very good to Gerry Carmen: he got to run the General Services Administration in Term One, then got handed the lofty title of ambassador, and a prestige foreign job with no heavy lifting, and the moniker of US



Globe file photo

Gerald Carmen and a portrait of his mentor in 1981.

Permanent Representative to the United Nations at Geneva. That was a long reach from selling tires and from the Manchester Housing Authority.

Since October, Carmen's been running Citizens for America, the pro-Reagan grass-roots lobby, and Call to Action, the network of conservatives that generates mail to politicians and calls to talk shows. Carmen is also president-elect of the Reagan Alumni Assn. Since the recent troubles put Reagan into what Bush would call "deep doo-doo," Carmen's been bailing out the Good Ship Reagan.

He organized last Monday's rally outside the White House — "Reagan — America's With You." Pat Buchanan, Jack Kemp and William Bennett crooned love songs to the recuperating president, and called down curses on his critics. That made the networks, as did the earlier TV spot whipped up by Carmen's son, David. The spot likens Reagan to Abe Lincoln, that earlier Republican drawn-and-quartered during the Civil War.

Unlike Buchanan, Carmen was not part of the Nixon cabal in Watergate, so he doesn't hate the media the way Bu-

chanan does. Carmen recognizes the essential worth of the press and the TV journalists. "They're the only thing that keeps us in government honest," he says. "But I'm grateful that the American people can separate the news from the entertainment."

Gerry Carmen, David Carmen and Max Hugel, the controversial New Hampshire resident who was CIA director Casey's first chief of clandestine operations have formed a new political consulting firm in Washington's pricey K Street canyon.

Carmen, Carmen & Hugel is a kind of Granite State version of The Three Amigos, New Hampshire guys who made it under Reagan, and are with him to the end. If this is the Alamo, the Gipper is their Davy Crockett — and Carmen, Carmen & Hugel will be there till the last bullet is spent.

You don't have to buy his argument to know that if you're in the political equivalent of a street fight, Gerry Carmen is a good man to have on your side.

David Nyhan is a Globe columnist.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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February 10, 1987

DONALD T. REGAN:

If you haven't already read this, it is a good factual presentation of the perception problems that we face.

DC

David L. Chew

NOTED BY

Attached is Feb 6 87 American Political Report and UPI article by Steve Gerstel "Congress vs Reagan in 87"

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The American Political Report

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REAGAN AND BUSH: BROADENING FALL-OUT FROM IRANGATE?

Although Ronald Reagan's late January job approval ratings remain slightly higher than December's levels, there's no longer much talk about a major recovery. It's not happening yet, anyway. True, voter interest in the Iran/Contra scandal itself does seem to be flagging. The problem...that other dimensions of public skepticism about the Reagan presidency are increasingly visible in late January survey data, and it looks like they've been further aggravated by lukewarm national reaction to the Jan. 27 State of the Union (see below). In a nutshell, and notwithstanding public boredom with Irangate details, it's clear that concern about White House leadership and policies over the next two years is deepening -- at the grassroots as well as in elite circles. The Iran/Contra mess may have been a critical catalyst, but the doubts raised are now much broader. However, the intra-party injury to Vice President George Bush may have been over-stated (see p. 4). Here are the key circumstances:

Reagan Job Approval: Major media polls for mid-late January give the President 49-52% approval, signalling no real change (see p. 5 for details).

Public Reaction to the State of the Union: Support for the President among the public didn't increase, while doubts among opinion-molders only deepened. Analyses by the major newsweeklies were generally similar...that while the President reassured the public of his continuing physical vigor, he simultaneously confirmed the Administration's dearth of new ideas and his own declining centrality in the 1987-88 policy debate. Jan. 28-29 Gallup/Newsweek polling (Newsweek, 2/9) found that although the President's popularity remains at about 50%, more Americans (29%) said the speech made them less confident in him as a leader than said it made them more confident (22%). In the wake of the President's speech, large majorities now rate the Administration as having failed or created problems in foreign policy, budget deficit and other areas.

Growing National Reliance on Congress: According to 1/15-19 ABC News/Washington Post polling, by 81-15% voters expect Congress, not the President, to take the stronger 1987-88 leadership role, and the Gallup/Newsweek survey found voters rating Congress as more likely than the President to deal effectively over the next two years with a tax increase, budget deficit reduction, unemployment reduction, trade, welfare reform and catastrophic health insurance.

Increased Disbelief in Reagan Iran/Contra Truthfulness and Investigatory Commitment: It's been on the uptick...ABC/Post polling showed that 56% of

Americans feel the President isn't being truthful on the Iran/Contra affair, up from 49% in December. Similarly, a 1/18-21 CBS News/New York Times survey found 52% belief the President was lying, up from 47% in December. Parenthetically, the ABC/Post poll also found 67% believing Reagan isn't doing all he can to get at the facts on Iran (just 53% though so before Christmas), and 72% still feel John Poindexter and Oliver North received orders from higher up. In a kindred vein, 1/5-7 Time/Yankelovich polling had turned up 77% agreement that the President was holding back information. Perhaps more important, Time's data also suggest this image of dissembling and untruthfulness may now be more dangerous to the Administration than the underlying Iran and Contra connections. Note the response to this question: "What bothers you most -- that arms were sold to Iran, that money from the arms was sent to the Contras in Nicaragua, or that the Administration has not told the American people everything that happened?" (Yankelovich, 1/5-7).

	<u>Total %</u>	<u>Reps. %</u>	<u>Inds. %</u>	<u>Dems. %</u>
Arms were sold to Iran	20	24	21	17
Money was sent to the Contras	11	15	12	7
Americans not told everything that happened	58	45	56	69
Not sure	11	16	11	7

Watergate/Iran-Contra Affair Analogies: Perhaps because of the common assumption of a cover-up, the public continues to see this latest episode as equal to Watergate in seriousness. Talk of flagging interest thus seems a little misleading. The current numbers are as follows:

	<u>Time/Yankelovich</u>	<u>CBS/NYT</u>	<u>ABC/Post</u>
More serious	26%	6%	39%
As serious	28	41	11
Not as serious	39	45	47

Interestingly, Reagan's ratings for policy towards Iran are now only marginally better than Jimmy Carter's. This suggests some historical revisionism...First, Carter should no longer be so personally identified with failure in Iran, second, Nixon's Watergate uniqueness will ease. The entire 1960s-to-1980s era could take increasing cohesion as a seamless web of troubles. Under the circumstances, it's not surprising there's been a major upsurge in the percentage of Americans who think the country is on the wrong track (see p. 3).

Loss of Confidence in Reagan and His Advisers: It's substantial. Per the ABC/Post poll, 40% of Americans now think Reagan is too old to be President, up from 33% last year. And late January NBC News/Wall Street Journal polling found that 71% feel the President is not as fully in charge as he once was, up from 60% in early January. Finally, the ABC/Post data charted below also registers an all-time high in the number of Americans believing advisers make most of the decisions in the White House:

Percentage Believing Advisers Make
Most of the White House Decisions

Jan. '83	Jan. '85	Nov. '86	Jan. '87
55%	64%	53%	69%

Data like this -- plus the increasingly discussed and growing exodus of senior staffers from the White House -- underscores the pressure on White House Chief of Staff Don Regan, despite winning his December fight to survive, to nevertheless leave this Spring if he gets the chance to do so gracefully.

Loss of Confidence in Reagan Policies: It's also striking. Support for Reagan's handling of foreign affairs -- the area most directly related to the Iran/Contra mess -- has dropped to 36% in January, per ABC/Post sampling, and just 34%, per the CBS/NYT survey. Support for Reagan's handling of the economy is also down in all surveys. Again, perhaps more to the point, voters now expect relatively little achievement from the Administration over the next two years. That's writ large in the January data.

Minimal 1987-88 Public Expectations for the Reagan Administration: Even prior to the disappointing State of the Union speech, the NBC News/WSJ poll showed that 61% now agree with the statement that "President Reagan does not seem to have as clear an idea of where he wants to lead the country now as he used to." Similarly, the NBC/WSJ survey found only 12% expecting the President to be "very effective" over the next two years, while 30% believed he'd be "not at all effective." The CBS/NYT poll, in turn, found 71% doubting Reagan's ability "to accomplish his goals for the country over the next two years," while the ABC/Post survey, for its part, charted only 7% of the public expecting the Reagan Administration to accomplish "a great deal" in the next two years. Forty-five percent expected nothing or not much at all; 46% hedged by expecting "some" achievement. Equally vivid is the low number of Americans who'd vote for Ronald Reagan if he could run again -- just 28%, per one survey. And sizeable majorities of Americans now want the United States to move in new directions in 1988: The NBC/WSJ poll found a 54%-39% majority saying the next President should not continue Reagan policies, while the Time/Yankelovich survey found a 60% majority opting for different policies in 1988 rather than a continuation of those of the Reaganites.

Concern That U.S. Is Now Again On Wrong Track: Public desire for a change of direction presumably explains their indication that the United States is now on the wrong track, with its hint of renewal of the disillusionment of Vietnam, Watergate, the Jimmy Carter Era and the 1981-82 recession period. Back in December, U.S. News & World Report/CNN polling found a 55% of Americans feeling that way, while January's ABC/Post survey reported a 56% to 39% majority saying "things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track," the highest number since October 1982.

Republican Voter Skepticism about Reagan and His Policies: Some 45-60% of Republicans share the view that the President hasn't been candid or forthcoming on Iran. However, what could wind up being especially important within the party framework -- and in the 1988 nomination race -- is the growing number of GOPers souring on Reagan's policies and the direction in which the country is going. Serious disillusionment isn't confined to Democrats. The ABC/Post, NBC/WSJ and Time/Yankelovich numbers below, for example, show the same thing in different ways:

Should next President follow the same policies as Reagan Administration of different policies?

<u>Time/Yankelovich</u>	Same	Different	<u>NBC/WSJ</u>	Same	Different
Dems.	14%	82%	Dems.	17%	77%
Inds.	37	54	Inds.	38	54
Reps.	60	<u>33</u>	Reps.	65	<u>31</u>

ABC/Post: Is the U.S. on the right track or pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	Right Track	Wrong Track	No Opinion
Dems.	27%	69%	4%
Inds.	38	51	11
Reps.	53	41	6

The upshot of all this is clear enough...30-40% of Republicans and 40-45% of those eligible to vote in 1988 GOP primaries (including independents in some states) are significantly out of sync with the Reagan Administration. If the President can't turn this around, it's going to present the GOP with a real problem in 1988. Over the last fifty years, the GOP has had only one retiring President -- Eisenhower (in 1960), whose legacy was popular both inside his party and outside. Nixon, by resigning in 1974, enabled the GOP to avoid his incumbency as the 1976 presidential campaign began. Reagan, by contrast, will still be in office, and conceivably with little forward motion. The point...his legacy is starting to look like it could be a divisive, not cohesive factor in the nomination race as well as the general election. Disenchanted Republicans could be a major 1988 voting bloc.

The Iran/Contra Mess and George Bush: There's no doubt the Vice President has absorbed some injury. The Time/Yankelovich poll, for example, found a 48% to 30% plurality of Americans believing he was more involved in the Iran/Contra affair than he has admitted, and the ABC/Post sampling found 30% of the public believing Bush knew of the Contra funds diversion from the start. Yet the Vice President's erosion within GOP ranks hasn't been too pronounced. For example, the CBS/NYT survey found that 61% of GOP voters continue to view him favorably versus only 12% who regard him unfavorably. And here's the less-than-fierce trend in November-January GOP nomination trial heats:

	<u>CBS/NYT</u> 11/4	<u>USN/CNN</u> 12/5-7	<u>Time/Yank.</u> 1/5-7	<u>ABC/Post</u> 1/15-19	<u>CBS/NYT</u> 1/18-21	<u>NBC/WSJ</u> 1/22-23
Bush	34%	29%	40%	35%	36%	32%
Dole	14	20	20	20	15	17
Baker	9	12	7	13	9	9
Kemp	9	9	5	8	6	9
Robertson	6	4	6	6	5	NA

Our interpretation...that although Bush now has a lead of roughly 2:1 over Bob Dole, well down from mid-1986 numbers, it's still not close on a national basis. Bush is definitely still the frontrunner. The problem for him is that the Iran/Contra situation has refocused doubts about both his leadership (the CBS/NYT and Time surveys show 41-52% of Americans uneasy about Bush's strength or crisis abilities) and his alleged lack of new ideas. Per late January's NBC/WSJ poll, moreover, 42% of Americans think being Reagan's Vice President has hurt Bush's chance of being elected in his own right, while only 36% think it has helped. Even 29% of Republicans think the vice-presidency has hurt Bush.

All in all, the Iran/Contra scandal may be fading -- people certainly are paying less attention -- but that doesn't suggest (nor do polls) that an Administration recovery is underway. Other public perceptions which the scandal has helped catalyze or accentuate -- lack of Presidential leadership, new ideas and even truthfulness in the White House -- are now rapidly becoming major Admin-

istration problems in their own right and any comeback will have to deal with these dimensions, too.

NATIONAL POLITICS

1) Reagan Job Approval: There's no real sign of an uptick, with late January polls leaving the President in the 49-50% range. Here's a current profile:

Percent of Public Giving Reagan Approval or Positive Rating

	11/20-30	12/1-10	12/11-20	12/21-31	1/1-10	1/11-20	1/21-31
Gallup		47%			52%		50%
U.S. News/CNN		46%					
NBC/WSJ		50%			52%		49%
CBS/NYT	46%	47%	47%			52%	
ABC/Post	53%	49%				50%	
Wirthlin/DMI	47%		52-56%*	54%	57-58%	54%	
Sindlinger	50%	49%	50%	51%	53%		
Time/Yankelovich					53%		

*White House pollster Wirthlin ran daily tracking polls during this critical period.

Is Howard Baker Still Running?: More and more observers seem to think the answer is "No," and it's interesting that after Baker, Bob Dole and Warren Rudman (Baker's key New Hampshire backer) had lunch over the Christmas holidays, Rudman told the Boston Globe that their conversation would have given George Bush a lot to think about (see p. 6). The close-to-Baker Tennessee Journal opined as follows on 2/2: "Baker says he's two weeks away from making a decision...he's assessing the dents and scratches acquired by the George Bush campaign in the Iran-Contra arms scandal. Our hunch: Baker won't run." More recently, a detailed analysis in the Washington Times ("Howard Baker's Indecision Rebounds in Favor of Dole," 2/6) describes Baker's campaign as on hold -- fundraising has stopped, and Baker supporters are drifting to Dole. The Times quoted Tom Rath, Baker's exploratory committee director, a former New Hampshire attorney general and a top lieutenant of Warren Rudman, as saying: "We've put fundraising and staff hiring on hold. Howard knows we need a decision on whether he's going to run." Baker press aide Louisa Hollman says "People are getting more skeptical. He (Baker) can't assure them he is going to do anything with it." In the meantime, it's wellknown in Washington that Baker has signalled his willingness to take a major Administration job, particularly Secretary of State. Also, Baker's wife Joy remains in uncertain health, so that he doesn't like to leave home for more than a day or two. Finally, it's clear that with Baker and Dole sharing a basic appeal within the national and New Hampshire GOP, they can't both effectively run -- and Dole has emerged as much the stronger, and his GOP 1988 voter preference lead over Baker keeps growing. Insiders say that as this has happened -- especially in the last 6-8 weeks -- key Baker friends in Iowa and New Hampshire (Senators Rudman and Grassley, in particular) have begun to pay some attention to the "Dole-Should-be-the-One" thesis. Back in winter 1984-85, Baker had 15-20% in GOP rank-and-file voter preference polls and Dole had 3-5%. Now it's Dole who's ahead.

Note: We've been slighting coverage of Democratic polls and prospects since December because of the enormous implications of the GOP's new problems. We'll turn to more emphasis on the Democrats after this issue.

UPDATE: ELECTION 1987-88 (PARTIES, PRIMARIES, PRESIDENTIAL MANEUVERING)

Arkansas: Senator Dale Bumpers (D) is clearly giving serious consideration to a presidential bid. Illinois Senator Paul Simon, who's pushing Bumpers, told the Chicago Sun-Times (2/1) that "He's seriously looking at it. He's right on the edge, and I think the odds favor it, but it's not certain." Meanwhile, Bumpers refused to give the Memphis Commercial Appeal an interview on his presidential ambitions because he's not ready. The C-A (2/1) noted that Bumpers isn't the only Arkansas Democrat interested. Gov. Bill Clinton has toyed, in general terms, with the possibility he could run and survive getting nowhere in Iowa and New Hampshire and then move up with successes in the Dixie/Border contests on Super Tuesday. Incidentally, the C-A noted that Arkansas is now considering legislation to join Super Tuesday (the last holdout).

California: A Los Angeles Times survey of delegates to the Feb. 1 Democratic state convention found the following 1988 Democratic nomination sentiment: Cuomo 23%, Hart 21%, Biden 6%, Jackson 5%, Iacocca 3% (Times, 1/31). That leaves a lot of undecideds. A Sacramento Bee/KCRA-TV poll of California Democratic rank-and-filers put Hart ahead by 27% to 16%, also with a big undecided bloc -- 41% (New York Times, 2/2). Within the ranks of state Democrats, per the L.A. Times, Cuomo was strongest among urbanites and liberals, particularly in the Bay Area. Ideologically, "Cuomo and Jackson rely on liberals for their main bases of support, Hart's base leans towards the right and Biden's is in the middle." The Times poll of Democratic delegates also found strong (78%) support for advancing the date of the state's primary so the state could have more influence in the 1988 selection process. On the Republican side, the Times (1/27) notes that aides of Gov. George Deukmejian are urging him to run as a favorite son to increase California's leverage on the Republican nomination. If Deukmejian doesn't run, the state's winner-take-all GOP primary would minimize California's potentially great bargaining power. State GOP Chairman Clare Burgener is among those urging the governor to run. The problem...that the serious candidates (Bush, Dole, Kemp et al) might not defer to Deukmejian, coming in anyway and raising the possibility of a major Deukmejian embarrassment.

Connecticut: State GOPers are looking for someone to replace Thomas D'Amore who'll resign as state chairman when his term expires in June. The party is demoralized, with little communication between the state committee, GOPers in the legislature and Connecticut Republicans in Congress (Hartford Courant, 1/25). The rightwing weekly Human Events (1/31), calling D'Amore's lack of success a reflection on D'Amore's chief patron, Sen. Lowell Weicker, says conservatives are pushing Waterbury attorney John Mastropietro to seek the chairmanship. Mastropietro is the top aide to U.S. Rep. John Rowland, who may challenge Weicker in the 1988 GOP primary. Mentioned as possible D'Amore successors from the Weicker camp...St. Rep. Dick Foley and state GOP legislative caucus p.r. man Joe Shilinga.

Florida: The Miami Herald (2/1) reports that ex-Senator Paula Hawkins will be challenged next year for her seat on the Republican National Committee. She got away with a poor attendance rate when she was a Senator, but she won't now. On the Democratic side, the Herald (1/25) reports that "Miami lawyer and super-fundraiser Marvin Rosen has signed on with Gary Hart's 1988 presidential campaign, a step that should do much to ease the Coloradoan's money problems. Some say Rosen's endorsement is especially significant because it came just after he returned from a trip abroad with his close friend Ted Kennedy."

Georgia: In an interview with the Atlanta Constitution (1/25), Senator Sam Nunn (D) indicated that the odds against his running for president in 1988 had changed from 80-20 to just 60-40. The key seems to be whether Nunn believes -- or doesn't -- that his probable inability to get anywhere in the early Iowa caucuses (in particular) and New Hampshire primary would be fatal. In discussing with Constitution political editor Frederick Allen how he'd strategize if he did run, he said he'd been talking with advisers who thought Iowa and New Hampshire could be sidestepped: "The theory on Iowa and New Hampshire is that you've got to have that huge leap, and come out of there a winner, basically for free publicity purposes. That assumes there's going to be a clear winner coming out of there...[But] if you were organized and well-financed, and had superb organization in the states where the real delegate counts are, I'm not at all sure that's necessary. I think Iowa and New Hampshire may be part of political folklore, and may not be as valid as is common wisdom...that was before we had a whole lot of delegates coming up the next week [in Dixie], it would depend on whether you were organized, and could convince people in the primaries coming up...not to let Iowa and New Hampshire dictate [the outcome]...You'd have to make it abundantly clear that you were going to run in the primaries elsewhere, and you'd have to begin organizing in New York, Illinois and California, and those states, because if you didn't, you'd become a regional candidate." However, "I would probably start in New Hampshire," he conceded. "I'm just giving you a counterargument...You could say that's what some people have urged, and I'm examining that as an option." The Christian Science Monitor (1/30) quotes ex-Virginia Gov. Chuck Robb -- who says he'll defer to Nunn (but who might run if Nunn bows out) -- as believing that Nunn could stick with Armed Services Committee priorities through late 1987, skip the Iowa caucuses and begin with New Hampshire.

Iowa: On 1/17, the state GOP elected lawyer Michael Mahaffey to replace state chairman Sally Novetze who withdrew from seeking re-election the week before the race when it was clear she did not have the votes. Novetze has decided to work for George Bush in 1988, and Mahaffey has pledged neutrality in next year's caucuses (Des Moines Register, 1/18).

Kansas: Bob Dole's home state is rallying for him, per analyses in the Kansas City Star (1/25, 2/1). The Wichita Eagle-Beacon has endorsed Dole for 1988, in what's believed to be 1988's first newspaper endorsement. Thereafter followed the Manhattan Mercury, the Atchison Daily Globe, the Lyons Family News and the High Plains Journal. On 1/30-31, per the Star, some 500 Kansans signed up for a "Sunflower Army" to work for Dole in Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma and Nebraska. Fred Logan, just elected as the new state GOP chairman, declared his 1988 support for Dole, and asked state GOPers to rally behind him. Former state GOP chairman Jack Ranson was elected GOP National Committeeman replacing Huck Boyd.

Massachusetts: Two questions following conservative activist Ray Shamie's capture of the state GOP chairmanship...first, the extent to which moderates will feel there's no longer a place for them in the state GOP; second, the effect on the 1988 presidential primary. Jack Kemp could be something of a hidden winner because many Shamie backers favor him, and George Bush could be a hidden loser, because many of the backers of defeated moderate state chairmanship candidate Mary Padula were also Bush supporters (Boston Globe, 1/22).

Michigan: The Draft Iacocca effort led by Michigan Democratic National Committeeman Morley Winograd isn't defunct but it's fading. Some are losing interest, convinced that Iacocca really means what he says --

that he's not running. Winograd told the Detroit News (2/1) that members will decide during February whether to try a direct mail fundraiser, and they have set a May 1 deadline for deciding whether to proceed with the draft attempt.

Minnesota: Per the Minneapolis Tribune's 1/18 "Minnesota Poll," the local GOP -- which goes under the label Independent-Republican -- hasn't suffered any party identification decline from December's Irangate impact. Some 26% of Minnesotans call themselves Republicans, 33% Democrats and 41% independents. But it's hard to know what it means... measurements of both parties have hopped around over the last three years.

Missouri: With liberal state Democratic chairman Margie Klearman resigning in January, state Democrats have decided to designate U.S. Rep. Richard Gephardt as titular head of the party, and "when the state committee eventually meets to pick a new chairman, former Treasurer Mel Carnahan of Rolla is expected to be the choice because Gephardt has indicated he supports Carnahan, although Gephardt has made no statement." Per National Committeeman Burleigh Arnold, most Democrats are willing to accept Gephardt's choice because as long as he remains a presidential candidate, they think the state party should be organized to help him (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1/25).

New Hampshire: On the Democratic side, the Boston Globe (1/27) says that rivals are already trying to ensnare neighboring Massachusetts Gov. Mike Dukakis -- who may run in 1988 -- in an expectations game, arguing that anything less than an actual win would be a defeat. The conservative Manchester Union-Leader, meanwhile, is baiting Dukakis, promising him "the rudest awakening of your naive and irresponsible public life." On the Republican side, the Globe (1/16) speculates that Bob Dole could be the one to watch in New Hampshire for two reasons. First, the possibility that Senator Warren Rudman (R) and his organization would move to Dole if Howard Baker folds his ambitions. Dole, Rudman and Baker had lunch together in Florida over the Christmas holidays, and Rudman later told the Globe "If George Bush had walked into that dining room, he would have had a lot to think about." The second pro-Dole thesis...that he may win the backing of the Manchester Union-Leader. Why? Because, the line goes, the Union-Leader wants to finish off George Bush, and there's a strong belief in New Hampshire that Jack Kemp isn't going anywhere, so a Dole endorsement could serve the paper's game plan.

New Jersey: Democratic Senator Bill Bradley's victory over GOP Gov. Tom Kean in getting the legislature to reschedule New Jersey's 1988 primary from June to late May instead of late March is raising questions about Bradley's 1988 interest...it could give him a chance to make a big late May splash in maneuvering toward a possible brokered convention and nomination.

New York: Press reports generally picture Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) moving towards a more overt pre-1988 candidacy posture as he begins a February-May series of speeches around the country. Cuomo said on 2/5 that he'll announce an exploratory committee decision by the end of February. And the Washington Times (2/2) quotes fundraiser Nathan Landow, a key leader of Impac '88 (a group of top fundraisers who are screening potential candidates), acknowledging "you could say I'm leaning" toward Cuomo.

North Carolina: On 1/31, the State GOP Executive Committee ratified Jack Hawke, Gov. Jim Martin's 1984 campaign manager and personal choice for state chairman, to take over that position on an interim basis until May's state convention elects someone for a full two-year term. But angry conservatives say they'll oppose Hawke in May, putting forward Bible college professor Barry McCarty. Congressional Club executive director Carter Wrenn says their pro-McCarty campaign will include mailings, personal campaigning by Senator Jesse Helms and even attacks on the 3½ cent gasoline tax pushed by Gov. Martin in 1986 (Charlotte Observer, 2/1).

Ohio: Plans by GOP conservatives and state legislators to unseat party state chairman Michael Colley at a 2/5 state committee meeting went by the boards as Colley -- under fire for being a part-time chairman -- announced he was setting up a 7-member committee to study key reforms: 1) the term, salary and full-time status of the chairman and 2) conflict of interest guidelines. Separate meetings will be held to deal with the problems between the state party and the finance committee. A survey of state GOP officials taken by Colley foes showed heavy support for a full-time chairmanship (Columbus Dispatch, 1/28), and state finance committee officials have also been drum-beating against Colley (Dispatch, 1/25). So have conservatives who object to Colley's alliances with ex-Gov. Jim Rhodes, Columbus Mayor Dana Rinehart and Cleveland Mayor George Voinovich.

South Carolina: In the GOP camp, new Gov. Carroll Campbell (R) has accepted 26-year-old lawyer Van Hipp as the new state GOP chairman and says he'll let him run the state GOP, but the Columbia State (1/18) says some party affairs will be handled by Campbell's chief of staff, former state GOP executive director Warren Tompkins. Turning to the Democrats, the State (1/11) says Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt is making major strides in the state...former state party executive director Bill Carrick has been named his national campaign manager, Reps. Butler Derrick and John Spratt are supporting him, and ex-Gov. Bob McNair held a weekend get-together for Gephardt.

Washington: Spurred by a visit from pro-Northwest Regional primary advocate Oregon Secretary of State Barbara Roberts, Washington Secretary of State Ralph Munro (R) and four legislators announced on 1/23 that they were backing legislation to create a Washington presidential primary on the fourth Tuesday in March (to coincide with hoped-for similar action by Oregon, Montana and Idaho). Consideration will start in the Senate, where Majority Leader Ted Böttiger told the Portland Oregonian (1/25) that prospects seemed good.

UPDATE: ELECTION 1987-88 (GOVERNORSHIPS, U.S. SENATE, U.S. HOUSE)

California: In the 5th District opening created by the death of Rep. Sala Burton (D), local observers name the following as possible Democratic contenders...ex-State Democratic party chair Nancy Pelosi, ex-San Francisco DA Joseph Freitas, party activist Josiah Beeman and city supervisors Bill Maher, Carol Ruth Silver and gay community stalwart Harry Britt. A 1/25 L.A. Times analysis underscores Pelosi's influence and family ties to the Burtons, but notes that Britt's gay support could predominate in a low turnout race. No date has been set, but Democrats expect the election in early April.

Florida: A Miami Herald analysis (1/25) says that the state GOP is gearing up for a major assault -- probably involving \$5 million or so -- against Democratic Senator Lawton Chiles partly because of demographics: some 40% of the voters in 1988 will not have been Floridians in 1982. Chiles, meanwhile, is debating whether he ought to raise his \$100 ceiling on contributions to \$500. The Herald's list of potential GOP contenders...U.S. Rep. Connie Mack, ex-St. Rep. Tom Gallagher (impressive in his 1986 gubernatorial nomination bid), ex-Senator Paula Hawkins and ex-Attorney General Jim Smith, still nominally a conservative Democrat. Turning to the House

racers, the Herald (2/1) says that the GOP has the potential to gain a number of seats when aging Democratic incumbents -- Claude Pepper (86), Charles Bennett (76), William Lehman (73), Dante Fascell (70), Sam Gibbons (67), Bill Chappell (65) -- decide to retire. Except for Lehman's, most of their districts could conceivably go Republican. In Fascell's district, new GOP St. Sen. Dexter Lehtinen is being talked about as a likely 1988 contender even against the popular incumbent.

Indiana: This round-up of possible Democratic gubernatorial contenders in 1988...attorney Virginia Dill McCarty has already announced, State Senate Democratic Leader Frank O'Bannon has said privately that he will enter, and 1984 Democratic nominee Wayne Townsend is also mentioned. Four mayors are also listed...Stephen Dailey of Kokomo, Winfield Moses of Fort Wayne, Michael Vanderveer of Evansville and Pete Chalos of Terre Haute. Newly-elected Secretary of State B. Evan Bayh is also discussed, but the Indianapolis Star (1/18) says the feeling is he will be a major powerbroker but not the candidate. The GOP nomination contest, meanwhile, will likely be between Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut and Lt. Gov. John Mutz.

Iowa: The Des Moines Register (1/18) says Capitol Hill Republicans are floating U.S. Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot's name as a potential opponent for Democratic Senator Tom Harkin in 1990. Which means that all four GOP Congressmen are now at least being mentioned. The Register adds that ex-Democratic Congressman Berkley Bedell already seems to regret his retirement and could seek his old seat again in 1988 if freshman GOPer Fred Grandy looks vulnerable.

Kansas: With the possibility that Senator Bob Dole could be elected President in 1988 and thereby cause a second Senate election (for his seat) in 1990, GOP Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum is being urged to reconsider her prior indication of stepping down in 1990. The Kansas City Star (1/25) says Kassebaum is backing away and now says she'll keep her options open. She intimates she would run again if Dole resigns to run for president or after winning, because that could mean two Senate races in 1990, with Democrats having a shot at both.

Kentucky: The Louisville Courier-Journal (2/1) says that ex-Gov. John Y. Brown (D), who leads in the 1987 polls, seems close to jumping into this year's race despite intra-party antagonisms that could insure a bloody primary.

Louisiana: The New Orleans Times-Picayune (2/1) says that Gov. Edwin Edwards (D) has managed to dominate the governor's race during the first month of 1987 simply hinting but not answering whether he's going to run. As of 2/1, an announcement was scheduled for 2/6. But the T-P says he could announce and then change his mind again before it's time to file papers.

Minnesota: Per the Washington Times (2/2), although state Attorney General Hubert Humphrey III says it'll be months before he decides whether he'll oppose GOP Senator David Durenberger, it looks like he's already made the decision -- especially with party leaders telling him to move openly enough to scare away intra-party rivals. But Humphrey is being cautious because state voters could resent a full-time campaign by a man they just re-elected as attorney general, and the Times says that Humphrey backers also acknowledge that if a head-to-head poll were taken today, Humphrey would probably finish 10-12 points behind Durenberger.

Missouri: Per the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (2/1), GOP Senator Jack Danforth's 1988 re-election campaign dismisses his alleged 1976 promise to only serve two terms if elected. Associates say Danforth was only speaking generally about a two-term limit, but in any event, he's changed his mind. Danforth Administrative Assistant Alex Netchvolodoff says they expect Lt. Gov. Harriett Woods to be Danforth's opponent despite intimations from organized labor that it would not support a third Woods Senate run. Analysts agree that the Democrats' 1988 problems start at the top of the ticket with no strong candidates to oppose GOP Gov. John Ashcroft. The one weak link in the GOP slate...State Treasurer Wendell Bailey.

North Dakota: Local newspapers suggest that Senator Quentin Burdick (D) may be better positioned to seek re-election in 1988 -- despite now being 78 -- with his new chairmanship of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. And he's trumpeting his new position as part of a high-profile effort to derail Congressman Byron Dorgan (D), a possible challenger in the 1988 primary. Burdick, who spent a night with the homeless in Fargo, is out to establish both his visibility and his continuing vitality.

South Carolina: The Columbia State (2/1) says that Dr. Henry Jordan, a close loser in 1986's GOP Senatorial primary, is gearing up for a possible November 1988 bid against 3rd District Democratic Congressman Butler Derrick. The State says that "South Carolina Republicans, encouraged by poll data showing a jump in the district's base Republican vote, have targeted Derrick." But outside observers think that Derrick is well-entrenched with his seniority and various Democratic positions.

Tennessee: The Tennessee Journal (1/26) says that although big-name Republicans aren't lining up to oppose Senator Jim Sasser (D) in 1988, Johnson City attorney Eddie Williams, who has close ties to Lamar Alexander and Howard Baker, has discussed a possible 1988 race with these two and other Republicans.

Utah: A recent Deseret News/KSL-TV poll (1/25) put popular ex-Gov. Scott Matheson (D) ahead of GOP Senator Orrin Hatch by 50% to 41% in a 1988 trial heat. Among registered voters, Matheson led by only 46% to 44%.

Wisconsin: GOPers don't show much interest in 1988 opposition to Sen. William Proxmire (D), who had 80% approval in an October poll. New Lt. Gov. Scott McCallum is said to be interested, but he says he's concentrating for now on his new job. Senate Minority leader Susan Engleiter, who had been interested, now has no plans to try. U.S. Rep. James Sensenbrenner is also a possibility (Milwaukee Journal, 1/25).

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Congress vs. Reagan in 1987
By STEVE GERSTEL

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Democratic-led Congress, off to a quick start, has drawn first blood in what increasingly promises to become an all-out two-year war with a "very confrontational" President Reagan.

In the first month of its session, the 100th Congress can list a series of actions that in other years may have waited for arrival of spring or summer:

The override by huge margins of President Reagan's veto of the \$20 billion clean water bill.

Rejection of Reagan's proposed \$28.5 million cut in food aid for the needy.

Approval of \$25 million in emergency aid for the homeless.

Senate and House passage of highway legislation.

Creation of Senate and House panels to investigate the Iran-Contra scandal.

Approval by inaction, probably temporary, of a pay raise for top government officials including members of Congress.

The tempo of activity preceding the first recess of the year, which ends after Washington's Birthday, was set by House Speaker Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia from the moment their party won control of Congress for the first time since Reagan became president.

"There was an election," notes Byrd. "I don't think the administration has made the transition yet."

Byrd has said the Democrats prefer cooperation to confrontation in the final two years of Reagan's presidency, but a White House meeting Jan. 29 between the president and Capitol Hill leaders apparently was acrimonious.

Byrd said the session, which touched on the water bill, the budget and welfare, among other issues, was "animated." Senate Republican leader Robert Dole of Kansas conceded, "We did have a very spirited meeting."

Byrd was asked directly about White House cooperation in the new year.

"There will be some confrontation even with a president of our own party," he responded diplomatically. "(But) this president has been very confrontational. He doesn't understand the Congress is equal with the president, neither above nor below."

Asked if the White House has become stalemated by the Iran-Contra crisis, Byrd said, "I don't know whether it's a preoccupation with Iran. They've run out of initiatives and they're sending down the same things."

At a recent retreat of House Democrats at the Greenbrier resort in West Virginia, Wright said, "We will brook no interference with our achieving the agenda that we promised the American people. We're moving. We're going to act and we're going to perform. We're going to achieve."

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