

# The Campaign

## **Primary Contests**

### **Campaign Organization**

Bush

Gore

### **Conventions and VP Selection**

Bush

Gore



## Primary Contests

New York Times

January 25, 2000; Page 1

### **Iowans Deliver Victory to Bush and Gore** (Excerpts)

By RICHARD L. BERKE



DES MOINES, Jan. 24 -- Gov. George W. Bush of Texas and Vice President Al Gore were the clear victors in the Iowa presidential caucuses tonight as voters -- although just a few of them -- for the first time affirmed their positions as front-runners for their parties' nominations.

In the Republican race, Steve Forbes, the wealthy publisher who had pumped millions into the race, finished second, roughly tripling the 10 percent he drew here four years ago.

Alan Keyes, a former State Department official who, like Mr. Forbes had courted the religious right, was third, outpacing another religious conservative, Gary L. Bauer. Senator John McCain, who did not campaign here, won a handful of votes, and Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah came in last.

With 41 percent of the vote, Mr. Bush, a two-term governor in his first try for national office, surpassed the 37 percent that Bob Dole drew in a six-candidate field in 1988. Mr. Bush had set that figure as his goal.

Yet in a sign of the potency that the abortion issue held here, his



results did not match the total votes of Mr. Forbes, Mr. Keyes and Mr. Bauer, who all criticized Mr. Bush as being soft on the question.

In the Democratic race, Mr. Gore outpolled former Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey 63 percent to 35 percent. The outcome was a setback for Mr. Bradley, who had campaigned aggressively in the state.

The victors hope their triumphs will embolden their campaigns in the nation's first primary on Tuesday in New Hampshire. But Mr. Bush and Mr. Gore face different political landscapes there -- as well as polls showing that they are neck and neck with Mr. McCain and Mr. Bradley.

(...)

Although the showings of Mr. Forbes, who drew 30 percent, and Mr. Keyes, who captured 14 percent, underscored the potency of religious conservative voters in these caucuses, Mr. Bush drew a substantial proportion of their support as well, according to surveys of voters entering the caucuses. Mr. Bauer tallied 9 percent; Mr. McCain, 5 percent; and Mr. Hatch, 1 percent.

For more than a year, Mr. Bush has towered over the Republican field because of his record-breaking fund-raising, impressive poll numbers and endorsements. Now, the first voters declared him the leader as well.

Mr. Bush, smiling as he watched the coverage in his hotel suite here, declared victory barely 45 minutes after the caucuses had opened. "We've had a record-shattering victory," he said, "and I never dreamt I'd be able to get such a high vote total."

(...)

Tonight, Mr. Gore conceded that he faced far different competition in New Hampshire. "I don't think there's any such thing as the so-called 'bounce,' " he said of the prospect that his victory here would give him a



lift in New Hampshire. "That race must be won on his own terms."

Conceding his loss, Mr. Bradley also said he was gearing for a hard-fought contest in New Hampshire. "Let me congratulate the vice president on his strong showing tonight," Mr. Bradley said. "He's an opponent who is tough and I know I'll be seeing a lot of him in the coming weeks."

He added: "Tonight, I have a little bit more humility, but no less confidence that I can do that job."

(...)

Early entrance polls tonight suggested that many Republican voters cared more about a candidate's moral values than his stance on taxes, Social Security, abortion or education. Those voters heavily backed Mr. Bush, followed by Mr. Keyes and Mr. Forbes. About a third of the Republican voters said they had never attended a caucus before.

Much has been made of the character issue in this campaign, and voters said they were looking for a candidate who stood up for what he believed in rather than one who understood complex issues or cared about the average American.

Nearly 25 percent of caucus participants said they were members of the religious right, and 75 percent described themselves as politically conservative. Sixty percent said someone who lived in their household had served in the military.

(...)



Daily News (New York)

February 2, 2000; Page 3

## **McCain Kicks Bush's Butt, Sails to Huge Triumph in N.H. GOP**

**Primary** (Excerpts)

By RICHARD SISK and THOMAS M. DeFRANK



NASHUA, N.H. - Arizona Sen. John McCain's populist insurgency snared a stunning double-digit victory yesterday over Texas Gov. George W. Bush in New Hampshire's first-in-the nation primary.

"We got our butts kicked," said one chagrined top Bush aide.

"No one, including us, expected the size of this victory," McCain said of his 49%-to-31% win with 97% of the vote counted.

"We have sent a powerful message to Washington that change is coming," McCain told a boisterous victory rally. "It is the beginning of the end of the truth-twisting policies of Bill Clinton and Al Gore . . . a great national crusade has just begun."

After a decisive win in last week's Iowa caucuses, yesterday's loss rattled national front-runner Bush's campaign, but his enormous war chest and backing by GOP brass should keep him riding high.

After a congratulatory phone call to McCain, Bush told backers: "The road to the Republican nomination and the White House is a long road.



Mine will go through all 50 states, and I intend it to end at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

"This is just a bump in that road."

Rep. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), one of the few Republican leaders backing McCain in South Carolina, crowed: "The coronation is over."

McCain's handlers couldn't contain their glee. Asked what the Bush camp should be thinking, media guru Mike Murphy laughed and shouted: "Iceberg!"

The Bush camp, however, hooted at the notion McCain's impressive win is the beginning of the end for Bush.

"Big Mo, No Go," scoffed Karl Rove, Bush's strategic mastermind. "The senator doesn't have the organization or the message to be competitive. It was close in New Hampshire. It's close nowhere else."

(...)



Daily News (New York)

February 2, 2000; Page 2

**Gore Survives Bradley Bounce to Eke Out Win** (Excerpts)

By HELEN KENNEDY and WILLIAM GOLDSCHLAG



MANCHESTER, N.H. - Vice President Gore held off a strong challenge by rival Bill Bradley in the New Hampshire primary last night, cementing his lead for the Democratic nomination as both candidates headed for New York to continue their bruising brawl.

"During the day, some people thought this might be like the Super Bowl and we were a yard short," Gore said, comparing the Tennessee Titans' defeat to early exit polls that showed a race too close to call.

"Well, this Tennessean is in the end zone, and it feels great!" Gore shouted to jubilant supporters. "And you ain't seen nothing yet! We have just begun to fight."

The vice president, who has reinvented himself as a candidate in recent months, proved himself a rugged campaigner, battling back from as far as 10 points down in the New Hampshire primary.

"Sen. Bradley was a tough competitor, and he made us fight for every vote," Gore said. "For months we were the underdogs. We were behind in the polls for 14 weeks and we were outspent."

Bradley, who had his best shot in New Hampshire and who analysts



said badly needed a win to offset his loss in Iowa last week, promised nevertheless that he was in for the long haul.

"Al Gore ran a strong race, and I congratulate him, but we're smarter and better prepared and eager to continue the fight," Bradley said.

(...)

With 98% of the vote counted last night, Gore had 52% to Bradley's 47%. State election officials said a record number of voters - possibly more than 70% - made it to the polls, a marked contrast to the trickle who showed up for the Iowa caucuses Jan. 24.

Bradley's camp, noting that several polls had put Gore more than 10 points ahead last weekend, spun the New Hampshire loss as a win.

"Less than 250,000 voters vote in these two states. There are 8 million voters waiting for this race nationally [on March 7]," she said.

It was a seesaw battle for the state's 22 delegates. Gore was well ahead early on, but Bradley closed the gap and went up after concentrating a lot of time and money in the state. Gore bounced back after his big win in Iowa but began to slip again just before the primary, after Bradley went on the attack.

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San Francisco Chronicle

February 2, 2000; Page A1

**Crucial New Hampshire Wins For McCain, Gore. Gov. Bush Loses By Surprisingly Large Margin. Vice President Beats Bradley in Tight Race** (Excerpts)

By CARLA MARINUCCI and MARC SANDALOW

Manchester, N.H. -- In a stunning rebuke to the party's front-runner, Republican voters delivered Arizona Sen. John McCain a landslide victory yesterday over Texas Gov. George W. Bush in the first primary of the 2000 campaign.

And in the closest Democratic contest in New Hampshire history, Vice President Al Gore narrowly defeated former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley, who vowed to continue on to California.

The victory by McCain as well as Bradley's strong second-place showing set the stage for a series of toe-to-toe -- and potentially nasty -- battles in primaries to be held in South Carolina, California and several other states over the next five weeks.

"We have sent a powerful message to Washington that change is coming," McCain said last night, addressing ecstatic followers in Nashua. "It is the beginning of the end -- because today the Republican Party has recovered its heritage of reform. And it is the beginning of the end for the truth-twisting politics of Bill Clinton and Al Gore."

And the vice president, who found himself in the underdog position in New Hampshire just weeks before the primary, was clearly energized as he appeared before supporters in Manchester last night. "This Tennessean is in the end zone, and it feels great," Gore told supporters, in a reference to the Tennessee Titans' nail-biting defeat in Sunday's



Super Bowl.

In both Republican and Democratic races, the fiercely independent voters of New Hampshire -- whose state motto is "Live Free or Die" -- flexed their muscle, confounding dozens of polls that had suggested far closer races on both sides.

McCain's calls for campaign finance reform and "straight talk" in politics were favored among independents, who voted Republican almost 3 to 1, even as registered GOP voters slightly favored Bush.

And Bradley, who also challenged "politics as usual" and Gore's "entrenched power," was supported by 3 of every 5 independents who voted Democratic, even while losing to Gore among registered Democrats.

(...)

Among the other GOP candidates, Forbes earned 13 percent of the vote in New Hampshire and indicated he has the money and will campaign in Delaware, where the next Republican primary will be held on February 8.

Former Ambassador Alan Keyes, who finished a surprising third in Iowa, received 6 percent, and commentator Gary Bauer fell to the back of the pack with 1 percent. Keyes and Bauer also pledged to continue on in the race.

Bush, speaking to supporters here last night, attempted to play down the defeat.

"New Hampshire has long been known as a bump in the road for front-runners, and this year is no exception," Bush told them. "The road to the GOP nomination in the White House is a long road. Mine will go through all 50 states -- and I intend it to end at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave."

(...)

But McCain -- even by Bush's concession -- worked the state's



hamlets and cities tirelessly, holding 114 town meetings across the state in more than a year. By the end of the campaign this week, New Hampshire voters piled into town meetings to see the man, who, as a Vietnam War POW, spent 5 1/2 years in the Hanoi Hilton.

Many expressed their admiration of a man they called "a true American hero," listening to McCain argue that among Republican candidates, his experience makes him the candidate most prepared to lead the country.

Voter News Service exit polls show that New Hampshire's Republican voters cited a candidate who "stands up for what he believes in" and "a strong and decisive leader" as the qualities they sought most in their next president -- and McCain won both those groups.

A third of Republican voters believed Bush lacked the "knowledge to serve effectively as president" and only 13 percent agreed with Bush that campaign finance reform would hurt the GOP, those polls show. On the Democratic side, Gore was the candidate most favored by voters who cited education as their top concern, while Bradley was favored by those voters who believe health care is the most important issue.

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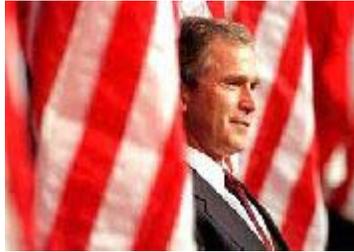
Baltimore Sun

February 20, 2000; Page 1A

**Bush Battles to Key Victory in S.C. Vote. Core Republicans,  
Conservatives Propel Huge Win Over McCain: A Punishing Blow**

(Excerpts)

By PAUL WEST



COLUMBIA, S.C. -- Gov. George W. Bush rode a nonstop attack strategy to a decisive victory in yesterday's South Carolina primary, dealing a punishing blow to Sen. John McCain's nomination chances.

Bouncing back from an 18-point defeat in New Hampshire, Bush ran up a victory margin in the Palmetto State that exceeded all predictions and cast serious doubt on McCain's ability to recover.

Based on nearly complete returns, Bush won a clear majority of the vote, defeating McCain by a projected 11 percentage points. Alan Keyes was a distant third, with about 5 percent of the votes cast.

Key to Bush's success was an all-out push by his campaign to turn out conservative Republican voters, and in particular members of the religious right, who backed him by overwhelming margins.

Bush told supporters in the state capital of Columbia that he was "honored and humbled by the huge victory we had in South Carolina."

"Tonight, there are only 263 days more to the end of Clinton-Gore,"



he said to cheers.

In a TV interview last night, Bush said he "did a good job of uniting our party."

The Texan, who assumed a much more aggressive style here, said he did "a better job as a candidate" than in New Hampshire and brushed aside criticism of his negative campaigning.

"I stand by what I did," he said on CNN. "I defended myself."

McCain, however, left little doubt that he regarded Bush's bare-knuckle tactics as having been the decisive factor.

In scathing terms, McCain laced his concession speech with bitter references to his rival.

Saying he intended to "keep fighting clean," McCain told supporters in North Charleston that he "will not take the low road to the highest office in this land. I want the presidency in the best way, not the worst way."

He contrasted himself with Bush, suggesting that the Texas governor had let "ambition overcome principle." He linked Bush's campaign to "defeatist tactics of exclusion" by the GOP establishment that would lead to a Republican defeat in November.

McCain compared his record of reform to Bush's "empty slogan of reform" and portrayed the contest between himself and the son of the former president as a choice "between experience and pretense."

(...)

According to Election Day interviews of voters leaving polling places around the state, Bush swept the votes of those who identified themselves as Republicans by a 68-26 percentage point margin.

"It's very difficult to construct a strategy of winning a Republican nomination when you're going to lose Republican voters by 40 points,"



said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster who is neutral in the race, referring to McCain's failure to generate more support among Republicans.

Bush's support from religious conservatives, who favored him by a nearly 3-to-1 margin, was an essential element in his victory.

The Bush campaign's outreach to Christian conservatives was spearheaded by Ralph Reed, former executive director of the Christian Coalition and now a Republican consultant.

Using paid phone banks, volunteers recruited from individual churches, advertising on Christian radio stations and other means of communication, the Bush forces hammered McCain's positions on abortion, taxes and campaign reform. Among the lines of attack: harsh criticism of a provision in McCain's tax-cut plan that would eliminate much of the deduction for certain charitable contributions to churches and private schools.

McCain abandoned his attack ads in the final week of the race here, after airing a TV spot that accused Bush of being as untrustworthy as President Clinton. Long after the ad had been withdrawn, Bush continued to counter-attack by reminding voters of that negative ad.

Until the time the polls closed yesterday, Bush continued to press his rival with attack ads on the radio that painted McCain as a hypocrite on his signal issue of political reform.

"Bush was willing to go out and do what it took to win," said Randy Tate, former executive director of the Christian Coalition and now a spokesman for the Voter.com Web site. "He went on the offensive, and it didn't hurt him because it was focused on issues."

One measure of the potency of Bush's anti-McCain ads could be seen in exit-poll findings, which showed that McCain's campaign was



viewed by voters as being more negative than Bush's.

(...)



Los Angeles Times

February 20, 2000; Page 1

**Bush Defeats McCain in S.Carolina Primary. Texas Governor Rallies  
GOP Conservatives, Snatching Momentum From Insurgent Rival.  
Undaunted, the Arizona Senator Vows a Tough Fight** (Excerpts)

By MARK Z. BARABAK

CHARLESTON, S.C. -- George W. Bush romped to a decisive victory Saturday in the South Carolina presidential primary, blunting the challenge of John McCain and firmly reestablishing his command of the race for the GOP nomination.

Demonstrating broad and deep appeal in a contest that was pivotal for both candidates, Bush's win strongly positioned the Texas governor for the string of elections likely to decide the Republican fight over the next three weeks. The next significant test comes Tuesday in Michigan, which votes the same day as McCain's home state of Arizona.

"Tonight we come roaring out of South Carolina with a new energy in this campaign," Bush told an exuberant crowd of hundreds gathered in a balloon-filled ballroom of his headquarters hotel in Columbia, S.C.

About 100 miles to the southeast, at his own rally at the convention center in Charleston, a pugnacious McCain vowed to fight on. "My friends, you don't have to win every skirmish to win a war or a crusade, and although we fell a little short tonight our crusade goes stronger."

In running up his unexpectedly big win, Bush trounced McCain among Republicans, more than offsetting his rival's support among independents and Democrats, who were free to cross over in the state's open primary and did so by the tens of thousands.

Bush's performance also defied expectations that the bigger the vote



the better for McCain--or that the unrelentingly nasty tone of the campaign would depress voter participation.

The record turnout of more than 500,000 was so big that some precinct workers dashed off midday to photocopy extra ballots. Still, with an extra lift from conservative Christian voters, Bush won handily.

With 99% of the state's precincts reporting, Bush had 53% to McCain's 42%. Alan Keyes had 5%. McCain telephoned Bush less than 10 minutes after the polls closed to extend his congratulations--but was hardly conciliatory when he rallied supporters with a biting speech a short time later.

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New York Times

February 24, 2000; Page 1

**Bush Supporters in State of Shock Over Twin Losses** (Excerpts)

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23 -- One day after Gov. George W. Bush's twin losses to Senator John McCain in Michigan and Arizona, many of his staunchest supporters said they were shellshocked. And Mr. Bush himself regrouped by agreeing to a debate in Los Angeles next week, by ripping up his schedule to add a trip this weekend to Washington State, where Mr. McCain is waging an energetic race, and by questioning the senator's Republican credentials.

The voting on Tuesday not only revived the threat of defections to the McCain camp, but also set off recriminations from inside and outside the Bush organization, including members of Congress and the Republican National Committee who had eagerly rallied behind Mr. Bush.

They complained about everything from Mr. Bush's lavish spending in Arizona -- where Mr. McCain was the favorite son -- to his embrace from Pat Robertson, the founder of the Christian Coalition, to his decision to blame his defeat in Michigan on Democrats who "hijack the primary to help Al Gore."

"Some R.N.C. members are saying: 'What is going on here? He's getting his hat handed to him and he can't put down the rebellion,' " said Steve Duprey, chairman of the Republican Party in New Hampshire who has remained neutral. "And that makes them nervous. They're also nervous about the incredible number of new people signing on to vote for McCain."

Representative Fred Upton of Michigan, an early Bush supporter,



said he was especially disturbed by Mr. Bush's reaching out to religious conservatives.

"This Robertson stuff and the hard turn to the right really hurt him," Mr. Upton said. "I think Bush is still the favorite if you're at the betting table. But he's got to change his message and be inclusive."

(...)



Washington Post

February 23, 2000; Page A01

**McCain Bounces Back in Michigan. Non-GOP Votes Crucial. Arizonan Wins Home State** (Excerpts)

By EDWARD WALSH

Arizona Sen. John McCain defeated Texas Gov George W. Bush in the Michigan and Arizona Republican presidential primaries yesterday with the overwhelming support of independents and Democrats who McCain said represented "a new majority" that would become "the worst nightmare" of Vice President Gore and the Democrats in November.

McCain's Michigan victory, a vital recovery for him just three days after his 11-point loss to Bush in South Carolina, was fueled by a record turnout of more than 1 million voters, twice the number who voted in the 1996 primary. According to exit polls, those numbers were swelled by independents and Democrats, who made up just over half of the primary electorate. Independents went for McCain by more than 2 to 1, while Democrats gave the him 80 percent of their votes, according to the exit polls.

With 97 percent of the Michigan vote counted last night, McCain led Bush by 50 percent to 43 percent. Alan Keyes had 5 percent. In his home state of Arizona, McCain held a commanding lead of 60 percent to 36 percent with 82 percent of the vote counted.

The Michigan results left the overall race for the nomination still muddled, but ensured that the increasingly bitter slugfest would go on at least until March 7, when California, New York and 11 other states will hold GOP primaries and caucuses. The California and New York showdowns will be "closed" primaries, meaning that McCain will not be



able to count on the support of independents and Democrats in those two key states.

The Michigan contest also ended in deep acrimony, with Bush accusing McCain of attempting to portray him as anti-Catholic and McCain charging that his rival was engaged in "character assassination."

(...)

As the vote totals from Michigan poured in last night, Bush and his aides were quick to point to McCain's support among independents and Democrats as the key to his victory. In Kansas City, where his plane made a refueling stop on its way to California last night, Bush said that among Michigan Republicans, "there's no question who's the winner--you're looking at the winner."

Alluding to taped telephone calls that he said accused him of anti-Catholicism and that he charged were orchestrated by the McCain campaign, Bush added to his prepared remarks: "I reject prejudice. I repudiate anti-Catholicism and racism. I repudiate the politics of those who try to divide us based upon race or based upon faith."

The McCain campaign denied any role in the alleged telephone calls.

(...)

The tone of the campaign in Michigan was a spillover from the bitter South Carolina contest. Bush continued to assail McCain with negative television and radio ads, while Bush allies in the state's largest antiabortion organization flooded the state with a mass mailing and a recorded telephone message.

Christian Coalition head Pat Robertson also delivered a recorded anti-McCain telephone message that called former senator Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), the McCain campaign co-chairman, a "vicious bigot" because of Rudman's critical description of the Christian right in his



autobiography. Robertson also questioned McCain's antiabortion commitment.

McCain stuck to his pledge not to run negative television or radio ads, but that did not prevent him from hammering Bush at every opportunity during the final, frenetic 48 hours before yesterday's voting. He appealed to Michigan voters to reject "the trash that's on television and radio" from the Bush campaign.

While McCain targeted independents and Democrats in Michigan, as he had in New Hampshire and South Carolina, he ran a much more traditional campaign in Arizona, where only registered Republicans were eligible to vote in yesterday's primary. His radio ads--he did no TV spots--urged Arizonans to turn out and support "a proud, pro-life, Reagan conservative."

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Baltimore Sun

March 8, 2000; Page 1A

**Gore Wins in Shutout, Bush Wrests Control. Bradley Comeback  
Never Begins, McCain Strong in New England** (Excerpts)

By PAUL WEST

WASHINGTON -- Vice President Al Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush effectively locked up their parties' presidential nominations last night with sweeping Super Tuesday victories from California to New York to Maryland.

Bush, the eldest son of the Republican Party's 1988 and 1992 nominee, put his brand on the 2000 ticket by crushing Arizona Sen. John McCain in six of the seven largest states -- California, New York, Ohio, Missouri, Georgia and Maryland.

McCain was not prepared to concede the nomination battle last night. But Bush was already looking ahead to the fall campaign, blasting Gore as "the candidate of the status quo in Washington, D.C." and saying that " America must not give Clinton-Gore four more years."

The vice president, in his victory speech, made a direct appeal to McCain's supporters, even as he praised Bill Bradley, his Democratic rival, who has yet to win a state this year.

Gore administered severe punishment yesterday to the former New Jersey senator, sweeping at least 15 states where Democratic delegates were at stake. Hours before the polls closed in California, the largest test of all, Bradley called Gore to congratulate him on his victories.

Bush also offered words of conciliation to his rivals in the Republican race, McCain and Alan L. Keyes, who finished a distant third in all of yesterday's primaries.



(...)

Election day interviews with thousands of voters around the country showed that support for Bush from Republicans, which made the difference in most of this year's GOP primaries, was decisive again yesterday.

Bush swamped McCain by a better than 2-to-1 margin (64 percent to 30 percent) nationwide, the exit polls showed. In Maryland, where independents cast about one-eighth of the GOP primary vote, Bush defeated McCain among Republicans by 35 percentage points.

Except for Connecticut, New Hampshire and Arizona, his home state, McCain has lost the Republican vote in every primary this season. His failure to attract more Republican votes has been a hurdle his campaign has been unable to surmount.

After a month of primary scuffles with McCain, in which Bush moved farther to the right than he had hoped to at the outset, the Texas governor began to move back toward the center.

In his election night speech, he returned to his message of "compassionate conservatism," designed to appeal to the independents, suburban women, Hispanics and other swing-voter groups who hold the key to the November election.

Meantime, his likely rival in November, Gore, wasted no time in reaching out to McCain voters, directly addressing them at one point in his victory speech.

"Our campaign is now your cause," said Gore, in a forceful address to supporters at a Nashville, Tenn., hotel. He cast himself as a reformer who agrees with McCain on issues such as overhauling the campaign finance system and using the budget surplus to pay down the national debt.



"Like John McCain, I bring a commitment born of personal experience to the battle for campaign finance reform. I've learned from my mistakes. I know it's time to change a broken system," Gore said.

Exit polling indicated that Gore may find a receptive audience among the independent voters who have made up a large part of McCain's coalition. About two in every five independents who voted for McCain yesterday said they would back Gore in the fall.

(...)

McCain's outspoken criticism last week of religious conservative leaders Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell appeared to backfire on him, according to exit polls.

Bush won every state where religious conservatives made up at least one-sixth of the primary vote. In Maryland, almost one in four voters (23 percent) identified themselves as members of the religious right, and Bush carried their votes by a margin of better than 4 to 1 (70 percent to 15 percent).

The surge of moderate Republican support that McCain had hoped to stimulate never materialized, the exit polls showed. In Maryland, about one in three voters identified themselves as moderates, and McCain won them by 53 percent to 42 percent.

But conservatives, who represented a majority of the state's GOP primary voters (55 percent) went for Bush by nearly 3 to 1 (67 percent to 23 percent).

Nationwide, Bush was winning at least four of every five votes from those who identified themselves as members of the religious right.

Robertson, the head of the Christian Coalition and a Bush supporter, said last night that McCain had handed Bush "a very nice gift" by attacking him.



"I think he's energized the religious base in a way that George Bush couldn't possibly have done," Robertson said on CNN.

(...)



Buffalo News

March 8, 2000; Page 1A

**Gore, Bush Score Smashing Wins. Favorites Close to Clinching Party**

**Nods** (Excerpts)

By DOUGLAS TURNER

WASHINGTON -- Vice President Gore effectively clinched the Democratic nomination Tuesday as he rolled to an easy presidential primary win.

And Texas Gov. George W. Bush drew close to his party's ultimate prize as he declared a Super Tuesday Republican victory in his bruising test with Sen. John McCain.

With their victories from coast to coast, it was clear the presidential election on Nov. 7 would pit Gore against Bush, the early favorites to be the nominees of their parties. Despite their early status as front-runners, it proved to be a bruising fight for both candidates.

McCain told the Associated Press he would consider whether to drop out of the race, and an aide said a decision could be announced as soon as Thursday. The Arizona senator won four states Tuesday -- but none beyond independent-minded New England -- and told supporters that he and Bush "may meet again," but did not say they will.

Democrat Bill Bradley, who failed to capture a single state, conceded the party's presidential nomination to Gore and said he would consult with his supporters today on whether to fold his campaign. Gore's vote total in almost every state was 60 percent or more.

In the biggest primary day ever held in U.S. history, Americans voted in 16 states and one territory, from Maine in the Northeast to American Samoa and Hawaii in the heart of the Pacific Ocean.



McCain won moral victories in Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island, but failed to sweep New England as he hoped, when Bush carried Maine, where he and his parents spent their summer vacations.

Bush won all or a majority of delegates in Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, New York and California.

An exultant Gore told cheering supporters in Tennessee: "My friends, they don't call it Super Tuesday for nothing.

"While we are here to celebrate great victories, I say to you tonight - and hear me well -- you ain't seen nothing yet," Gore told supporters. "Our fight has just begun."

Bush told a victory rally in Austin, Texas: "Tonight we have good news from sea to shining sea. . . . We were tested and we were equal to the test.

"It's a huge step closer to the nomination, and we are preparing to move out on Thursday to continue to take the campaign to Colorado and Utah and Wyoming," Bush said.

"Republicans and conservatives across America have said they want me to lead the Republican Party to victory come November, and I am ready and eager to do so," Bush said.

Bush, winner of nearly 400 of the 605 delegates chosen Tuesday, including a majority of the delegates in New York State, said, "I consider myself a huge step closer and will work hard to secure the nomination."

A disappointed McCain told backers in Los Angeles:

"We won a few and lost a few today. Over the next few days, we'll take stock of what to do next."

In a reflective mood, McCain said: "We've changed the face of politics and put reform on the agenda. We're proud of what we've done."



A senior adviser, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that he expects McCain to depart the race Thursday but that no firm decision had been made.

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USA Today

March 10, 2000; Page 15A

### **Presidential Contest a One-on-One Battle Bradley and McCain End Campaigns**

By TOM SQUITIERI and RICHARD BENEDETTO



The presidential race was officially made a two-man contest Thursday with announcements from Republican Sen. John McCain and former Democratic senator Bill Bradley that they were ending their campaigns.

While Bradley promised to support Vice President Gore in the final election, McCain declined to endorse his rival, Texas Gov. George W. Bush.

"I had hoped our campaign would be a force for change in the Republican Party, and I still believe we have indeed set a course that will ultimately prevail in making our party as big as the country we serve,"



McCain said to reporters in Sedona, Ariz., his home state.

Vowing to keep up the pressure to reform campaign finance laws, his main issue, McCain congratulated Bush and said, "He very well may become the next president . . . "

Asked whether McCain will support Bush, McCain spokesman Howard Opinsky said, "He's a loyal Republican."

Alan Keyes remains in the GOP contest, but he has too few delegates to be a factor.

McCain said he was suspending rather than ending his campaign, which keeps alive his ability to continue raising money and to play a role at the Republican National Convention in August. He said he will return to the Senate and is not interested in the vice presidency.

"Our crusade will never accomplish all its goals if your voices fall silent in our national debate," McCain told his supporters. "Keep fighting, my friends, keep fighting."

Bush, in Denver, congratulated McCain "for fighting the good fight." He said he was "pleased with the warm tone" of McCain's remarks. On the subject of an endorsement, Rick Davis, McCain's campaign manager, said the onus is on Bush and the GOP to reach out to McCain and his voters and "heed the message."

Asked how he'll try to court McCain voters, Bush said, "What's going to win his supporters over is when they realize Al Gore is no reformer and Al Gore is no John McCain."

In contrast to McCain, Bradley did not equivocate about his support for his rival. "The vice president and I had a stiff competition and he won," Bradley said. "I will support him in his bid to win the White House."

The former New Jersey senator and pro basketball star, who ended



his campaign before supporters in West Orange, N.J., failed to win a single primary or caucus. "We have been defeated, but the cause for which I ran has not been . . . The cause of trying to fulfill our special promise as a nation cannot be defeated in one or 100 defeats," Bradley said.

Bradley said it's time to put aside the rivalry between himself and Gore because "now it is time for unity" for Democrats to retain the presidency. "I believe a Democratic president can do more for the country than a Republican president can," he said.

Bradley refused to use the word "endorse" in announcing his support for Gore, a sign that wounds opened in the campaign over charges of "distortion" and "truth-twisting" have yet to heal. "I hope that he'll run a better campaign in the general election," Bradley said. He said he's not interested in being Gore's running mate.



Buffalo News

March 15, 2000; Page 4A

## **Bush, Gore Clinch Nominations in Anticlimactic Six-State Primary**

(Excerpts)

By DOUGLAS TURNER



WASHINGTON -- Texas Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Gore clinched the presidential nominations of their respective parties Tuesday in a six-state primary whose outcome was cast in stone last week when their challengers folded their campaigns.

So much of an anticlimax were the Southern primaries that the frustrated Louisiana GOP chairman, Mike Francis, called them "Stupid Tuesday."

As widely forecast, Bush easily outpolled Sen. John McCain in the GOP race in all six states -- Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas -- capturing an additional 341 delegates. That gave him 1,090, more than the 1,034 delegates he needs to be nominated on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention this summer in Philadelphia.

The vice president continued to overwhelm former Sen. Bill Bradley on the Democratic side, garnering all 566 delegates at stake. This



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provided Gore with a total of 2,540. He needs 2,170 delegates for nomination at the Democratic National Convention this summer in Los Angeles.

(...)



Daily News (New York)

March 15, 2000; Page 8

## **Vice Prez and Bush Win South Lock Up Nomination**

By HELEN KENNEDY



Vice President Gore and George W. Bush locked up their nominations yesterday with zero-suspense Snoozer Tuesday primary victories in six Southern contests - including their home states.

"When I filed for President, I pledged I'd come home to Texas with the nomination of my party. Tonight, we can say: Mission accomplished," Bush said at his victory party in Austin.

"I'm humbled with the knowledge that I am a step closer to assuming the highest office in the land," he told The Associated Press.

Gore voted at an elementary school near his farm in Tennessee and then flew to the important swing state of Florida, promising "no letup at all" in his campaign.

"It's premature to go, 'Yahoo!' " he said. "Whatever energy I might feel like putting into celebrating I am putting into the general election instead."

Underscoring his determination, Gore fired off an E-mail missive to



the Texas governor last night, offering his congratulations and issuing a sweeping new challenge.

To rid the election of unregulated soft money, Gore said he had taken the first step by asking the Democratic Party not to run any soft-money ads until the Republican Party does.

"It's up to you and your party whether you want to start the ad war arms race; you have the power to join me in banning soft money. If you are willing to do the right thing, we can change politics forever," Gore wrote to Bush.

"These are reforms that really would have results for our democracy. Think about this. And get back to me."

Gore also suggested they debate in two weeks and hold regular joint open meetings to answer voter questions.

Bush did not immediately respond. Earlier on CNN, he rejected Gore's previous challenge to swear off all TV ads in favor of debates every Tuesday and Thursday at 8 p.m.

"If I thought it was very sincere, I might consider that," Bush told CNN, but he quickly added that he did not believe Gore would stop interest groups like unions from airing anti-Bush ads.

Sweeping the vote in Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Oklahoma, both Bush and Gore piled up enough delegates to become their parties' official standard bearers.

But because their rivals, former Sen. Bill Bradley (D- N.J.) and Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), dropped out last week - along with most of the interest in the race - the voting was just a formality. Polling places were all but deserted.

This was the earliest in the season a candidate has ever clinched a contested nomination, which usually doesn't happen until May or June.



Only President Clinton, who ran unopposed in 1996, locked up his nomination earlier, and that was just by two days.



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## **Campaign Organization - Bush**

Los Angeles Times

May 28, 2000; Page 3

### **In Race For White House, the 'Cult of Condi' Plays Growing Role Advisors: As George W. Bush's Foreign Policy Smarts Increase, Condoleezza Rice Deserves Much of the Credit**

By MARIA L. LA GANGA



She works out regularly with the chief strength and conditioning coach for Stanford University's sports teams. Chevron Corp. named an oil tanker after her. She once was charged with ensuring the safety of a flock of stone ducks shipped by First Lady Barbara Bush to Soviet First Lady Raisa Gorbachev. (They landed just fine.)

And today she is one of the reasons for Texas Gov. George W. Bush's increasing knowledge about international affairs--although she takes no credit for such an accomplishment. Her name is Condoleezza Rice, and if you're paying any attention at all to Campaign 2000, you've seen quite a bit of her lately.

There she was on Tuesday morning, onstage at the National Press Club in Washington, surrounded by some of the biggest names in American foreign policy at a Bush news conference on arms control.

Once the detailed speech had ended, the candidate left the podium,



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along with the bright lights of four Republican administrations, many of them Rice's friends and mentors: Henry A. Kissinger and George P. Shultz, Brent Scowcroft and Donald H. Rumsfeld, Gen. Colin L. Powell.

And who was left behind to explain the difficult details to the press? The slender woman with the 100-watt smile, the deep sense of loyalty and the world-class resume. Condoleezza Rice, the candidate's chief foreign policy advisor, fellow sports nut, good friend and admirer.

### *Bush's Staunch Ally*

She answered arcane queries about "boost-phase" intercept defense systems and multiple warheads. She waxed authoritative on the minutiae of arms control pacts. Then she staunchly defended the man she sincerely hopes will be our next president.

Testy question: Does Bush have more events planned to prove he isn't a foreign affairs lightweight?

Testy answer: "I won't accept the premise, which is not surprising," Rice said. "Time and time again he's spoken out on foreign policy. I think Americans are seeing that leadership."

A sort of cult of Condi--as she is known to her many friends--has grown through the years in foreign policy circles. Grizzled reporters gush about her expansive knowledge and lack of airs. Profiles describe her as sleek and sexy, soon to be "bigger than a rock star." (A Sovietologist? Go figure.)

Shultz, the formidable former secretary of state, turns into a softy when he speaks of her multifold talents, her deep capacity for friendship, her tenacious love of her ailing father. "She's just a big winner," he says.

While describing her "key role" in forming his campaign's foreign policy, Bush can't seem to shake the word "elegant" as he characterizes the 45-year-old policy wonk, concert pianist, former Stanford provost and



athlete. His president father--whom she advised as Germany was reunifying and the Soviet Union was falling apart--introduced them way before George W. decided to run for the Oval Office.

"My first impression of Condi is she is an elegant person," Bush said this week. "Then when she talked, I realized she was an intelligent, elegant person. And I've seen her in action. She's not only elegant and intelligent, but she is a very capable person."

Condoleezza Rice--so named by her music-teacher mother after the term "to play with sweetness"--has been witness to more than just Soviet and European history. Born in 1954 in Birmingham, Ala., Rice speaks movingly of life in the segregated South and the infamous bombing that ignited the civil rights movement.

She was 9, the sheltered daughter of a middle-class black family, sitting in Westminster Presbyterian Church, when a bomb exploded at a Baptist church a few miles away. Four black girls were killed, one of them a schoolmate, Denise McNair, 11.

"I remember a sensation of something shaking, but just very slight," she says in an interview at her Hoover Institution office on the Stanford campus. "And later people learned who had been killed in the church. I remember more than anything the coffins." A pause. "The small coffins. And the sense that Birmingham wasn't a very safe place."

Growing up before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, race, Rice often says, was everywhere and nowhere. It shaped every part of every life, for blacks could not go into white hotels and restaurants. Race was nowhere, she says, because blacks opened their own hotels and restaurants and lived basically separate lives.

Rice's father became a Republican in 1952 because the Democratic Party refused to let him register. "People forget that the Democratic Party



hasn't always had the best heritage in the South," notes Rice the daughter, who is a Republican to this day because she's a small-government kind of woman, a fiscal conservative who strongly supports the right to bear arms and believes in her party's inclusiveness.

She used to say she belonged to the Grand Old Party "because I would rather be ignored than patronized. Obviously I'd like also not to be ignored. So I think we've got a chance now that I can finally square the circle, so I don't have to be either."

The Rice family moved to Denver in 1967 so her college administrator father could finish a graduate degree. When Rice was 15, she enrolled at the University of Denver as a music major. Everyone thought the precocious only child would grow up to be a professional concert pianist; she read music before she read words and began taking piano at age 3.

In Denver, she met prodigies and changed her mind. Then she had to figure out what to do with the rest of her life. When she finally enrolled in a class on international relations--the professor was Josef Korbel, Secretary of State Madeline Albright's father--she knew she was where she belonged. And she remembers the exact lecture that convinced her, a talk on Joseph Stalin and intrigue.

"That period in Soviet history after the death of Lenin until Josef Stalin established his power is just something that reads like a novel," Rice says.

After receiving a PhD from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver in 1981, she joined the Stanford faculty at age 26. It was there that she met Scowcroft at a dinner in the mid-1980s.

Scowcroft had just headed up a federal commission on the American



nuclear arsenal. Rice, young and aggressive, asked him if he thought commissions like his were "just a sign that the executive branch and the legislature just couldn't work together."

Scowcroft has been her mentor ever since--though, as Shultz notes, "Everybody claims her as a protegee"--and asked her to come to the White House when he became national security advisor to President Bush.

She almost turned him down. She'd just gotten tenure, just finished a year's fellowship at the Pentagon, just redecorated her Silicon Valley condominium and figured she could join up in the second half of the Bush administration. A friend talked her out of that idea; she's grateful to this day.

"The remarkable thing is that what I would have missed is the unification of Germany and the liberation of Eastern Europe and the fall of the Soviet Union," she said.

Shultz notes that President Bush got high marks for leadership in international affairs during the Gulf War. "The underrated part of his diplomatic contribution was the endgame of the Cold War," he says. "She played a big part in that."

#### *A Cold War Player*

Rice left the Bush administration in March 1991 and returned to Stanford. Not long after, she was appointed provost, responsible for a \$ 1.5-billion annual budget and an academic program involving 1,400 faculty members and 14,000 students. She is on a year's leave while she advises the Bush campaign.

Her combination of academic credentials and administrative abilities is a big plus for the campaign--and could be a boon to a future Bush White House--says Dimitri K. Simes, president of the Nixon Center, a



foreign policy think tank.

Simes pegs her as a future national security advisor. Others look at her and think secretary of state. Rice ignores the speculation, only saying that she plans to take two more years of leave from Stanford University when her sabbatical ends in August.

For now, though, one thing is clear, says Michael McFaul, a Russia expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. When it comes to advising Bush on foreign policy, "everyone in this town knows the center of gravity is Palo Alto, not Washington, D.C."



USA Today

June 16, 2000; Page 11A

**'Posse' Recruited To Push 'Brand Bush'. Ad Executives' Goal: To  
Make Political Ads Not So Political**

By MARTHA T. MOORE

A group of Madison Avenue admakers is working to sell George W. Bush like a Big Mac.

The half-dozen advertising executives are volunteers recruited by Bush's media consultants. They call themselves the "Park Avenue Posse," after the address of their leader. They sport gold-colored sheriff's stars engraved "George W. Bush for President."

And they bring experience in building multimillion-dollar brands such as Apple, AT&T and McDonald's to their mission: selling what they call "brand Bush" to voters.

Politics and Madison Avenue don't always mix. Some collaborations between political campaigns and consumer-product admakers have been plagued with confusion and conflict, including President Bush's 1992 campaign and Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis' campaign in 1988.

However, Bush media strategist Mark McKinnon says he wanted "fresh and creative" ideas: "Part of the problem with political advertising is it looks like political advertising."

He'd rather have something like an ad in 1984 for Ronald Reagan's re-election campaign, created by Madison Avenue executives, that showed a bear wandering through the woods. It was a metaphor, a rare device in a political ad, for a military threat to the nation. A strong defense was one of Reagan's central themes.

"That's the sort of big thinking that (consumer product admakers)



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can bring to the table," McKinnon says.

He tapped fellow Texan Jim Ferguson, president of New York ad agency Young & Rubicam. Ferguson made his name writing upbeat and gently funny ads for McDonald's, including a 1993 spot featuring NBA stars Michael Jordan and Larry Bird playing an ever-escalating game of "horse."

Ferguson rounded up the rest of the group, which includes Ted Bell, Ferguson's boss at Y&R, Gary Goldsmith, vice chairman of ad agency Lintas Lowe, and Bob Kuperman, a top executive with ad agency TBWA/Chiat/Day and an old golfing buddy of Bush.

"We think about 'brand Bush,' what he stands for, what he believes in, and in that way, what are his strengths, what are his weaknesses," says posse member Howard Kaplan, a Young & Rubicam creative director. Author of ads for Kentucky Fried Chicken and the U.S. Census, he is a veteran of several Republican campaigns.

To Ferguson, Bush is a "hero brand," just like McDonald's.

"It's a leadership brand. It evokes a positive reaction in people," he says. And with Bush, like McDonald's, "You know what you're going to get when you get there."

A brand "is basically a promise to a consumer," Kuperman says. The Bush brand promises "a new kind of look at things. A kind of return to the presidency -- and to America -- when it had a little bit more meaning. Everybody's happy with the economy, but there's something that's kind of not right, and missing."

McKinnon, somewhat reluctantly, goes along with the brand analogy. "I think what we're talking about is a person and not a product," he says. But "the Bush name is a terrific brand in American politics."

Most political campaigns rely on admakers that specialize in politics,



not pizza. The Bush campaign's move is in contrast to the Democrats' recent strategy. President Clinton won two terms with ads created entirely by political media consultants. Vice President Gore is relying on largely the same team that handled Clinton's re-election in 1996.

The two groups of ad creators sometimes regard each other with suspicion. Madison Avenue types, so the rap goes, think political consultants are soulless. Political consultants think Madison Avenue executives can't stay on message or within budget.

"The thing about these (partnerships) is always managing it," Bush strategist McKinnon says. "When they haven't worked, it's because there's no central political unit in control." In this case, both sides of the 4-week-old team agree, McKinnon is in charge. The team, directed by McKinnon and his partner, Stuart Stevens, has already decided "the strategy and the direction" of the fall ad campaign, McKinnon says.

What the strategy is remains a big secret, but all the admakers involved point to Bush's likability and personal warmth as central to his appeal. Y&R's Kaplan met Bush when he was still an owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team and Kaplan was filming an Advil ad with Rangers pitcher Nolan Ryan. Bush "was one of the most instantly likable men I've ever met -- totally disarming, charismatic."

The campaign's primary season ads had Bush talking directly to the camera in a seemingly informal way.

"People want to see, touch, feel and get a sense of the candidate," McKinnon says. "The trick is to show it in an unpackaged way. The challenge is not to add ribbons and bows, it's to take them off."



Boston Globe

July 23, 2000; Page 10

**George W. Bush's Main Man As Chief Strategist for the Bush Campaign, Karl Rove, Tells the Candidate What to Say, When to Say It, How to Say It, And Where to Say It. And Bush is Listening.**

(Excerpts)

By DAVID M. SHRIBMAN

It is a thirsty afternoon in Austin, just a few blocks down Congress Street from the Capitol, on the second floor of the sort of steel-and-glass palace that has sprouted around this booming city like mushrooms in the humid hours after a solid rain. Karl Rove is sitting in his office in a soft blue cotton shirt, open at the neck, dozens of unruly threads hanging from the pant legs of his chinos. Over one shoulder is a portrait of Abraham Lincoln, over the other is the electric-blue glare of a computer, and every few moments an irritating siren issues forth, a reminder that absolutely critical email is careening into this man's electronic mailbox almost every second.

Here is the chief strategist for George W. Bush, an adviser who talks with the Republican presidential candidate three times a day, who helped to sculpt Bush's good-neighbor image that wrested the Texas governor's chair from Ann Richards in 1994, and who helped Bush win a 68 percent vote of confidence in his reelection effort in 1998. Here is the political mastermind who conceived of the above-the-fray campaign persona that worked so well for W. in 1999, who pushed Bush to deliver a relentless pounding to Senator John S. McCain Jr. for just long enough to win the GOP nomination, and who deftly outmaneuvered the cool, experienced types at Al Gore's Nashville headquarters to capture the high ground



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(and, far more important in American politics, the middle ground) throughout the spring and early summer.

Here are the questions, mostly unfair but all with a kernel of truth in them, that Rove desperately hopes do not come up in our conversation: Is there a place where George W. Bush ends and Karl Rove begins? Are you the wizard behind the curtain of George W.? Are you worldly and experienced enough to keep pace with the battle-tested Gore team? Is W. too dependent upon you? And, worst of all: Are you George W. Bush's brain?

(...)

In ordinary circumstances, Karl Rove, whose clients have included more than 75 Republican candidates in 24 states, is the master of sharp rhetoric. He is almost certainly the most influential political consultant in the United States today, and Bush is - in the words of one of Rove's most bitter rivals - his show pony. The two depend on each other, so much so that even Rove finds himself compelled to address the talk - from supporters and detractors alike - that the governor of Texas might be emotionally dependent upon the man he pays for political advice.

Rove doesn't think that's quite right. " 'Dependent' is an unhealthy word," he says. A moment passes and then another. "Does he rely on me? Yes. But he's not dependent upon me." He explains: "We have a working relationship. I'm seen as the trusted adviser and a friend. I don't know which comes first, the trusted adviser or the friend. Maybe they are the same."

(...)

"George W. is not dumb, he is intelligent," says Tom Pauken, who worked in the Reagan White House before becoming Texas Republican chairman over the virulent opposition of both Bush and Rove. "I am not



sure how interested he is in public policy issues. But Karl is totally consumed. You have one person, the candidate, who has many other interests and a second person, the campaign strategist, who is totally absorbed with politics."

Their interests converge today, but in their youth, their interests could not have been more different. Bush hardly cared at all about anything, especially politics, 30 years ago. Rove hardly cared at all about anything else.

"He is a guy for whom politics is a 24-hour-a-day conversation," says state Senator Wayne Stenehjem, who met Rove when the two were in their early 20s. "I had never seen anything like him."

Rove is the sort of political animal who lives underground. He's not a movie-marquee consultant, like James Carville, who masterminded Governor Bill Clinton's victory over President Bush even as he was attracting attention in his own right. Rove is in the background, but remember this: George W. Bush never, never steps in front of a background that Rove hasn't chosen, that Rove hasn't approved, that Rove hasn't shaped.

"I have not gone out of my way to become a celebrity," Rove says. "I am horrified by profiles that waste good ink and paper. They add to the myth."

(...)

George W. Bush and Rove grew even closer at the end of the 1980s. Bush at the time was under pressure from friends and some influential state Republicans to run for governor. He was reluctant. He thought the timing was wrong. He had just returned to Texas after more than a decade. He didn't want to walk away from his business deal to run the Texas Rangers baseball club. He was leery of running for office while his



father was president. Rove helped him think that through. And the bond between the two men was sealed.

When Bush finally ran for governor in 1994, Rove helped him establish a strategy, assemble a team, reach out to other Republicans. He also shielded him from the uncertainties of the political life; in a celebrated memo written 13 months before the election, Rove outlined a plan to "limit

GWB's public appearance" until he became a more polished candidate, which, even Bush intimates will acknowledge, took a while.

"Rove played the press like a fiddle," remembers Bill L. Cryer, a former Richards press secretary. "He used the George Bush name and the good feelings Texans had about a defeated president."

The ability to generate good feelings among voters about his client has been at the heart of Rove's success with Bush, both on a statewide and a national level. To his supporters, Bush comes across as fresh, even exciting. To his opponents, Bush comes across as unprepared, even shallow. To supporters and opponents both, however, he comes across as a nice guy.

That is Bush's doing, of course, and his parents', too. But from the very start, Rove nurtured it, celebrated it, promoted it. He sought to place Bush in settings - sitting at a lunch counter in the River House Cafe in Milford, New Hampshire, for example, and then walking down Middle Street on the way to the fire station on School Street - that accentuated his personality, let it flower and bloom.

Rove took the skeleton of "compassionate conservatism" and put some flesh on it. He urged Bush to read books like *The Dream and the Nightmare*, a conservative monograph by the Manhattan Institute's Myron Magnet. He introduced Bush to Marvin Olasky, a cerebral critic of



conventional welfare. He helped shape Bush, and he helped map his route to the presidential nomination.

I asked Rove whether I could spend a day with him on the road with Bush. His answer: You won't see anything except for a glimpse of me getting in a van and out of a van.

Perhaps. But the conversations in the van (and, on most days, on the phone) are what set the tone and timbre of the Bush campaign. The decision to keep Bush under wraps until June 1999 so as to build a sense of suspense and mystery around his candidacy, the effort to shield him from debates late last year to avoid embarrassing mistakes, the drive to minimize Republican infighting on abortion at next week's convention - all of these choices bear the unmistakable fingerprints of Karl Rove.

But so, too, does the campaign's underestimation of McCain in New Hampshire, which enabled the insurgent to dominate the national conversation for a few weeks and pose a threat to a candidate who had raised \$85 million and to a strategy Rove had planned so meticulously.

"The McCain team saw how the Bush campaign worked," says Mike Murphy, McCain's top strategist. "The Bush campaign, however, did not understand how McCain's worked. They didn't see the McCain surge coming. McCain's people were shocked that the Bush team didn't. It was as obvious as anything ever is in politics."

John Weaver, the McCain campaign manager and a Rove rival, says it simply: "You always plan for the unexpected, and they didn't seem to do that."

Once the unexpected had happened, the campaign reacted harshly. First came Bush's embrace of religious conservatives at Bob Jones University, then a series of personal attacks on McCain, including questioning whether, even as a war hero, McCain was sufficiently loyal to



veterans. McCain characterized the barrages as "trash and garbage."

"That was not the Bush or the Rove I thought I knew," says Paul Begala, a Democratic strategist who got to know Rove in Austin in the 1990s. "I'm all for a tough campaign. But what they did against McCain was ruthless and amoral - and slimy."

It was at once the most important and most destructive moment of the campaign thus far - important because it ended, with brutal finality, any challenge to Bush's nomination; destructive because it tore down the image of civility and tolerance that Bush and Rove had so carefully cultivated.

(...)

"Karl is the dominant figure in the campaign, and George W. is very dependent on him," says Pauken, the onetime Texas GOP chairman who has frosty relations with both Bush and Rove. "Karl got him as far as he got. He got him a lot closer to the White House than anyone would have thought."

Bush is in the finals. Rove is the coach.

"It didn't take a genius 12 years ago to figure that George W. Bush - son of a president, owner of the Texas Rangers - might have a future in politics if he wanted one," says Alexander P. Gage, a Vermont-based pollster active in GOP Texas Republican chairman circles. "Personal relationships formed early tend to remain intact, and a codependency develops. There's more loyalty in politics than people realize. Is he the smartest or the bestest? Who knows? It doesn't matter. He comes from politics, and he thinks about George Bush and politics from the minute he wakes up."

The two men made for a winning team like no other in Texas since the Lyndon Johnson days a half-century ago.



"I'm the strategist," says Rove. "I help define the message. I'll leave it to others to divine if my role is bigger than that. It is a position of trust. He gives me responsibility and has expectations for performance."

And in return, what does the candidate get?

"He takes all the doubt out of the candidate's mind," says Shapiro, the state senator. "You campaign with a sense of security that you otherwise would not have."

But those two notions - removing the doubt from the candidate's mind, giving the candidate a sense of security that otherwise would not be there - can be dangerous, and that is the danger that Karl Rove may be courting with Bush.

"My biggest worry, were I a Bush supporter, is that Karl and Bush share a cockiness that can be mutually reinforcing, and that can be very dangerous," says Paul Begala, a White House political adviser to President Clinton who knew Rove from their days in Austin in the late 1990s. "I have always believed that the only way to run is to run scared. They seem to run cocky. In time, that attitude will not serve Bush very well."

One of the great aphorisms from Bush's previous career, baseball, runs this way: It ain't braggin' if you can do it. So far, Bush and Rove have done it - taken a classic late bloomer and helped him project responsibility and commitment, run a classic front-runner presidential campaign that chased his rivals from the field, recovered from a serious body blow following his 19-point loss in New Hampshire, positioned the candidate for the fight for the moderates, independents, and ticket-splitters who will determine the identity of the 43d president of the United States.

And yet, many of his colleagues in the Republican Party - some of



them rivals for multimillion-dollar political contracts - believe Rove may still not be ready for prime time; think that the brain trust of Rove, Allbaugh, and Hughes is too Texas and not national enough for presidential politics in 2000; worry that the primary campaign that seemed to dispatch McCain so easily in March nonetheless revealed some of the limitations of the Bush team, namely that they have mastered the organizational aspects of politics but are still a little thin on substance.

"Rove is the best political consultant there is," says state Senator Stephen E. Ogden, a Republican from College Station, Texas. "He always wins."

Not always, but mostly.

So far.



Daily News (New York)

July 30, 2000; Page 8

### **The Brain Trust**

By THOMAS M. DEFRANK with MONIQUE CURET

Even as George W. Bush glided to the GOP nomination, political experts snickered at his home-grown brain trust of Joe Allbaugh, Karl Rove and Karen Hughes.

Too insular, too light - too Texas, they said. Sooner or later, they whispered, Bush would need advisers with more heft.

The complaints have stopped now. The three - all cogs in Bush's 1994 governor's race - have worked so smoothly with campaign chairman Don Evans that their efforts have been called the most effective campaign since Dwight Eisenhower's in 1952.

Here's a look at Team Bush:

#### **CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN**

**DON EVANS:** Bush and Evans have been close friends since they were 28-year-olds trying to make their mark in the oil business in Midland, Tex.

"As close as they are, at the end of the day Joe, Karl and Karen are staff," says a colleague. "Don is the next best thing to being a [Bush] spouse."

Chairman of an independent oil and gas company, Evans, 54, masterminded the Bush fund-raising juggernaut and now, as campaign chairman, serves as his chief troubleshooter.

But his greatest value to Bush, mutual friends say, is his ability to talk straight to the candidate. "Don is the only one who can say, 'Here's the [criticism] and I think it's right,'" a Bushie says.



## CAMPAIGN MANAGER

JOE ALLBAUGH: Bush calls Allbaugh "Big Country," and at 6-feet-4 and 275 pounds, the nickname fits. Allbaugh, 48, sports a retro flat-top, mustache, ostrich boots and big belt buckles.

Bush's campaign manager worked for the elder George Bush in the 1988 presidential campaign and ran the younger Bush's 1994 governor's race. An organizational whiz, Allbaugh oversees the budget with an iron fist.

After Bush's stunning loss to John McCain in the New Hampshire primary, one GOP pol remembers, Allbaugh made a simple plea to him: "Tell us what we have to do.' To his credit, he did 95% of it."

## COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

KAREN HUGHES: Aside from Evans, Hughes, 43, is the closest to Bush. When he was deciding whether to run for President, Bush told her flatly, "If you're not going, I'm not going."

When he strays off message, the communications director can shut Bush down instantly with a polite "Governor, I don't think we've really talked about that."

An Army brat, Hughes is a former TV newswoman and was the Reagan-Bush campaign's Texas press coordinator in 1984. She's been with Dubya since the 1994 gubernatorial race.

Hughes is the most controversial of Bush's top aides because of her control-freak side. Media detractors privately call her Nurse Ratched.

## CAMPAIGN STRATEGIST

KARL ROVE: Intense and cerebral, top strategist Rove, who developed Bush's "compassionate conservative" theme, is the quintessential political junkie. "Politics is to Karl what a GameBoy is to a 12-year-old boy," says a senior staff colleague. "Fascinating and



addictive."

For 20 years, the one-time boy wonder of Texas Republican politics has been a driving force in turning the state from a Democratic stronghold into a rock-ribbed GOP enclave.

Rove, too, worked for the elder Bush - at the Republican National Committee in the mid-1970s. One of his jobs was handing the Bush family car keys to George W. when he breezed into Washington on weekends.



St. Petersburg Times  
July 31, 2000; Page 1A

**Veteran of Democratic Fights Now Molds Bush Ad Strategy** (Excerpts)

By TIM NICKENS



AUSTIN, Texas -- After leaving politics for a while, Mark McKinnon says the Texas governor helped him see politics differently.

Mark McKinnon sat on a couch in the bunker, quietly firing one-liners in the windowless basement command center of George W. Bush's advertising team.

Staring back at him were televisions turned to CNN, MSNBC and other networks. Up popped Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate. McKinnon interrupted himself.

"He got 8 percent in the latest poll," confided McKinnon, sipping a Diet Pepsi and dressed in faded jeans and a light-weight pullover sweater. "This guy is going to be a factor."

Up popped Vice President Al Gore. McKinnon turned up the sound on the remote control and shook his head.

"Now that he's seen it's a good idea from Bush," he said of Gore's positions. "Me too, on Social Security. Me too, on tax cuts."

This does not sound like an advertising consultant who previously



worked only for Democrats, including former Texas Gov. Ann Richards. Or one who turned down several invitations over the years to join Bill Clinton's team. Or one who became disillusioned and got out of politics in the mid-1990s.

McKinnon, a former teenage runaway who revered Jack Kerouac and an erstwhile folk-rock singer who once wrote songs for Kris Kristofferson, said Bush helped him see politics differently.

"I had been drinking Democratic Kool-Aid for too long," he said.

This week, McKinnon is serving up another flavor at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia. It is the ultimate sneak preview for the work he oversees at Maverick Media, the firm whose sole job is to handle advertising for Bush's campaign for president.

McKinnon has produced a video for Bush and another for the Texas governor's wife, Laura. He has helped guide other tributes filmed of the living former Republican presidents, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

There's more.

McKinnon also has overseen the filming of "Profiles in Compassion" videos aimed at putting faces and places on Bush's theme of compassionate conservatism. The stars include a multiethnic elementary school in El Paso, a Boys' and Girls' Club in California and a private assistance center in a Hispanic neighborhood in Cleveland.

In all, there will be about a dozen videos of five to 10 minutes each that are aimed at rounding out Bush's portrait and themes for the party faithful.

After Clinton's well-received video at the 1992 Democratic convention, *The Man From Hope*, such film clips have become less like home movies and more like cinematic works of art. McKinnon said the



goal is to tell a story about Bush in a different way that may offer new insights.

"We want to reflect his life, humanity and philosophy," he said.

Convention videos are routine. There is nothing conventional about McKinnon.

He is a veteran of dozens of Democrats' campaigns whose all-time favorite political ad is the 1984 spot for Ronald Reagan that featured a hunter and a brown bear in the woods, symbolizing the Soviet Union.

In a cutthroat business, McKinnon takes it as a compliment when he's told his rhetoric doesn't stack up with Republican attack artists such as Alex Castellanos or Arthur Finkelstein.

He was secure enough to bring into Maverick a veteran Republican consultant, Stuart Stevens. After once writing that corporate advertising firms could not sell politicians the way they sell soap, he recruited his own "Park Avenue Posse" of ad executives to informally advise the campaign.

"They know as we do that if something looks political, people probably aren't going to pay much attention to it," said McKinnon, even as he rejected the notion of selling Bush like a brand name. "This is a person. It's not a product."

In Austin, some consultants and activists who once worked alongside McKinnon for the same issues or candidates fault him for switching political brands. They can't fathom how a lifelong Democrat can be working for a Republican named Bush.

"He's really drunk the water," said Samantha Smoot, the executive director of the Texas Freedom Network, which bills itself as a counterbalance to the religious right. "I really think he's been seduced not only by the governor but by the fame and celebrity of his current



position."

(...)

After graduation, McKinnon got married and started working for Texas Democrats alongside such future Clinton team members as Paul Begala and James Carville. In another twist, he was a member of the same New York advertising firm in 1988 that worked for Michael Dukakis' failed effort against Bush's father.

By 1990, McKinnon was working for a smaller firm and was communications director for Ann Richards' successful campaign for governor. He will say little about Richards now, though he reportedly still voted for her over Bush in 1994.

It was during the early '90s that McKinnon's ads won attention in Texas for daring to be different.

In 1991, he moved in with former Houston Mayor Bob Lanier during Lanier's first campaign. On impulse before filming one commercial, McKinnon told Lanier to keep on an old sweater he wore around the house instead of changing into a business suit.

Lanier was known as a tough businessman, McKinnon said, "but people didn't know him as this warm, friendly, compassionate kind of uncle and father figure."

In 1994, McKinnon worked for Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock, the crusty, larger-than-life Democrat who would befriend Bush. He turned on his camera without Bullock knowing as they talked on the front porch. The result was unvarnished Bullock instead of polished fluff.

"Look, I've had all the honors, just about every honor that you could have," Bullock said in the ad. "So I'm not interested in honors. Not interested in any more plaques. What I'm interested in is building Texas. For my grandson, your children, and his children. Make it a little bit



better than it was, than the day I was born at 504 Craig St. in a frame house in Hillsboro, Texas. Front bedroom."

McKinnon said: "Voters want a sense of what a person really believes in, who they are. That's what's often challenging but often the most simple thing to do."

But by 1996, he was burned out, and out of politics. He wrote his own confessional in Texas Monthly.

McKinnon wrote about the seamy side of his job, from a salacious tale about a drunken candidate hitting on a member of his film crew to coaching candidates on what convictions to hold. He vowed to spend the weekend before the November election with his family in Mexico, following the migration of the monarch butterfly.

"Maybe politics just got old," he wrote. "Maybe I just got tired."

It proved to be a temporary hiatus.

Less than four years later, McKinnon is in the biggest campaign of his life. His videos this week will be reviewed by a tough crowd at the convention, including many Republicans who think they already know everything there is to know about the Bush family. His ads, which are already airing in the Tampa Bay market, will soon be seen nationwide.

McKinnon is a key player in the Bush camp, yet set just apart. The Maverick Media office is on the other side of town from the posh campaign headquarters, and he is not a member of the "iron triangle" of top Bush advisers.

Bush often retires to his isolated Texas ranch on the weekends. McKinnon is a regular at the Club De Ville, a hot Austin nightclub where he owns a small interest and has a drink named after him (the McKinnon: a vodka martini with lemon juice "and some secret ingredients I can't reveal").



But Bush and McKinnon have connected through shared interests.

They met for the first time in 1997 at an Austin restaurant.

McKinnon recalled that they clicked as they discussed a documentary McKinnon was filming about a school in a poor Houston neighborhood.

At a private lunch at the Governor's Mansion, they chatted about their daughters. McKinnon shared with Bush some cookies one of his daughters had baked. The governor jotted out a note of thanks.

By then, McKinnon already had been impressed by Bush's efforts to overhaul public education and his rejection of anti-immigrant rhetoric used by other Republicans.

"He was doing things I thought were very counterintuitive for a Republican," he said. "He was for things against things."

McKinnon was hired to handle the advertising for Bush's 1998 re-election as governor, a landslide win that did not require a single negative ad. When he could have had any consultant in America, the governor kept the same campaign team in place for the run for president.

It is a relationship that has made McKinnon the target of jabs from Democrats in Austin.

"Nobody likes a turncoat," said Dean Rindi, a Democratic consultant and former McKinnon business partner who hasn't spoken to him in years. "There's only three reasons he could do this: fame, money or a religious conversion. He denies the religious conversion."

McKinnon said he doesn't see eye-to-eye with Bush on everything, although he won't be specific.

"Even though we disagree on some issues," he said, "I get a more respectful audience from him than I have gotten from any other candidate."

That respect helps in a pinch.



After losing to Arizona Sen. John McCain in the New Hampshire primary, Bush was under pressure when the race moved to South Carolina. When McCain accused Bush of stretching the truth like President Clinton in an ad, the charge required an immediate response.

McKinnon met Bush at a South Carolina fishing camp and drove with him 8 miles into the woods. They had 10 minutes to shoot 30 seconds. Bush nailed it in three takes, then headed toward the car when McKinnon stopped him.

There had been a hair on the camera lens.

"I said, 'Governor, we screwed up and we've got to do it again,' McKinnon recalled. " 'Technical problem.' Then I ducked."

But he said Bush didn't get angry and quickly reeled off two more takes. The commercial was the best of the campaign so far, with Bush looking into the camera and declaring: "Politics is tough. But when John McCain compared me to Bill Clinton and said I was untrustworthy, that's over the line. Disagree with me, fine. But do not challenge my integrity."

The ad met McKinnon's goal of capturing a glimpse of a candidate's personality and emotion on film. He is not concerned with trying to overcome the perception among skeptics that Bush lacks the gravitas to be president, calling it an issue created by the media elite. And while the ads running in the Tampa Bay market and elsewhere are relatively soft sells, McKinnon and others who have observed his work say he won't be afraid to counterpunch with Gore.

"I don't think he'll hesitate," said Smoot of the Texas Freedom Network. "His decision to work against everything he's spent a career working hard for demonstrates he's a mercenary, a hired gun."

But McKinnon said he has no regrets about going to work for Bush. He swears he is "passionate about this guy as a human being." And he



does not envision himself turning into another Carville on the talk shows or moving into the White House with Bush after the election.

"I am a firm believer there is more to life than increasing its speed," said McKinnon, whose plans are simple: "Get out my guitar and go write songs again."



## **Campaign Organization - Gore**

New York Times

May 17, 2000; Page 21

### **Gore's National Security Advisers Assemble as Part of a Government-in-Waiting** (Excerpts)

By JOHN M. BRODER

WASHINGTON, May 16 -- Vice President Al Gore has assembled a large team of foreign policy advisers whose members could form the national security nucleus of a Gore administration.

The current role of the advisory group is somewhat nebulous, however, since Mr. Gore has never relied on outsiders for advice on foreign policy, and the new panel has not yet contributed much of substance to his campaign.

The vice president has great faith in his own national security experience and instincts. He has a close, 20-year relationship with his national security alter ego, Leon Fuerth, through whom all foreign policy information flows. The vice president has participated in every major national security debate over the past decade and has access to intelligence and foreign policy expertise throughout the government.

But Mr. Gore believes he needs to hear fresh voices on foreign policy, several Gore aides say, and he has begun to assemble a group of advisers who can address foreign policy questions during the campaign and assist in the transition should Mr. Gore win in November.

The vice president's advisory group now includes 25 people, many of whom are veterans of the early years of the Clinton administration, and the list of experts is expected to swell to include as many as 100 names



over the next several weeks.

(...)

Mr. Gore's group includes former Senator James Sasser, who was ambassador to China from 1996 to 1999; Laura D'Andrea Tyson, the former head of the National Economic Council; Joan E. Spero, former under secretary of state for economic affairs, and Ashton B. Carter and Graham T. Allison, Harvard professors who served at the Pentagon in President Clinton's first term. Mel Levine, a former Democratic congressman from Los Angeles, Robert E. Hunter, a former ambassador to NATO, and Richard N. Gardner, whose government experience dates to the Kennedy administration, are also on the list.

Their role remains indistinct and there is little evidence that Mr. Gore will turn to them for foreign policy guidance any time soon. Unlike the Bush group, they are not holding regular briefings for the vice president, who is as broadly knowledgeable about foreign policy as anyone in the Democratic Party. They have not been canvassed for policy advice or speech drafts. Nor are they authorized to speak to the press on behalf of the Gore campaign. The list of their names was produced only after repeated requests from a reporter.

Nonetheless, competition for spots on the list is fierce because the group is seen as the farm team for senior jobs in a Gore administration, should the vice president win in November. Serving on the ad hoc Gore committee is also a prestigious resume addition for the part-time advisers, many of whom also advise private clients at the same time they give foreign policy counsel to the Gore campaign.

Part of the work of Mr. Ginsberg and his co-director, Bruce W. Jentleson, director of the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy at Duke University, is to screen potential members of the advisory group for



conflicts of interest. They said that nobody who had pending business before the government or who was a registered lobbyist for a foreign country would be invited to join the group.

(...)

Mr. Jentleson, who served in the State Department's office of policy planning early in the Clinton administration, said Mr. Gore was reaching beyond the Beltway for fresh ideas. He said Mr. Gore depended on Mr. Fuerth and Samuel R. Berger, the White House national security adviser, for day-to-day foreign policy guidance. Mr. Gore also consults regularly with Richard C. Holbrooke, the United Nations ambassador, whom many consider the leading candidate for secretary of state in a Gore administration.

Mr. Gore wants to hear a range of voices as he begins to formulate an approach to global affairs that may at times differ from that of Mr. Clinton, Mr. Jentleson said. But the members of the group are well within the mainstream of the Democratic Party, generally supporting global engagement, protection of the environment and free trade, he added.

The panel is being assembled with an eye toward quickly staffing a Gore administration, Mr. Jentleson said. "By asking them to join this group we're not making any promises, he said. "But if Gore wins the election, it's a lot better to start on Wednesday with a group of people you know than to start looking at a pile of resumes."

Foreign policy veterans and even some advisers to Mr. Gore suggest that the group is largely window-dressing at this point, assembled in part to make it look as though Mr. Gore is not dependent wholly on his own foreign policy ideas and those of Mr. Fuerth. Membership on the panel also gives foreign policy thinkers in the Democratic Party a stake in a



victory by the vice president in November.

"Every campaign I've ever heard of does this," said a foreign policy expert who has advised several campaigns and who insisted that his name not be printed. "But I can say that I've never heard of a single instance of a paper from that system making its way to the candidate."

He said that Mr. Fuerth tightly controlled what reached Mr. Gore and that the two of them made all important decisions with little outside advice. Mr. Gore did not draw on the advisory group in preparing his most recent address on foreign policy, delivered on May 1 in Boston, aides said. The vice president wrote much of the speech himself, with assistance from Mr. Fuerth and other members of the White House national security staff, they said. In the speech, Mr. Gore called for an activist foreign policy of "forward engagement" and criticized Mr. Bush for hewing to what he called an obsolete cold-war mentality.

The advisory group structure serves one useful purpose: bypassing the limitations placed on political activity by government employees. Most full-time government workers cannot engage in political activity, although certain senior advisers like Mr. Fuerth are exempt from the rule.

"I cannot use members of the vice president's national security staff or others on the federal payroll to provide political advice for the campaign," Mr. Fuerth said. "I need an external skeleton of people to provide advice for me so I can provide advice for the vice president."

Mr. Fuerth said the outside advisers would become more active as the campaign progressed, serving as surrogate speakers, drafting speeches and responding to press questions on national security matters. But they will never serve as the foreign policy "brain" of the Gore operation. That job is already taken, Mr. Fuerth said.



"Everyone needs bright minds," Mr. Fuerth said, "but I could drop dead tomorrow and the vice president could keep going for quite some time based simply on what he personally knows and understands."



Los Angeles Times

June 16, 2000; Page 1

**Commerce Chief Daley to Lead Gore Campaign** (Excerpts)

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN and MATEA GOLD

CINCINNATI -- Al Gore appointed Commerce Secretary Bill Daley as chairman of his presidential campaign Thursday after Tony Coelho, the job's controversial occupant, resigned, citing health reasons.

The change comes amid concerns among many Democrats about presumptive Republican nominee George W. Bush's steady lead over Gore in most national polls since both men clinched their party's nominations in March.

Coelho, Gore and several sources inside the vice president's campaign insisted the move was motivated solely by Coelho's health problems, which include an inflamed colon that led to him being hospitalized this week. But several Democratic insiders said they hoped the appointment of the well-respected Daley would help shift attention away from the campaign's internal operation toward Gore's message and agenda.

Coelho, a former Democratic House member from California's Central Valley, was credited with streamlining and stabilizing Gore's campaign last fall so it could better respond to a surprisingly strong primary challenge from former Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey. But Coelho's sometimes abrasive personal manner and Gore's troubles in the polls have generated an undercurrent of discontent with Coelho's leadership.

"Obviously, everybody is going to be skeptical . . . and think Tony was looking for an exit strategy," said a senior Democratic legislative aide



whose boss spoke with both Gore and Coelho on Wednesday. "That may or may not have been part of it. But the health problem was real."

Coelho's hard-driving personality had generated as many detractors as admirers throughout his career. That pattern continued inside the Gore campaign, with growing complaints in recent weeks about his aggressive style.

One source who's worked with Daley said his style was "more collegial... He's one to let people do their jobs if they are doing it properly."

#### Few Wholesale Changes Expected

Though insiders say it is too early to tell what moves the 51-year-old Daley will make, few expect wholesale changes among Gore's other top aides or the campaign's operation. The vice president has already focused more directly on his message, accentuated by the "peace and prosperity" tour he recently launched.

One likely shift is that Daley will assume much greater public visibility than Coelho. Coelho had been constrained in that role partly because of ethical questions he faced regarding his tenure as the director of a U.S. mission to a world's fair in Portugal two years ago.

(...)

Coelho, who turned 58 Thursday, was a controversial figure from the moment of his unexpected appointment as Gore's campaign chairman in May 1999. For one thing, he had not played a major role in Democratic politics since his abrupt resignation from Congress in 1989 amid questions about his purchase of a \$ 100,000 junk bond from a troubled California savings and loan.

Coelho initially won good marks for redirecting a Gore operation that appeared to be dangerously foundering in the face of Bradley's challenge



for the Democratic nomination. Coelho shrunk the staff, clamped down on spending, oversaw the operation's move from Washington to Nashville and brought in a new cadre of senior advisors who helped Gore sharpen his message and dispatch Bradley's challenge without losing a single primary.

Veteran Democratic strategist Tad Devine, one of those whom Coelho helped recruit, said Thursday: "When he came into the campaign, it was spending a lot of money and not having the resources to compete. That got under control."

#### Grumbling About Coelho Since Fall

Grumbling about Coelho, though, began as early as last fall when a State Department audit accused him of lax management and lavish spending when he directed the U.S. mission to a World Exposition in Portugal in 1998. Those questions grew louder this March, when sources indicated the State Department had forwarded the allegations to criminal investigators.

Coelho has unwaveringly insisted that he is innocent of any wrongdoing. But the accusations raised uncomfortable questions for Gore--who has faced a sustained attack on his own ethics from Republicans.

The State Department refused to comment Thursday on the probe's status.

Coelho faced additional second-guessing this spring, when he was an advocate of Gore's decision to break from Clinton and support efforts to place the case of 6-year-old Cuban refugee Elian Gonzalez before family court, a move sought by opponents of the boy's return to Cuba. Many Democrats consider that move a political blunder that made Gore look as though he was pandering to Cuban American voters.



Above all, Coelho faced pressure because, after catching Bush in the polls earlier this year, Gore had consistently fallen behind in the latest surveys.

Several Democratic insiders said that even before Thursday's move, Coelho's role was diminishing as the campaign's focus turned more toward message and targeting the states needed to win an electoral majority--areas in which Coelho exerted relatively less influence than other aides.

Even so, several Gore insiders said that without Coelho's health problems there was no indication Gore was prepared to force him out.



Washington Post

July 20, 2000; Page A01

**'Team of Fastball Pitchers' Set to Play Tough for Gore; Three  
Distinct Advisers Shape Candidate's Image**

By HOWARD KURTZ and CECE CONNOLLY

Carter Eskew had abandoned politics for corporate advertising, but felt he couldn't say no when his old friend Al Gore asked him to help rescue a faltering campaign.

Robert Shrum, who helped write the last four State of the Union speeches for President Clinton, was driving with his wife from France to Italy when Eskew recruited him for the campaign.

Bill Knapp had been looking forward to Gore's presidential run since working in his first Senate campaign, when he was energized by the sense of helping elect a fellow baby boomer.

These three men--smart, tough and possessed of considerable egos--are the heart of the Gore message team, charged with molding the vice president's image in a way that can enable him to overtake George W. Bush and win the White House. And, as they made clear in a series of interviews, they will mount a fierce televised assault on the Texas governor.

But their larger challenge is to create a compelling portrait of an often-awkward man who, in trying on various fashions in the political wardrobe, seems uncertain just what his public persona should be. Toward that end, the message team will have a \$ 45 million fall advertising budget at its disposal, by far the campaign's biggest expenditure. Any effort to understand the packaging of Al Gore, therefore, must start with three advisers who, though very different in



background and temperament, have been selling candidates all their professional lives.

The consultants have attracted their share of controversy. Eskew, the chief message strategist, has repeatedly drawn fire over his past work for tobacco companies and the drug industry--businesses his candidate is now bashing. Shrum, who regularly champions Gore's cause on television, has been criticized for hurling questionable charges at opposing candidates, even winning an award for "Most Brutally Effective Attack Spot."

Within the campaign as well, the media advisers occasionally stir resentment, both for their outsized influence and because they command huge fees that have already produced one showdown with a campaign chairman.

Using a rough estimate of a 7 percent commission on the ads they place, Eskew, Knapp, Shrum and two of Shrum's partners stand to receive more than \$ 5 million this year from the Gore campaign and the Democratic National Committee. But they dismiss any suggestion that they are using the Gore campaign as a piggy bank.

"You don't do a presidential campaign to get rich," Knapp says. "You do it because it's the Super Bowl of campaigns, and by God, this is what you do."

Part of what they do--indeed, what Knapp did for Clinton in 1996 and what consultants in both parties have increasingly done for two decades--is to use the power of television to tear down an opponent. Ask them about the expected negative assault on Bush, and they describe it as practically a public service.

"I think it would be unfair to seniors and the public if we didn't tell you what the difference between his Medicare plan and ours is," Shrum



says.

"I think there's a lot more to learn about Bush than about Gore that people may find upsetting," Eskew says. "I don't think people have any idea about Bush. We won't be shy in having our candidate raise some of the contrasts."

The admakers are adept at cloaking an attack in positive rhetoric. Bill Bradley's supporters are still smarting over an ad during the Iowa caucuses that said Gore was "the only Democratic candidate for president" who supported aid to the state after severe 1993 flooding there. In fact, Bradley supported the \$ 4.8 billion flood relief bill, opposing only a \$ 1 billion amendment for further aid to farmers.

Bush's strategists are expecting the worst. "They scanned the horizon and came up with the guys who are probably the best at negative advertising," says Stuart Stevens, a Bush media consultant. "It's like you've got a team of fastball pitchers. What are they going to do? They're going to throw heat."

*Shrum: Going For the Jugular*

Bob Shrum may be the Democratic consultant Republicans most love to hate. "No one is more adept at the low blow," says the conservative National Review. Shrum, 56, loves to skewer the opposition on such television shows as "Hardball" and "Crossfire."

A political junkie ever since he made calls for Adlai Stevenson at age 9, Shrum had a long, beer-filled conversation with Bill Clinton when both were students at Georgetown. After Harvard Law School, a role in George McGovern's 1972 campaign and a stint as a magazine writer, Shrum became a press secretary and speechwriter for Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. He is a gifted wordsmith who wrote Kennedy's stirring "the dream shall never die" speech to the 1980 convention.



Shrum, a balding, bombastic man from Pennsylvania who is on the latest of many diets, is a fixture on the Georgetown circuit. When Shrum married his wife, Marylouise Oates, in 1988, Gore sent a note saying, "You are both two of my favorite people."

Shrum's pen--he never learned to type--is much in demand. On the wall of his Wisconsin Avenue office is his most famous speech that was never delivered--one for Clinton after he admitted misleading the country about Monica Lewinsky. "No one who is not in my position can understand the remorse I feel today," it began. "I have fallen short of what you should expect from a president." Clinton gave a more combative speech instead.

Shrum can be plenty combative himself. In a CNBC debate with Bradley's communications director, Anita Dunn, Shrum said: "You're acquiring your candidate's condescending tone, Anita. That sort of stuns me."

Shrum, who worked for the presidential campaigns of Missouri Rep. Richard A. Gephardt in 1988 and Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey in 1992, has been thinking about the 2000 race for years. Soon after Clinton and Gore were reelected, the vice president summoned him for a series of conversations about the upcoming campaign.

The hard-charging Shrum pushed to throw away the advertising script early on, arguing that this helped the candidate come across as more passionate and spontaneous. When he and Eskew were taping a round of ads in Carthage, Tenn., in the fall, Shrum told Eskew to forget about the words in the TelePrompTer and just interview Gore about health care, producing the first New Hampshire spots.

In a long career handling clients from former New York mayor David Dinkins to Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, Shrum has made more



than his share of controversial ads. Perhaps the most notorious was a 1990 spot for Jim Mattox in the Texas governor's race against fellow Democrat Ann Richards, who had acknowledged past problems with alcohol. Shrum's ad asked: "Did she use marijuana, or something worse, like cocaine . . . not as a college kid, but as a 47-year-old elected official sworn to uphold the law?"

Shrum does not defend the ad, saying: "I don't believe it should have been made, and I don't believe it should have run."

Two years ago, while working for Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening, Shrum won the "most brutally effective" award from Campaign & Elections magazine. The commercial accused GOP challenger Ellen R. Sauerbrey of a "shameful record on civil rights" but referred to a bill on sexual harassment lawsuits that even the Democratic-controlled state Senate refused to pass.

"Bob Shrum is a hatermonger," Sauerbrey told the Baltimore Sun.

Shrum is unrepentant. "I have nothing but pride about that ad," he says. "Ellen Sauerbrey was against a whole series of civil rights bills in Maryland. The Republican theory is that if someone's bad on civil rights and you point it out, you're somehow guilty of using the issue of race. It's ridiculous."

### *Eskew: Honing The Message*

Carter Eskew's girlfriend, Faith, cut short the conversation when he was agonizing over whether to join the Gore campaign. "We can talk about this all night, but you know you're going to do it," said the woman who is now his wife.

Eskew, 45, grew up hearing the Gore name from his Tennessee-born father, who admired Gore's father in the Senate. Although Eskew is a Washingtonian who attended Sidwell Friends School (followed by Exeter,



Yale and Columbia Journalism School), he spent two summers in the early 1970s as a reporter at the Nashville Tennessean, where his desk was next to Gore's. They have been friends ever since.

Eskew, a lean, soft-spoken man who works out, likes inline skating and wears polo shirts and shorts to work, has an unruffled demeanor that masks an intense political passion. Knapp recalls him screaming out the window at 1 a.m. after a campaign victory.

Gore tapped the young admaker to make commercials for his two Senate campaigns, and Eskew helped elect such senators as Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut and former senators David Pryor of Arkansas and James Sasser of Tennessee.

Eskew employs both humor and a stiletto. He helped defeat then-Connecticut Sen. Lowell P. Weicker with an ad depicting him as a hibernating bear. And he helped knock then-Rep. Jim Courter out of the New Jersey governor's race with a spot accusing him of keeping toxic waste barrels on property he owned. Courter, who said it was heating oil left by a midnight dumper, lamented that Eskew "did a very good job of cutting me up."

After Gore became vice president, Eskew spoke with him regularly and occasionally dropped by for lunch. But in 1995, feeling burned out on politics, Eskew joined Bozell Sawyer Miller and began doing lucrative work for such companies as Microsoft Corp. "We didn't sell products, we sold company images," he says.

Eskew masterminded the cigarette industry's \$ 40 million advertising blitz that killed the 1998 tobacco control legislation backed by the White House and Gore. "The politicians in Washington are voting to destroy our way of life," one ad said. Even some friends were disappointed in Eskew's choice of clients.



"When people I respect had questions, yeah, it bothered me," Eskew says. "I tried to be pretty careful about what I did." He told a political acquaintance at the time that "no one could ever hire me after this."

But Tony Coelho, who was Gore's campaign chairman, called last summer and told Eskew that Gore needed him. Robert Squier, the chief advertising strategist for the 1996 Clinton campaign, already had the job, but Coelho had concluded he was over the hill.

Eskew reminded Coelho that he and his former mentor Squier had had a bitter falling-out over money when he quit the firm of Squier Eskew Knapp several years earlier. But Coelho insisted they try to work together, an effort that was underway when Squier fell ill and died in January.

Other campaign aides, recognizing Eskew's close bond with Gore, often send messages through him. Eskew, now based in Nashville, is a popular but remote figure, viewed as something of a mad genius who sometimes requires solitude to think big thoughts.

Each Sunday, Eskew, Knapp, Shrum and Shrum's partners, Mike Donilon and Tad Devine, hold a conference call. They talk every day, e-mailing scripts back and forth and sending video over the Web. If there is disagreement, Eskew makes the final call.

Eskew was involved in an early turning point in the campaign, an Iowa dinner in October when Gore began attacking Bradley--"I decided to stay and fight"--even challenging him by name as Bradley sat in the audience. That had been scripted in advance by Eskew, who had given Gore the combative speech the day before and watched as the vice president put it on index cards and revised it in his own voice.

Eskew gradually prompted Gore to use more of his personal biography in speeches and ads. "Carter unleashed who Gore really is,"



one campaign official says. "Carter fed Gore's instincts when others were trying to shut them down."

*Knapp: The Quiet, Canny Marketer*

Bill Knapp understands the value of early advertising. In 1995, after the Republican takeover of Congress, he says, the president was so unpopular that "you couldn't show people an image of Bill Clinton. They'd go crazy." Before eventual nominee Robert J. Dole got any political traction, "we really had to drive up Dole's vulnerabilities."

An early barrage did just that. "America's economy [is] coming back. . . . Now Bob Dole endangers it all with a risky last-minute scheme that would balloon the deficit," a typical ad said. Knapp and Squier's television blitz cemented Knapp's reputation as a production wizard and canny marketer who kept the ads off the national media's radar screen by placing them in smaller markets.

A lanky, wisecracking New Yorker who attended Franklin and Marshall College, Knapp, 43, hired Eskew in 1980 as press secretary for Elizabeth Holtzman's Senate campaign in New York. "He complained he had no message spike," Knapp says. "I got a two-by-four and put a nail into his desk."

While he has helped elect such senators as John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV of West Virginia and Evan Bayh of Indiana--and worked for such companies as America Online Inc. and Procter & Gamble Co.--Knapp is a classic behind-the-scenes man who operated in Squier's shadow. Nearly two years ago, Knapp began the arduous task of researching the Gore record, compiling massive files on every congressional vote cast or comment made--and insisting on documenting Bradley's record as well.

Knapp helps conduct the focus groups that test the ads, oversees the editing in a Capitol Hill town house, and is invariably the man who runs



the VCR or overhead projector at meetings. "He has no ego," a colleague says. "He never seeks press attention. He did the '96 campaign and very few people know it."

Knapp took a leading role in preparing Gore for the early debates against Bradley, organizing the briefing books, asking questions supplied by Shrum and critiquing Gore's answers. Now he has turned his attention to Bush.

"George Bush at some point will go on the air about his Texas record," Knapp says. "He's not going to include the fact that he had big corporate polluters writing loopholes in environmental laws. He's not going to include the fact that one of the first things he did in '99 was to give the oil companies big tax breaks. We will aggressively try to make the case that he's distorting his record."

#### *High-Powered, High-Priced*

When Coelho saw what the campaign was paying the media advisers, he slammed on the brakes.

The former campaign chairman argued that full-time staffers were being paid far less than the advertising team. Sources familiar with the situation say Coelho insisted on renegotiating the contract and, despite some grumbling, substantially reduced the fees that the partners will earn.

Coelho also expressed concern that Shrum and Knapp might be distracted by their work for other clients. Shrum is handling five Senate candidates, including Kennedy, Jon S. Corzine in New Jersey and Paul S. Sarbanes in Maryland; he says he committed to those races before the Gore campaign hired him. Knapp is working for only two House candidates.

Despite Coelho's cutbacks, Gore's presidential bid remains a



lucrative venture for the admen, who have formed three companies to channel the cash. They have what many would regard as a cushy arrangement: getting paid for making the ads and for placing the ads on television and radio stations, by both the Democratic committee and the Gore campaign.

Eskew, Knapp, Shrum, Donilon and Devine were paid more than \$ 10 million by the Gore campaign during the primaries, although that includes both overhead expenses and the payments for television and radio time.

The partners set up Century Media Group for the primary season and the Campaign Company for the fall campaign. They also created Democratic Victory 2000 to handle an estimated \$ 20 million in ads for the DNC. Bush's admen, by contrast, have formed Maverick Media but aren't placing the ads or moonlighting for the Republican National Committee.

The Gore consultants say their multiple operations are the most efficient way to run a business, adding that their payments must underwrite a staff of 30 people.

Eskew, noting that he made more money doing corporate work, says the consultants are receiving commissions of less than 10 percent--or below the usual standard for nonpresidential races--and that their expenses are carefully scrutinized.

"We earn a good living," Shrum says. "We work pretty hard for it. I hope we get paid a reasonable amount of money. Some people might not think it was reasonable. All my partners could make as much money doing something else, but it wouldn't be as much fun."



New York Times

August 7, 2000; Page 1

**In Daley's Hand, Gore Aides See a Glass Half Full** (Excerpts)

By KEVIN SACK



NASHVILLE, Aug. 3 -- Six weeks after taking charge of Vice President Al Gore's presidential campaign, William M. Daley has not yet figured out where everybody works in the sprawling and frenetic Gore headquarters here.

"Um, where's Mark's office?" he sheepishly asked a young aide one night this week, scrunching his bushy eyebrows as he wandered right past the door to the lair of the deputy campaign manager Mark Fabiani.

And yet, in his short time here, the former commerce secretary seems to have significantly revived the once flagging morale of the Democratic campaign, both in Nashville and beyond.

After a spring when the campaign was accused of squandering any momentum created by Mr. Gore's victories in the Democratic primaries, Mr. Daley has moved to curtail the infighting that had sapped the campaign's energy and to impose badly needed discipline on its strategy



and message. He has freed Mr. Gore to focus on essential decisions rather than on the power struggles back home, and he has reassured Democratic partisans that the campaign is back on track.

Top Gore supporters, including Congressional leaders and officials with major constituent groups, say that they have noticed a distinct change since Mr. Daley replaced the ailing Tony Coelho and that they have been soothed by Mr. Daley's straightforward presence.

"He came and spoke to our caucus last week, and the turnaround in attitude that he brought was very noticeable," said Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, the minority leader. "He exuded a confidence about the organization that my colleagues needed and wanted to hear."

John J. Sweeney, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., had initially complained that he had not been consulted about Mr. Gore's appointment of Mr. Daley, who earned the enmity of labor by leading the administration's lobbying for the North American Free Trade Agreement and the normalization of trade relations with China. But after Mr. Daley spent two days this week meeting with labor leaders in Chicago, Mr. Sweeney had nothing but kind words.

"I think things are moving in the right direction," he said in a telephone interview. "Daley has been working extremely hard on a number of fronts. And certainly I can say he's been meeting with us regularly and making sure that working-family issues are at the center of the campaign."

The latest change in the campaign's leadership, its second in barely a year, could have been deeply destabilizing. But as Mr. Gore moves into two critical weeks in which he will select a running mate and accept his party's nomination in Los Angeles, his aides and leading supporters say they feel more optimism than at any point since the vice president swept



the primaries.

"Morale is shockingly high here for a campaign that's 10 points behind," one top Gore aide said.

(...)

Mr. Daley, who is known for his straight talk, acknowledged in an interview this week that the Gore campaign was troubled at the time. "It's not a secret that there was a period there of internal debate on the thrust of the campaign," he said, "a concern that we had lost some ground from the primaries, that Bush was running a good noncampaign campaign, that his base came home quicker and that we were still working on our base."

In addition, the direction of the campaign had become a struggle among distinct power bases: the paid staff, led by Mr. Coelho and Donna Brazile, the campaign manager, who themselves had occasional disputes; Washington consultants like Carter Eskew, Tad Devine, Robert Shrum, Bill Knapp and the pollster Harrison Hickman, some of whom have moved to Nashville; Gore family members, including Mr. Gore's wife, Tipper, his daughter Karenna Gore Schiff and his brother-in-law, Frank Hunger; staff members in the office of the vice president in Washington; and old Gore hands like Peter Knight, Roy Neel, Tom Downey and Jack Quinn, all of whom are now Washington lobbyists.

Mr. Coelho, who resigned after suffering epileptic seizures and intestinal problems, receives mixed reviews from Mr. Gore's aides. He is almost revered, for having guided Mr. Gore successfully through his primary fight with Bill Bradley and for obsessively pursuing goals like winning the endorsement of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. He and Ms. Brazile made difficult but needed cuts in staff and budget and oversaw last fall's move of the campaign from Washington to Nashville (the headquarters are now



in an office park conveniently on Mainstream Drive).

But despite his long tenure as a congressman from California, Mr. Coelho was never able to become the public face of the campaign, largely because his role as leader of the United States exhibit at a 1998 world exposition in Portugal was the subject of a State Department investigation into suspicions of financial irregularities. And by insisting on tight control of all aspects of the campaign, including access to the candidate, he bred resentment and alienation among many advisers with long relationships with Mr. Gore. For instance, Mr. Quinn, a former Gore chief of staff, said he and other former aides had felt "underutilized" during Mr. Coelho's tenure.

The internal tensions were papered over while Gore aides made common cause of defeating Mr. Bradley. But they re-emerged after the primaries, and all too often the candidate himself was called upon to mediate, Mr. Daley said.

"I think there was a lot of squirreling around here about the battles, the personality disputes, and I think that sucked him into it a lot," Mr. Daley said. "I think he was having a lot of people call him, you know, nyah, nyah, and you hear this about this one, this about that one, this one's not doing this, nothing's being done, yadda, yadda, yadda. And they were all going around each other to him, and that's not the way it should be. The candidate cannot be made to be put in that position, and I think he was being put in that position by just about everybody here."

That has changed, Mr. Daley asserts. "He's performing much better, because I think he's not burdened by worrying about the campaign as much," he said. "He's doing his thing. He's not the campaign manager. He's not the chief issues person. He's the candidate, and I think he's made that transfer."



Mr. Daley's arrival coincided with the unveiling of the campaign's latest message, a double-barreled populist appeal that casts Mr. Gore as the candidate most likely to continue the country's prosperity and Mr. Bush as the captive of powerful interests. Mr. Daley has insisted that the campaign stick with those themes for the last month and has encouraged the kind of dexterity that led Mr. Gore to rip up his schedule one day in July and go to Texas to blame Mr. Bush for that state's fiscal problems.

"It used to be we couldn't stay on message for a week," one senior Gore aide said.

Mr. Fabiani, the campaign's communications director, said Mr. Daley had brought "an overall direction to the campaign so we can stay on course no matter what happens, rather than being buffeted by events and things beyond our control." Mr. Eskew, a top strategist, said Mr. Daley had "brought some stability and confidence, and those are important in showing the external world that there's a mission and a plan."

As a longtime Democratic operative, as well as the son of Chicago's former mayor and the brother of its current one, Mr. Daley has the advantages of vast connections in party politics and an intimate knowledge of the Midwestern states that are expected to be this fall's battlegrounds.

He has presented the campaign's case in regular television appearances, has become a crucial adviser on convention planning and the vice presidential selection; he is overseeing the expansion of the campaign's paid staff to 300 people from 75.

He also brought Ronald A. Klain, a former Gore chief of staff, and Monica Dixon, a former deputy chief of staff, to Nashville to invigorate



the campaign's rapid response operation (known as "the kitchen"), a mainstay of the 1992 and 1996 Clinton campaigns. And he has renewed contact with Gore allies who felt shut out, prompting Mr. Quinn to observe that "he's the sort of guy who leaves no resource unused."

In a close election, such things can matter, several Gore aides said.

"These campaigns are all about the candidates," Mr. Quinn said, "but campaign leadership really does keep people rowing not only in the right direction but rowing together."



## Conventions and VP Selection

CNN Inside Politics

Sep 1, 2000, 5 pm EST

**CNN's Wolf Blitzer Interviews Meagan Garvey, Los Angeles Times,  
and Ceci Conolly, Washington Post, on Vice-Presidential Candidates**

(Audio)



*Transcript:*

BLITZER: Let's talk about the two vice presidential candidates right now.

Ceci Connolly of the "Washington Post" has been traveling with Lieberman this week. And Meagan Garvey of the "Los Angeles Times" has been traveling with Cheney.

Thanks for joining us.

This decision by Cheney, first of all, to go ahead and give up stock options if in fact he is elected: Meagan, how is that going to impact in terms of the controversy that's been generated over these past few weeks?

MEAGAN GARVEY, "LOS ANGELES TIMES": Well, I think that he



has been under some heat financially, because of the stock options that he held, Some of which -- a large number of which would not invest until he would have been well into his term, should they be elected in November.

And so he had kind of avoided the question. In fact, he even joked with a small child yesterday about how -- the fact that he has less money now than he had before he entered back into public life. So I think it's certainly been on his mind. It's been something that has dogged him. And I think he probably made a decision that he needed to just set it aside and ignore any -- avoid any conflict of interest that might come about.

BLITZER: Ceci, it seems to me -- correct me if I am wrong -- that Cheney has been hammered mostly on these issues of stock options by the news media, not necessarily by Joe Lieberman or Al Gore -- or the Democrats, for that matter. Am I wrong?

CECI CONNOLLY, "WASHINGTON POST": Wolf, I think that is largely the case. Although, I certainly would not discount some of the quiet whispering and distribution of material that goes on from both the Gore campaign, the Democratic National Committee. What you'll often discover is that they're very interested in helping you collect this information.

They may not just be standing up at campaign rallies talking about it.

BLITZER: All right.

Meagan, what about the style? We have two very different vice president candidates. Although both are very intelligent, very experienced, they have very different styles. You've been on the campaign trail now with Dick Cheney. Tell us about his campaign style.



GARVEY: His campaign style is almost to have no style at all. And he seems very uncomfortable behind the podium. He is often clutching his written remarks in his hand. He speaks very briefly. He doesn't seem to enjoy sort of being out there shaking hands with the people.

I think David Vandreli (ph) in the "Washington Post" may have put it best when he says he smiles like his lips are sown shut.

BLITZER: He doesn't seem to be having all that much fun.

What about Joe Lieberman, Ceci?

CONNOLLY: Well, Wolf, he is clearly having more fun out there on the campaign trail. This past week, he had his first solo campaign swing in Spirit Airlines, which he joked in a church in Detroit: The Spirit literally moved me here.

Obviously, since he's been in elective politics all these years -- Cheney, of course, left politics several years ago -- Lieberman perhaps is just a little bit more current in terms of campaigning in the modern age. He's very relaxed. There is an almost a sort of I- am-pinching-myself-that-I'm-here quality about him. He keeps saying to these big crowds: I think I could get used to this.

So, at least for right now, he is having a good time out there.

BLITZER: Meagan, does Cheney seem to be happier when he's together with George W. Bush on the campaign trail or when he's on his own?

GARVEY: I actually have not traveled with him when he's been with Governor Bush. So I am not sure about that. I know that he does better in front of hometown audiences. Yesterday, they let us into a fund-raiser in Fort Lauderdale. He seemed much more at ease when he was talking to the people inside that fund-raiser -- \$1000-a-head fund-raiser -- than he did when he is out sort of among just regular people.



Earlier in the week, in Kansas City, he seemed almost incredibly uncomfortable when he spoke to the Fellowship of Christian Athletes at their world headquarters there. He spoke for, I think, less than 10 minutes. It was sort a remarkable campaign event in that it almost seemed to not be a campaign event. BLITZER: Ceci, I know that the Gore campaign, the Gore-Lieberman campaign has some specific plans involving Lieberman in the weeks ahead. What have you been hearing?

CONNOLLY: Well the one thing actually that the vice president said to me just yesterday is that they will campaign together one day a week at minimum. And this is no accident, Wolf. What the Gore campaign is trying to do is replicate some of that sort of buddy-movie feel that we saw in 1992 when Bill Clinton tapped Al Gore.

And the two of them, the tableau of the two young men with their very beautiful wives, we see that image again. You saw it a lot in the Mississippi River cruise when they were joined together. They will be together for part of the big Labor Day weekend campaigning. And frankly, it's just plain a boost to Al Gore to, first of all, have his own deputy there who sings his praises, who enjoys joking around with him, is a peer.

It is a real psychological boost to Gore. And you see that translating on the campaign trail.

BLITZER: And I assume Lieberman will go to some of those battleground states, where presumably, he could generate some support for Al Gore, right?

CONNOLLY: That's absolutely right. What you hear from the Gore campaign strategists is a couple of things. First of all, they think that Lieberman does a really nice job of telling the Al-Gore-story. He can stand up there with credibly and say: Al Gore is a good husband, a good



father. He volunteered for Vietnam. He is a man with integrity.

They like having Lieberman go out and tell that story. They also like the fact that Lieberman, as head of the Democratic Leadership Council, has some nice ties and openings into more of the centrist, kind of business community, some of those swing voters that we're always talking so much about. So they see him being able to sell that message to a couple of key groups.

BLITZER: Meagan, do you get a sense, covering Cheney, that he is already beginning to look ahead to that eventual debate or debates with Joe Lieberman?

GARVEY: He has said that he is looking forward to debating Joe Lieberman. And he makes a point of saying that he is a man of few words, he's a man from the West. He has told repeatedly the story about how, in the House of Representatives, they are limited to five minutes. And you know, Joe grew up in the Senate, where they make much longer speeches.

So, I think that may try to capitalize on his image as a straightforward Westerner -- not a lot of nonsense, and not a lot of hoopla. I think that in that sense, he believes it might actually work well for him, particularly in a debate, where he is very-well versed, very intelligent man, very well-spoken -- maybe not with the same kind of enthusiasm or boisterousness a Senator Lieberman, but certainly someone who knows what he is talking about.

BLITZER: All right, Meagan Garvey of the "Los Angeles Times," and Ceci Connolly of the "Washington Post," two of the best political reporters out there covering the vice presidential candidates, thanks for joining us on INSIDE POLITICS.

GARVEY: Thank you. CONNOLLY: Thank you, Wolf.



## Conventions and VP Selection - Bush

San Francisco Chronicle

July 25, 2000; Page A1

**Bush Taps Cheney to Join Ticket** (Excerpts)

By MARC SANDALOW and CARLA MARINUCCI



Washington -- Not everyone felt comfortable saying so publicly, but in Republican circles there was at least one universal reaction to Richard Cheney becoming George W. Bush's running mate:

Bush the younger would not repeat the mistake of Bush the elder.

Cheney brings foreign policy expertise, a long resume and a formidable reputation to the Republican ticket. In stark contrast to Dan Quayle, George Herbert Walker Bush's running mate 12 years ago, Cheney -- who at age 34 was President Gerald Ford's chief of staff -- is regarded as a heavyweight.

Yet by tapping his father's secretary of defense, Bush opens himself up to criticism that, after just 5 1/2 years of public service, he is not yet his own man.

"Sure, Cheney shores up foreign policy, but he opens up the whole



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

matter of Bush being nothing more than his father's son," said Democratic pollster Vic Fingerhut.

Gleeful Democrats -- who fretted over reports early yesterday that retired Gen. Colin Powell might be induced to join the ticket -- said Cheney would be vulnerable on his conservative congressional voting record, which includes opposition to abortion, environmental protections and the Equal Rights Amendment.

And they seized upon the image of Bush selecting someone from the "old guard" as proof of the governor's lack of political independence.

Cheney's stability and wealth of experience were touted as great assets by Republicans who welcomed his addition to the ticket. Cheney's background -- from Ford's chief of staff and 11 years as a member of Congress to former President Bush's Pentagon chief -- make him a revered figure in the GOP establishment.

"There's absolutely no question from anybody that he's qualified to be president," said Jack Pitney, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College and former aide to Cheney from his days in the House of Representatives in the early 1980s. "You're not going to have a Quayle problem,' and that counts."

Cheney immediately adds heft to a ticket that had been criticized for its lack of experience and foreign policy expertise. He is not known for rhetorical flourishes, yet he is well regarded as a debater and a trusted partisan.

(...)

Cheney's record in Congress will please conservatives, but may cause trouble for Bush's attempt to win moderate swing voters. As word of Bush's choice spread yesterday, interest groups began faxing reporters examples of Cheney's right-wing record, which they said casts doubt on



Bush's claim to be a "compassionate conservative."

In California, state Democratic Party Chairman Art Torres said Cheney's record will hand Democrats "an opportunity to talk about a woman's right to choose and the environment, which is so important (here)," he said. "Do we want a guy who ran an oil company when we're trying to protect our coastline?"

And as far as Cheney's ability to reach crucial Latino voters, he said, "about the only Latinos these two guys see are at the country club busing their dishes in Texas."

Pro-choice advocates wasted no time in lambasting what they called Cheney's "fervently anti-choice" record in his 11-year stint in the House.

"I would say that the big tent just closed. The flap has been zipped shut," said Alice Germond, executive vice president of the Washington, D.C.-based National Abortion Rights Action League.

Germond said that in 26 out of 27 House votes on abortion, Cheney's anti-choice positions included supporting bans on federal funding for poor women, U.S. servicewomen and army dependents seeking abortion, even in cases of rape, incest or the life of the mother. And he supported legislation to prohibit women enrolled in federal health plans from choosing insurance companies that provided abortion coverage, even in those extreme cases, she said.

"This is a clear message of where Bush himself really stands, where the GOP stands," she said. "All the flirtations of being moderate and compassionate were merely that. It was an attempt to deceive the moderate pro-choice voter."

Environmentalists also decried the Cheney nomination. The League of Conservation Voters said Cheney has a 13 percent lifetime environmental voting record. Robert Cox, president of the Sierra Club,



said he is disappointed Bush would choose a running mate with "a dirty record."

Cheney, the Sierra Club said in a release, voted to sustain President Ronald Reagan's veto of the Clean Water Act and against citizens' rights to sue polluters, and had a zero percent environmental voting record in 1989 -- his last year in Congress.

"Adding Cheney to Bush's ticket would make a bad situation for the environment worse," said the Sierra Club's Cox. "A Bush-Cheney ticket would be just what the oil industry wants."

Democrats displayed no shyness in bringing up Cheney's health problems, which include three mild heart attacks and, in 1988, quadruple bypass surgery.

"The Cheney advance people might want to purchase some smelling salts," said Bob Mulholland, a consultant to the California Democratic Party. "They're going to need jumper cables with him everywhere they go."

(...)

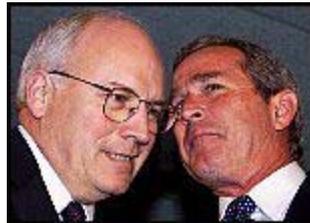


Daily News (New York)

July 26, 2000; Page 7

## **It's Official – It's Cheney. Bush Follows Father's Advice on Veep**

By THOMAS M. DeFRANK



AUSTIN, Tex. - The Call came at 6:27 a.m. yesterday. Dick Cheney was working out on his treadmill at home in Dallas when George W. Bush officially popped the question. Cheney accepted, thanked his new boss and then told his wife, Lynne: "Honey, sell the house. I'm quitting my job. We're going back into politics." Eight hours later, Bush told 350 boosters at a low-voltage pep rally that Cheney is "a man of great integrity, solid judgment and experience."

Explaining why he drafted the man he had tapped in April to find him a vice president, Bush recalled their frequent deliberations. "Gradually, I realized that the person who was best qualified . . . was working by my side."

That view was shared by Bush's father, who was intimately involved in Cheney's selection. Impressed by Cheney's Pentagon stewardship as his defense secretary during the Gulf War, former President George Bush told his son he needed to balance his relative lack of experience with a running mate familiar with the Washington jungle.

The ex-President also helped to calm lingering doubts about



Cheney's health following three heart attacks and a bypass operation. At the elder Bush's request, Houston heart specialist Dr. Denton Cooley checked with Cheney's physician, who said there was no medical impediment to Cheney's serving as veep.

Despite a resume more sterling by far than the Texas governor's, Cheney's public acceptance of George W.'s offer was appropriately deferential.

"I believe you have the vision and the courage to be a great President," he said, "and I will do everything I can to make certain that happens."

The Democrats wasted no time pounding Bush-Cheney for its connections to Big Oil. A key party official said Vice President Gore's campaign will hammer Cheney because he sold much of his Halliburton Co. stock at its peak to profit from skyrocketing oil prices. "You can expect us to hammer the 'all-oil, all-the-time ticket,' " the official said.

In choosing Cheney, Bush opted for a running mate who brings seriousness to the ticket, rather than someone who could deliver a key battleground state or had demonstrated appeal to a critical voter bloc.

"What you get with Dick is somebody who is instantly credible with the public and the press," said one Cheney friend who is also close to Bush. "You just couldn't find a guy more qualified than this."

Sources close to Bush and Cheney told the Daily News the governor's ironic decision to choose the head of his search committee was influenced by two primary factors: the recommendation of several prominent Republicans - not least, the candidate's father - and Cheney's impressive briefing performance while working closely with Bush, who hadn't known Cheney well.

There's no real evidence that Cheney was privately thirsting for the



job. In Vail, Colo., last month, he attended a conference with his old friend Brent Scowcroft, who served former Presidents Gerald Ford and Bush as national security adviser.

When Cheney said the veep search was complicated, Scowcroft replied: "It doesn't have to be, Dick. Just write your name at the top of the paper and hand it in to Bush."

Cheney just laughed.

"He did not give me any sense that he was interested himself - quite the opposite," Scowcroft told The News.

Meanwhile, Bush was getting a cram course in Cheney's personal and professional talents. For the last three months, Cheney has spent more time with Bush, on the telephone and in person, than anyone except Bush's wife, Laura.

Slowly but steadily, a trust developed during those encounters, helped along by Cheney's affability and his no-baloney style.

"I believe there was a point where George and Laura walked back into the bedroom and Laura said something like, 'Hey, what about him?'" said one of Cheney's friends.

"He was auditioning without auditioning," said a top Bush adviser.

Even better, from the Bush standpoint, it became obvious that in addition to his vast experience, Cheney possessed a talent absolutely mandatory in the Bush clan: utter discretion.

"As the process went on, Bush realized that Dick wasn't leaking or grandstanding," said an adviser to the governor. "He wasn't saying anything to anybody about what he was doing. Bush liked that a lot. In effect, Dick was behaving like the perfect vice president."

Cheney's role in the campaign is not yet defined, but it's expected that he'll hit the talk-show circuit, where Bush thinks his calm,



reassuring style will contrast with what one Bush aide called "Al Gore's screamers."

Another well-placed Bush source said the decision was, if anything, more strategic than tactical.

"Cheney's an even better choice if you win," he said. "He knows how the White House works, how Congress works and how the world works. For a guy like Bush, having Cheney down the hall will be a real comfort."



Baltimore Sun

August 2, 2000; Page 1A

**McCain Sound Theme: Character is The Issue. Speakers Praise Bush  
For Integrity and Leadership** (Excerpts)

By PAUL WEST



PHILADELPHIA - On a night devoted to honoring heroes from America's past, a coming theme of the fall campaign resounded through the Republican convention: the character issue.

Texas Gov. George W. Bush received the unqualified support of Sen. John McCain, who echoed other speakers last night in praising the integrity of the man who will be formally nominated tonight.

"Too often, those who hold a public trust have failed to set the necessary example," said McCain, in the evening's major address.

He described his former primary foe as "a leader of courage and character" and a friend.

McCain, thought by some Republicans to have influence over the independent swing voters who backed his candidacy, said "to all Americans - Republican, Democrat or independent - if you believe America deserves leaders with a purpose more ennobling than expediency and opportunism, then vote for Governor Bush."

Bush aides, who gave advance approval to McCain's text, have said they are turning down the temperature of their anti-Democrat rhetoric



because voters are sick of what Bush calls smash-mouth politics.

But one night after his wife, Laura, described the Texas governor as someone who would restore respect to the White House, delegates cheered as one speaker after another delivered thinly veiled assaults on the character of President Clinton and, by extension, Vice President Al Gore.

George H. W. Bush, one of three living Republican ex-presidents honored last night, delivered a videotaped endorsement of his son that was projected on large screens inside the First Union Center.

"I think George's record can stand all the scrutiny in the world," said a sweater-clad Bush, who isn't making a speech here. "And I think it will show a man of honor, show a man of integrity."

Condoleeza Rice, part of a cadre of Bush administration veterans now advising the former president's son, said that leadership "begins with integrity in the Oval Office."

"George W. Bush is a man of his word," she said. "Friend and foe will know that he keeps his word and tells the truth."

(...)

Last night's speakers included retired Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf war, whose image was beamed into the hall from the deck of the decommissioned battleship New Jersey.

"Wouldn't it be great for our armed forces and for America if we could have another commander-in-chief named George Bush with Dick Cheney on his team?" he asked, after drawing applause by noting that today is the 10th anniversary of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Former Sen. Bob Dole, a failed candidate in the 2000 presidential contest, and his wife, Elizabeth, also spoke to an audience that included



former Presidents Bush and Gerald R. Ford and former first lady Nancy Reagan.

"We look to Governor Bush and Secretary Cheney to raise our sights and to restore honor and civility to our public life," said Dole, the party's unsuccessful '96 nominee, who began by joking that "there is still time for a recount."

Delegates cheered videotaped tributes to the ex-presidents, including Ronald Reagan, far too ill with Alzheimer's disease to attend.

Chants of "Jerry, Jerry" greeted the 87-year-old Ford and his wife, Betty. But by far the loudest applause of the week from the conservative convention crowd was reserved for a video clip of an old farewell address by Reagan.

George W. Bush made his nightly appearance by satellite, this time from Gettysburg College near the historic battlefield that was a turning point in the Civil War. He was introduced by his mother, Barbara, as "a great man that we love very much."

He thanked her by recalling, as he often has before, a friend's remark that "you may have your Daddy's eyes but you have your Mother's mouth."

"I love you, Mom," he said.

Bush also thanked "my friend, John McCain, a hero whose straight talk and strong convictions are appreciated all across America."

The muffling of any dissent by the Bush campaign, eager to present a picture of harmony and inclusiveness to voters, has produced an event that has been short on excitement, if not flat.

McCain delivered his pitch for Bush's candidacy with a smile, but seemingly without great conviction. The arena fell silent during his remarks, there was only brief applause from the pro-Bush crowd when



he finished.

(...)



CNN Inside Politics

August 3, 2000, 5 pm EST

**CNN's Bernhard Shaw Interviews John Dickerson, TIME, and Ron Brownstein, LA Times, on the Republican Convention and Cheney's Speech (Audio)**



*Transcript:*

SHAW: Joining us more to talk more about the Republican National Convention here in Philadelphia, John Dickerson of "Time" magazine, and Ron Brownstein of the "Los Angeles Times."

Beginning with you, John, your assessment of Secretary Cheney's speech last night?

JOHN DICKERSON, "TIME": Well, Secretary Cheney's speech had a little bit of red meat for the folks in the hall and for the traditional Republicans. And that was really something delighted -- it's something they all delighted in here, because it has been such a sort a cotton-candy convention, pleasant images, but not very much for the Republican faithful.

But it's a problem for Governor Bush, because they had been able to obtain this notion that they were above the fray, that they were taking



the high road. And Secretary Cheney changed that. He attacked the opponents, and that may give Gore an opportunity -- Ron.

RON BROWNSTEIN, "LOS ANGELES TIMES": Well, I actually thought it was a pretty good speech. I think that there is nothing wrong with a party drawing contrasts with their opponents, and in fact, that Republicans have to make a case for change. I mean, we have had -- we have a very strong economy. We have a lot of trends in the country moving in the right direction, and ultimately, they have to answer the question, why move in a different direction?

Cheney began to give their best shot at that. I suspect we'll see more of that from Bush tonight. A very interesting rhetorical construct last night in which they basically tried to separate the success of the country from Washington, in which they say: You know, these have been great news for the country, but bad years in Washington -- as if the prosperity was almost a natural phenomenon in which the policy decisions in Washington haven't mattered. And that is something I think we are going to see more of from Bush tonight.

SHAW: John and Ron, in the your mind -- in the Republican mind, rather -- is Bill Clinton on the ballot?

DICKERSON: Oh, yes, indeed, whoever the titular running mate is that Gore picks, Bill Clinton is the running mate. And last night we saw Cheney rather eloquently lasso the two of them together. And they have been doing it all along, talking about integrity, restoring integrity and decency to the White House. These are all shots at Clinton, and all, by association, shots at Gore.

BROWNSTEIN: Yes, Bernie, they really have two arguments they are banking on heavily here. One -- in terms much making the change -- one is this idea that people are exhausted with Clinton and also with the



reaction of Clinton. You know, there is a line in the excerpts tonight, in which Bush says: "I have no stake in the bitter arguments of the last few years."

I want to know how Henry Hyde feels about that. Because Bush, on the one hand, is saying he's going to restore honesty and integrity to the White House and thus play off the Clinton, but he is also playing off the voter backlash against the reaction to Clinton. It's a very sophisticated thing. And of course, the other argument is going to be essential in this speech tonight was also in the Cheney speech, that prosperity gives us an opportunity to do bigger things than Clinton and Gore have attempted.

And I think that those two really bookends are the core of their case for change.

SHAW: Will it work? You mentioned a backlash against Clinton, yet we still have his high popularity rating.

BROWNSTEIN: We have this really unprecedented situation, you know, and one that makes it very confusing for the academics who have these models to predict what is going to happen in the campaign. We have a president with high approval ratings, but high personal unfavorability ratings. Clinton is very much of a mixed blessing. Here you are seeing the downside emphasized: the fact that most Americans were extremely disappointed in this behavior, don't look at him as a role model for their kids and so forth. Next week, in Los Angeles -- the week after in Los Angeles -- you are going to see more of the upside: eight years of economic growth, crime, welfare, etcetera in the right direction. Again, I think that when Bush says tonight, so much promise to no purpose, I think the Democrats are going to say: Look, the prosperity is the purpose. The prosperity is the result of what we have done, our



policy decisions. And we need to keep going in this direction.

So, you could have a very strong argument set up for the fall.

SHAW: Both of you, starting with you, John, what must Governor Bush have done when he walks way from that podium tonight after the speech? What must he have accomplished?

DICKERSON: He needs to come up with a rationale for his candidacy. He needs to come up with a problem with which he is the only solution. And it's fascinating in these excerpts, he talks about times like this test the American character -- an important word: character -- because, he's been making the case that the current occupant in the White House and Al Gore have no character.

And therefore, he is the kind of person with the kind character to take advantage of this moment of prosperity. And he needs to have made that sale. This is his moment to reach those independents and moderates. He has taken care of his Republican base. He needs to reach across to those people who are still -- still don't know much very about him and whose support is very, very soft.

BROWNSTEIN: I would say that so far in the convention, it's been -- one note has dominated, which is basically testimonials to Bush, people saying: Look, he is someone who is capable of doing this job. He's centrist. He's bipartisan. He can handle foreign policy. I would say Bush himself probably has to do two things. One is to validate that. He has to cross the threshold himself, and be someone that Americans can view as president. And I think the other one is he has to make his case for change.

SHAW: OK, Ron Brownstein, the "Los Angeles Times," John Dickerson of "Time" magazine, thanks very, very much.



Daily News (New York)

August 4, 2000; Page 30

**Cheney Gay Daughter a Test For GOP** (Excerpts)

By HELEN KENNEDY

PHILADELPHIA - As Dick Cheney prepared to speak last night, many eyes were looking to see how the Republican audience would receive his lesbian daughter.

Mary Cheney, 31, an athletic and articulate blond who lives in a Denver suburb and is very close to her father, has postponed graduate school to help him campaign with George W. Bush.

But she is torn: Gay groups want her to be an activist, but loyalty to her conservative father would dictate keeping a low profile to avoid alienating the right wing.

"Her presence certainly does focus attention on Bush's anti-gay policies," said David Smith, spokesman for the Human Rights Campaign, referring to the Texas governor's opposition to laws protecting gay civil rights, gay marriage and gay adoption.

The group was going to watch TV coverage of Cheney's speech carefully. If his daughter's live-in girlfriend was not sitting next to her, they planned a press conference for this morning to decry her absence.

"If she's not there, it will be shameful," Smith said.

At a breakfast meeting with reporters over the weekend, Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson said it wouldn't be a big deal if TV viewers saw Mary Cheney with her girlfriend.

"I don't think it would be a problem. This party is steadfastly against discrimination," he said.



The Bush campaign put out a statement saying, "Being gay or lesbian is not a liability in this campaign. The governor embraces both of Mr. Cheney's daughters."

(...)



Baltimore Sun

August 4, 2000; Page 1A

**Bush Hits Key Political Notes. Speech Follows Conventional  
Ideas of What Voters Like. Not Too Critical Or Detailed**

By JACK W. GERMOND

PHILADELPHIA - George W. Bush assured America last night that he would make "great decisions" on the basis of convictions rather than opinion polls. But the speech he delivered to the closing session of the Republican convention here was obviously, at least in part, a reflection of those opinion polls.

And, in political terms, the critical question - impossible to answer immediately - was whether voters at large would be as impressed and pleased as the delegates who cheered their new champion with full-throated enthusiasm.

The one thing that was clear was that the Republican nominee avoided the kind of gaffe that might come back to haunt him later in the campaign.

Moreover, although he may not have wiped away all the doubts about whether he has the gravitas needed for the presidency, the Texas governor displayed enough self-assurance and rhetorical skill to confound his critics.

Bush showed the kind of touch that all political leaders seek and rarely achieve. Without falling into the trap of heavy-handed vituperation, he managed to remind the nation of the vulnerabilities of President Clinton and his choice as his successor, Vice President Al Gore.

Without indulging himself by offering a long list of programs in great



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detail, Bush managed to emphasize those most likely to strike a chord with voters - reform of Social Security and Medicare, education, tax relief and a stronger national defense.

At the same time, the Republican nominee managed to slide by the issues most sensitive within his party and, not incidentally, with his primary target group in the general election campaign - the moderate Republicans and independent voters who have defected to the Democrats in such large numbers in the last two presidential elections.

On the touchiest of all these social issues, abortion rights, he walked a fine line by reaffirming his general opposition to abortion without repeating the uncompromising position of the Republican platform against all abortions under any circumstances or noting that he would permit abortions in some circumstances. He seemed to put himself in harmony with most Americans on the issue of parental notification and the procedure critics call "partial-birth abortion."

"I will lead our nation toward a culture that values life - the life of the elderly and the sick, the life of the young and the life of the unborn," he said. "I know good people disagree on this issue, but surely we can agree on ways to value life by promoting adoption and parental notification, and when Congress sends me a bill against partial-birth abortion, I will sign it into law."

He attacked Clinton only obliquely, once again seeming to reflect the finding of so many polls that show Americans disapprove of both the president's personal conduct and too much carping on it by his political opponents.

He was far more direct in his treatment of Gore, deriding the vice president for his repeated use of the phrase "risky scheme" to describe the ideas of his political opposition, whether it be Bill Bradley in the



primaries or George Bush in the general election confrontation.

"It is the sum of his message - the politics of the roadblock, the philosophy of the stop sign," said Bush. " If my opponent had been there at the moon launch, it would have been a 'risky rocket scheme.' If he'd been there when Edison was testing the light bulb, it would have been a 'risky anti-candle scheme.' And if he had been there when the Internet was invented, well ..." - at which point the convention erupted into laughter and cheering that made it unnecessary for him to continue. Again, Bush was reflecting the widespread view among political professionals in both parties, supported by some opinion research, that Gore has made himself an easy topic for ridicule with his penchant for seizing on rhetorical formulations and using the same phrases over and over.

The burden of the Republican's message, however, was not his disdain for Clinton nor his needling of Gore. Instead, it was the same message he has been trying to send since he locked up the nomination five months ago and, in particular, throughout this convention week - that he is a different Republican, a different kind of conservative leading a different kind of party.

He made a point of being an outsider, however odd that claim may be coming from the son of a former president. He said his background in Texas has made him " optimistic, impatient with pretense, confident that people can chart their own course."

"That background may lack the polish of Washington," he said, in an apparent reply to critics of his syntax and style. "Then again I don't have a lot of things that come with Washington. I don't have enemies to fight. And I have no stake in the bitter arguments of the last few years. I want to change the tone of Washington to one of civility and respect."



Again, Bush's rhetoric seemed inspired by widespread evidence that Americans are increasingly alienated from the political dialogue in Washington and, for that matter, most campaigns.

In political terms, however, the most important aspect of the occasion was not the particulars of the Bush speech. Although Bush was enjoying a vast audience probably in the tens of millions of Americans, few if any of them will be parsing the language for special insights.

What is important before any final judgment can be made about this convention - and the George Bush campaign strategy in general - is some indicator of how it played in Peoria.



CNN Inside Politics

August 4, 2000, 5 pm EST

**CNN's Judy Woodruff Interviews Gore Media Advisor Bob Shrum on  
Bush Speech** (Audio)



*Transcript:*

WOODRUFF: Joining us from Nashville, Gore media adviser, Bob Shrum.

And, Bob Shrum, thank you for being with us.

BOB SHRUM, GORE MEDIA ADVISER: Happy to be here, Judy.

WOODRUFF: Almost all the press commentary coming out of Philadelphia has been positive about the governor's speech, about this convention overall. Even neutral observers like historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, as I noticed, says as a composition, the speech was extraordinary. How do you counter this?

SHRUM: Well, first of all, as a composition, I think in some ways, it was very interesting. In some ways, it was good. It didn't have much of a storyline. There was very little biography.

And I thought the speech was marred by two significant things: first were a series of personal, negative attacks, not on issues, but personal, negative attacks that I think are going to go down very poorly with



independent voters and undecided voters; and secondly, in terms of discussing the issues, it seemed to me that was Governor Bush was trying mostly to hide the real differences between him and Al Gore.

For example, he said at one point in the speech, I'm for a prescription drug benefit for seniors in need. His definition of "need" is very narrow. Most seniors don't get a prescription drug benefit under the Bush plan, like they do under the Gore plan, and unlike the Gore plan, it's not a prescription drug benefit under Medicare. Bush tells seniors to go out and beg HMOs and insurance companies for coverage. So I think we're going to have a real debate on the issues here.

WOODRUFF: But isn't the fact, Bob Shrum, that George W. Bush is moving into Democratic territory? He is challenging Vice President Gore on issues we have thought of as the Democrats had locked up? Social Security, Medicare, education. Isn't this, to some extent, going to box in your candidate?

SHRUM: Well, Judy, he's welcome to his Social Security position. He takes a trillion dollars out of the trust fund, and let me quote John McCain. "He doesn't explain how he's going to pay for it." And a new study by Henry Aaron shows that if you do that, you have to cut Social Security benefits by 20-50 percent or you have to raise the retirement age. He didn't talk about that in speech last night. He just denied it. But those are the facts.

WOODRUFF: And are those facts, because they are somewhat more detailed than overarching concepts, is it going to be harder for you all to get your point across to the voters if it does come down to the kinds of things you're describing?

SHRUM: You know, I have a lot more faith in the voters than I think a lot of the press does. I think the voters actually follow these campaigns.



I mean, I was very interested in Bruce's report just now, when he said the vice president was suddenly running as a populist. That's not true. Al Gore has been, for example, taking on big drug companies, taking on big oil for his whole career in politics. And if Bruce had noticed in New Hampshire, he would have noticed that the spot that we ran most of all was a spot in which Al Gore talked about taking on the big drug companies to provide a prescription drug benefit for all seniors under Medicare. I think voters are very smart about this. I think they follow these issues. I don't think they think it's stagecraft. It is substance.

And the question they're going to ask in this campaign, is who's standing up and fighting for working families? Who's going to protect their Social Security? Who's going to give them a tax cut that helps working families, instead of the Bush tax cut, which gives \$50,000 a year to millionaires and a dollar a day to working families.

WOODRUFF: That being the case, Bob Shrum, does Governor Bush, to some extent, inoculate himself against attacks by Al Gore when he's already raised this whole "risky scheme" business and made fun of it?

SHRUM: Well, first of all, as I've said before, I believe those parts of the speech were the least successful, alienated undecided and independent voters. Secondly, I think people want real debate on these subjects. And let me tell you, let me put it bluntly, George Bush takes a \$1.5 trillion dollar surplus over the next 10 years, but with his Social Security surplus and tax giveaway for the few, turns it into a \$1.5 billion deficit. That is risky.

WOODRUFF: What does Al Gore now need to do at his convention?

SHRUM: I think it's an extraordinary opportunity for the country to get to know Al Gore. I don't think people know him particularly well. They don't know the story of this person, who went to Harvard, came



out, was against the Vietnam War, decided he had to serve anyway, went to Congress at a pretty young age, took up the issue of the environment when it wasn't popular, when it wasn't a front-burner issue, took on the big toxic polluters and fought on those issue. I don't think they know his story. I think they're going to learn his story.

And secondly, I think that convention is going to allow Al Gore to make his case that in a time of prosperity and surpluses, we ought to make the economy work for the many, and not just the few, we ought to invest in education, we ought to invest in health care, we ought to make sure that everybody gets a chance to move ahead in this dynamic economy. And there's a very big difference between Al Gore and George Bush on that.

WOODRUFF: What about as an event? How will it look different from the Republican convention?

SHRUM: We'll, I think we'll actually talk about substance and issues. I don't think you will see personal attacks, and I think that the diversity on the stage will be reflected by the diversity in the hall. You know, it's called America's convention, and it's going to look like America, and it's going to be a convention where you really are going to be fighting for working families and where there are going to be a lot of working families represented there.

WOODRUFF: Your campaign, Bob Shrum, was putting out a rebuttal of the acceptance speech literally within minutes after Governor Bush started to deliver it. Is that somewhat unprecedented in this business? Doesn't the nominee who's accepting the party's nomination deserve at least a day of his own?

SHRUM: Well, first of all, I would point out, Judy, that your producers at CNN were calling us, saying, do you have any comments?



Please fax them as quickly as you can. That's what news organizations are doing. Number two, the speech, as you know, was released several hours before it was given. So people were able to look at to see what was wrong with it and to realize that it didn't really offer anything to working families. It was kind of like a very well-produced infomercial without the information that working families needed to decide whether or not Governor Bush was going to stand up and fight for them. He's not, Al Gore is, and people are entitled, in my view, to that information.

WOODRUFF: Well, fair enough. With regard to our producers, I'm sure they were calling every five minutes.

SHRUM: It's not CNN, everybody calls and says, do you have anything? Please fax it, here's the fax number.

WOODRUFF: All right, great. Well, we appreciate that, and I appreciate being set straight. Bob Shrum.

(LAUGHTER)

SHRUM: Thanks, Judy. See you later.

WOODRUFF: Thank you for being with us. We'll see you.

SHRUM: Bye.



Boston Herald

August 6, 2000

**W. Takes Reigns of GOP. Convention Speech Cements Bush's Stance  
as Front-Runner** (Excerpts)

By WAYNE WOODLIEF



PHILADELPHIA - Republican presidential nominee George W. Bush is Daddy's Boy no more, if he ever was.

Bush loves his father, as he made abundantly clear at the Republican National Convention when he called the former president "the most decent man I have ever known." But the Texas governor emerged from the convention as his own man, a strong one who firmly affixed his brand on a changing GOP.

Whether Bush is ready or not to be president is still an open question, one that will be contested vigorously in the months ahead. But his performance at the convention left no doubts on another score: He is clearly ready for and confident of victory in a close, bruising fall campaign against Vice President Al Gore.

That campaign will test whether Bush has - or needs - the depth of knowledge to match his commanding personality. His character and



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values and his leadership and communication skills may be deemed enough.

Those traits, and the skills of his campaign team (including convention manager Andrew Card from Massachusetts GOP politics of an earlier day) were amply displayed in Philadelphia.

The convention was orchestrated to be sweet, mellow and inclusive its first two days; encouraged by vice presidential nominee Dick Cheney on the third day to vent delegates' deep disgust with President Bill Clinton and, finally, dazzled by Bush's bravura acceptance speech on closing night.

(...)

W's speech, and other actions during the convention, demonstrate his readiness:

Bush, who has labeled himself the "judo candidate," sought to use Gore's own thrusts against the vice president. Mocking Gore's charges that Bush's proposals on Social Security and tax cuts are "risky" to economic prosperity, Bush said sarcastically that if Gore had been deciding on the moon launch, he'd have called it "a risky rocket scheme."

Bush showed boldness, especially in proposing to allow a measure of private investment to boost Social Security. He conceded that the retirement system is "the third rail of politics, the one you're not supposed to touch because it shocks you.

"But if you don't touch it, you can't fix it. And I intend to fix it," Bush said. Spoken like a leader.

He carefully but unabashedly wove his spirituality into his speech a powerful moment for millions who must know that the separation of church and state does not mean you should not share your beliefs with the people you want to lead.



"When I act, you will know my reasons. When I speak, you will know my heart," Bush said. "I believe in a God who calls us not to judge our neighbors but to love them. I believe in grace because I have felt it. I believe in forgiveness because I have needed it."

How gentle. How strong. How rare for a politician to open up that way, to admit he's needed forgiveness and, like most of us, probably will again.

It was a remarkable speech, largely crafted by chief speechwriter Michael Gerson and delivered well by Bush, a bit nervously at first, then with increased confidence.

He has reason to be confident. So far, Bush has stolen Democratic issues (education reform, building new schools), promoted diversity (with top advisers who are black and a running mate who has a gay daughter), steered the party toward the middle. And all this without losing the Religious Right, instead binding religious conservatives even more closely to him.

That particular majority within the party silenced itself at the convention.

The Rev. Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition weren't about to challenge Cheney's lesbian daughter, or question the decision to have avowed gay Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.) to address the convention on trade. Not after all Bush has done for the religious right.

He allowed the stridently anti-abortion platform plank to stand. He chose a socially fiscally conservative candidate for vice president. He promised in his acceptance speech to protect the life of the unborn. And, as Robertson chortled to interviewers here, he expects Bush, litmus test or not, to name anti-abortion justices to the Supreme Court.

(...)



New York Times

August 12, 2000; Page 1

**Cheney Is Said to Be Receiving \$20 Million Retirement Package**

(Excerpts)

By DIANA B. HENREIQUES

The energy services company that Dick Cheney served for much of the last five years as chairman and chief executive has agreed to let Mr. Cheney, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, retire with a package worth an estimated \$20 million, according to people who have reviewed the deal.

The board of the Halliburton Company, which is based in Dallas, approved the arrangements on July 20, five days before Gov. George W. Bush announced his selection of Mr. Cheney as his running mate.

The board's vote allowed Mr. Cheney to avoid a potentially costly aspect of his employment contract, which said he would forfeit some of his compensation if he retired before age 62 without the board's permission. This provision, known as golden handcuffs, is routinely included in executives' contracts to give them incentives to stay.

Mr. Cheney, who spent much of his life as a public official and federal employee, became a wealthy man in his years with Halliburton. He has been paid at least \$12.5 million by Halliburton since he joined the company in 1995 and has received stock and options worth nearly \$39 million at its current share price.

By permitting Mr. Cheney, who is 59, to treat his departure as early retirement, the directors allowed him to keep \$10 million worth of stock and options he would have forfeited had he simply resigned, the



company's public filings show. It was not clear whether the \$10 million was part of the retirement package or in addition to it.

One of those briefed on the plan said that the board was told the package totaled about \$20 million.

While not extraordinarily large by current corporate standards, Mr. Cheney's retirement package solidifies and expands his personal stake in the oil industry in general, and Halliburton in particular, while he is on the campaign trail confronting energy policy issues that will affect Halliburton's performance.

(...)



FOX The O'Reilly Factor

Sep 11, 2000, 8 pm EST

**Is Cheney Hurting Bush Campaign?** (Audio)



*Transcript:*

BILL O'REILLY, HOST: (...) Now for the top story tonight, is Dick Cheney hurting George W. Bush? Plenty of political analysts say yes. Joining us now from Washington is Allan Lichtman, who teaches history at American University.

Now Professor, you're one of our favorite guests and you tell it like it is. What do you think of Dick Cheney?

ALLAN LICHTMAN, PH.D., AMERICAN UNIVERSITY: I think it was a misguided appointment from day one and I am on record on day one on saying that. It's not Dick Cheney's gaffes. It's not the mistakes. This was a bad appointment for the following reasons.

First of all, it puts no pressure on the Democrats at all. Cheney doesn't help you compete for any of the contested groups in America -- not are essential to any Republican victory.

Secondly, you don't pick a vice president to give weight or gravitas to your ticket. Gravitas has unfortunately translated in this campaign into led weight. The guy is just leddened (ph) on the stump. It's big news



when he steps out from behind a lectern. It's big news when he rides the Chicago el. Of course, he didn't bother talking to any ordinary voters when he did that.

In addition, there's another big problem here. Cheney has been for some time in positions of command, particular big business positions of command. It's a very difficult to make the transition from that into being a campaigner. When you can't command anyone, you've got to appeal to ordinary folks...

O'REILLY: You've got to persuade them.

LICHTMAN: And the media is criticizing every single move you make.

O'REILLY: Right. You've got to persuade them. Now I in the beginning was very impressed with Dick Cheney's speech at the Republican convention. I thought he hit the Democrats hard exactly where their weak point is in their lack of focus for the dignity of the White House, ala Mr. Clinton, and their lack of specifics on how they would solve social problems, which they haven't done for the past eight years.

So when I saw him deliver that speech, and I thought it was very well delivered, at the Republican convention, I said well, maybe this guy is going to work out OK. But as you pointed out, he doesn't get anybody any votes, unlike Lieberman, who's sewn up New York and Connecticut, and perhaps New Jersey for Al Gore.

LICHTMAN: And helps in Florida, believe it or not.

O'REILLY: Well, I don't think -- I think the Republicans will win Florida. I think that's a myth.

LICHTMAN: Probably.

O'REILLY: But Dick Cheney really all he did was solidify the conservative core. But he did bring experience to the Bush ticket and



that was a place where Gore was going to attack Governor Bush, am I wrong?

LICHTMAN: No. I think you're absolutely right about that and it's great experience. He's absolutely qualified to be vice president. He's qualified to step into the presidency. But, you know, the kind of resume that might sweep you away in the suites, in the corporate suites, doesn't get you anywhere on the streets where you've got to campaign, where you've got to prove yourself. And some of that business experience has really proven to be a liability. Because the truth is when you're at the top levels of business inevitably, no matter how good you are, how honest you are, you're going to be involved in various activities which then look questionable in the white heat of scrutiny of a presidential election campaign.

O'REILLY: Yeah, and you're also, as you pointed out, you're distant from the regular folks. You're in the boardroom, do this, do that, everybody kowtows to you. You're making a lot of money. You're flying first class on airplanes. You don't have to deal with the horrible, horrible press, which he's really having a hard time with. And isn't that his main problem, Dick Cheney's media problem?

LICHTMAN: That is a huge -- of course. But, you know, it's a perception problem but as you know, Bill, perceptions are everything in politics. I hearken back to Herbert Hoover, who was also a brilliant businessman, one of the greatest businessmen of his time, a spectacular Secretary of Commerce, but could not deal with the media, could not talk to ordinary people and a lot like Dick Cheney talks in abstractions, things that people have a real tough time identifying with.

You know, whatever you might think of Bill Clinton, his great gift as a politician was truly that he could make ordinary people believe that he



understood and cared about their problems. Even a patrician like Franklin Roosevelt was able to do that. But much like Herbert Hoover, Dick Cheney just hasn't found a voice for doing that.

O'REILLY: I have to agree. I don't think that Dick Cheney is going rally to the Republican ticket.

Professor, thanks very much. And of course to be fair, we're going to have the opposing point of view on Dick Cheney next. (...)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

O'REILLY: Continuing now with whether or not Dick Cheney is hurting George W. Bush on the ticket, joining us from Washington is the former commerce secretary under President Bush, Barbara Franklin, who is now the president of her own international consulting firm.

I'm going to give you the first 45 seconds or so to reply to Professor Lichtman.

BARBARA FRANKLIN, FORMER BUSH ADMINISTRATION

COMMERCE SECRETARY: Well, I think he's wrong, of course. I've known Dick Cheney for 25 years going back to the Ford administration. I was in the government myself at the time. And here's a guy who brings, I think, three major things to this ticket. One is integrity. There's never been a whisper of anything bad about Dick Cheney. Number two is substance. He is a man of substance who understands issues and will grapple with them at every level. And three is experience, which someone did mention before.

Here is a guy who was the chief of staff to President Ford, who then served in Congress for 10 years, was a part of the Republican leadership, then was Secretary of Defense at a crucial time during the Gulf War. He was one of the orchestrators of that great victory.

O'REILLY: All right, and I've got you. But Miss. Franklin...



FRANKLIN: How much better do you have to be?

O'REILLY: But how much more experience could you have than Bob Dole had, all right? I mean the guy knew how the government worked, he knew where all the deals were made and you couldn't have more. Yet he came across as cold and dull and humorless even though he's a funny guy. That's how Dick Cheney is coming across right now to ordinary Americans, who aren't really involved in the micro management of government.

He's coming -- could you imagine people in Harlem or South Central, Dick Cheney? They can't connect with him.

America will vote based on integrity and substance and those things and I have to remind you...

O'REILLY: Well, then how did Bill Clinton get elected?

FRANKLIN: Wait a minute. Let me...

O'REILLY: And he got elected.

FRANKLIN: Let me finish here.

O'REILLY: If they're going to vote on integrity and substance, how did he get reelected?

FRANKLIN: Well, that's a whole other subject for another time. But at the convention, where in effect he apologized for himself and said hey, you know, I talk too much substance, people say, and too much policy and I may be a little wooden -- I'm paraphrasing -- why is it OK for Al Gore and we're applying some kind of a different standard to Dick Cheney? I don't think that's fair.

O'REILLY: Well, it's not though, but Dick Cheney makes Al Gore look like David Letterman out there. I mean he -- look, I don't know Mr. Cheney. I'm looking forward to having a conversation with him when he comes in here. But I'm talking to my beat reporters, OK, from the Fox



News Channel out with him, and they're just going he's almost scared out there to talk to people. He's, his body language is like this. You know, this is America in the year 2000, it wants to like their candidates. That's why...

FRANKLIN: I agree with that.

O'REILLY: You know, and Dick is making it real hard for people to like him.

FRANKLIN: Well, I think we have to remember one other thing. Here's a guy who's done a lot of different things, as opposed to Bob Dole, who really only did one. Dick has done a lot of different things and now has been the CEO of a major company for five years. This is a guy who has risen to every challenge he's ever had and performed. Now he...

O'REILLY: He's a technocrat, though.

FRANKLIN: Well, no wait a minute. No he isn't. He's a leader. And he's been in the private sector for the last whatever, eight or nine years. Now that, as your other guest pointed out, is different from being on the stump. I think what he's going to do, I see him doing it, I saw him last Friday in Connecticut. I was at one of those events. He is going to acclimate himself to this new environment and you're going to see a little more of what I think you're wanting, punchy whatever, than you have.

O'REILLY: All right, well, that's fair enough.

FRANKLIN: But still...

O'REILLY: And we'll certainly give him all, every chance to appear on THE FACTOR here and to sell himself and his ticket. But, you know, he's got the charity situation now. He's a very wealthy individual, earned \$20 million over a period of time and gave one percent of that to charity. Now, I know that's misleading because the man pays 50 percent in taxes and all of that, but still, that perception of rich white guy who doesn't really



know what Americans go through, that's what killed President Bush in the reelection and I'm seeing Dick Cheney as not helping the Governor right now. Right now he's not helping the Governor. Would I be wrong?

FRANKLIN: I think you're wrong. How could a man of this kind of talent and integrity be a liability? I don't think so. I think you need to stay tuned.

I want to comment about the charity thing, too.

O'REILLY: Real, real fast.

FRANKLIN: When you're in a position like his, you usually plan a long-term giving and my guess is that the Cheneys had just started on their charity giving and would have done a lot more.

O'REILLY: Right. All right, look, I'm not, I don't know what he's doing. I'd love to have him in here and ask him. He can explain all he wants to.

Hey, Miss. Franklin, thanks very much. I'm sure Dick Cheney will appreciate your kind words. Thank you.

FRANKLIN: You're welcome. Good luck on your book.



## Conventions and VP Selection - Gore

Daily News (New York)

August 8, 2000; Page 3

### **Lieberman is Gore's Pick. Conn. Senator Tapped in Campaign Stunner**

By RICHARD SISK



NASHVILLE - Vice President Gore delivered on his promise to surprise with his veep pick yesterday by making the historic choice of Sen. Joseph Lieberman to be the first major party Jewish candidate on a national ticket. "Miracles happen," an emotional Lieberman said of his selection, which broke one of the last remaining taboos in American politics. "I never dreamed of this. I'm humbled, I'm gratified, I'm proud and I'm excited."

Gore settled on the Connecticut senator after meeting Sunday night with top aides to discuss finalists for the job in a late-night session that involved a "healthy back and forth" on what they would bring to the ticket, said Chris Lehane, Gore's chief spokesman.

Gore telephoned Lieberman, 58, at 11:58 a.m. New York time yesterday to tell him the veep nomination was his if he wanted it. "I do



not have a better offer," Lieberman joked in accepting, Lehane said.

"That was the call," Lieberman said, pulling up to his house with a cell phone to his ear.

The senator, an Orthodox Jew, said he and Gore, a Southern Baptist, "said a short prayer together."

Up for reelection to a third Senate term, Lieberman will be on the ballot in Connecticut for both senator and vice president. If Lieberman were to win both races, Connecticut Gov. John Rowland, a Republican, would appoint a Senate successor to serve until the 2002 election.

Gore operatives and independent analysts said he chose Lieberman - who has significant experience in national defense and foreign affairs as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee - to counter the "gravitas" Dick Cheney added to the GOP ticket when George W. Bush selected him as his running mate.

But the main reason for the selection is that Lieberman "sets up a firewall against critics" who will attempt to tie Gore to the Monica Lewinsky and campaign finance scandals of President Clinton, said Vanderbilt University political scientist Bruce Oppenheimer.

Clinton, vacationing on Martha's Vineyard, Mass., praised Lieberman yesterday as "one of the most outstanding people in public life."

"He's been a friend to me, and he's been wonderful for our country and wonderful for our party," Clinton said.

The choice was hailed by Jewish groups nationwide. "It is time," said Jason Isaacson, American Jewish Committee executive director. By picking a Jewish running mate, Gore shunted aside "the old distrusts, the old prejudices," Isaacson said. "This is a moment to treasure - a great moment for America."



The selection of Lieberman also appeared to trump the choreographed message of inclusion that was the main theme of last week's GOP convention.

Lieberman headed to Nashville last night for a private dinner with Gore before their formal debut today as the Democrats' team at a rally here.

The two will campaign together in Connecticut tomorrow and later in Georgia before splitting up and heading separately to the Democratic National Convention, which begins in Los Angeles next Monday. In a nod to his strict religious observance, Lieberman will not campaign on Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath.

But he seemed eager to take on the Republicans, pegging a shot at the GOP tandem of Bush and Cheney even before he got the call from Gore.

He lambasted Bush's proposed tax cuts, which he said would total \$1.8 trillion and would leave no money to fix Medicare, bolster defense or pay for more teachers or cops.

"If that is their idea of compassion, I'd hate to see their idea of contempt," Lieberman said in a reference to Bush's pitch to voters that he is a "compassionate conservative."

Lieberman was known to his colleagues as the conscience of the Senate for promoting program-blocking V-chips for television sets and teaming with GOP "Book of Virtues" author William Bennett in going after gangsta rappers and "The Jerry Springer Show."

He was the first Democrat to take the Senate floor to denounce Clinton for the Lewinsky affair in a scathing speech charging that the President's behavior showed "our common moral ground is deteriorating."



"Still, I'm somewhat surprised [Gore] didn't go with a more animated candidate," Oppenheimer said, noting that Lieberman's reedy voice, low-key manner and preachy style can come off as holier-than-thou.

In Austin, Tex., the Bush campaign called Lieberman "a good man whom Gov. Bush and Secretary Cheney respect," but a chief spokesman added that the centrist senator's "positions are more similar to Gov. Bush's" than to Gore's.

Lieberman has backed experimental vouchers for schools and a partial privatization of Social Security, positions that are in line with Bush's thinking and opposed by Gore.



New York Times

August 9, 2000; Page 18

**An Ally of Big Business Balances a Friend of the Earth** (Excerpts)

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8 -- At a Democratic fund-raiser last month at the Upper West Side duplex apartment of the singer Paul Simon, Vice President Al Gore was introduced by Connecticut's senators, Christopher J. Dodd and Joseph I. Lieberman.

After some preliminary remarks about the strength of the economy and the old ideas of Republicans, Mr. Gore began to bash big oil and big insurance companies, a staple nowadays of his stump speech.

"We need to give the medical decisions back to the doctors, and take them away from the accountants and the H.M.O.'s and the insurance companies," he declared.

The moment Mr. Gore uttered the words "insurance companies," several of the people in Mr. Simon's living room snickered loudly. Insurance is to Connecticut what oil is to Oklahoma, what automobiles are to Michigan, what tobacco is to Kentucky. And Mr. Lieberman has been a staunch ally of the industry.

Indeed, on a broad array of issues, Mr. Lieberman is perceived as a business-friendly Democrat. On some issues, including those that affect the insurance industry, he has been much more of a business ally than Mr. Gore. This could help the Democratic ticket in its fund-raising and in reassuring corporate leaders who are nervous about Mr. Gore's environmental views.

For example, Mr. Lieberman is one of a handful of Democrats who support legislation to limit the amount of damages that can be collected



from lawsuits. Such legislation has been at the top of corporate America's Washington wish list for more than a decade. Insurance companies have led the battle in favor it. Trial lawyers, among the Democratic Party's biggest contributors, have led the fight against the limits on damages. Mr. Lieberman has always been on the side of the insurance business. Mr. Gore has always been with the lawyers.

"We consider Mr. Lieberman a friend of the insurance industry," said Jack Dolan, a spokesman for the American Council of Life Insurance.

By the same token, Mr. Lieberman has regularly voted for increases in the Pentagon's budget. Two major defense contractors, the General Dynamics Corporation and the United Technologies Corporation, have plants in Connecticut that employ thousands of workers.

Mr. Lieberman has been an ally of other companies that Mr. Gore has blasted in recent speeches, including pharmaceutical companies. Several, including the Bayer Corporation, the Bristol-Myers Squibb Company and Pfizer Inc., have operations in Connecticut. In 1997, when the Senate was considering legislation to reauthorize the Food and Drug Administration, Mr. Lieberman was among the few Democrats who voted on the side of the drug industry on important amendments.

Mr. Lieberman has been rewarded for this support with campaign donations. The Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan organization that tracks campaign money, reported today that Mr. Lieberman had received more money from the insurance interests for his Senate race this year than any other senator (\$197,419), and more from pharmaceutical interests (\$91,150) than any other senator except Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, who is chairman of the Finance Committee's subcommittee on health. Mr. Lieberman has also received nearly \$100,000 from political action committees and individuals



connected to defense contractors.

(...)



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

New York Times

August 11, 2000; Page 17

## **Moguls Rattled by Gore's Choice of Critic of Entertainment Industry**

(Excerpts)

By BERNARD WEINRAUB



LOS ANGELES, Aug. 10 -- The entertainment industry is facing the Democratic National Convention here next week with some last-minute jitters. Vice President Al Gore's choice of Senator Joseph I. Lieberman as his running mate has chilled wealthy Hollywood Democrats, who are upset that Mr. Lieberman is one of the Senate's most vocal critics of Hollywood.

With moguls like Lew Wasserman, the former chairman of MCA, and David Geffen, one of the owners of Dreamworks, and stars like Barbra Streisand set to open their gated compounds for Democratic fund-raisers and parties, Hollywood is hardly in a mood to publicly voice nervousness about Mr. Lieberman.

In fact, Democrats here who were once dismayed about his negative views of Hollywood are now eager to play them down, if not ignore them, while Republicans are delighted to remind Democrats that Mr.



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

Lieberman's positions are precisely those of many in the Republican Party.

"It's so ironic -- they pick the chief Democratic critic of Clinton as well as Hollywood," said Tom Strickler, a partner at the Endeavor talent agency, and a Republican who supports Gov. George W. Bush for president.

Last year, Mr. Lieberman said that if the entertainment industry "continues to market death and degradation to our children and continues to pay no heed to the genuine bloodshed staining our communities, then one way or the other the government will act."

As the Senate's fiercest Democratic critic of Hollywood and what he views as society's moral decay, Mr. Lieberman has led hearings on violence in video games and deplored sex and violence in films and television. That over the years he has teamed up with William J. Bennett, a cabinet secretary for Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush who has denounced Hollywood's values, has also angered Democrats.

Mr. Gore has called some top Hollywood supporters to ask what they thought of his running mate and received positive response. But his own relationship with Hollywood is hardly as warm as that of President Clinton, who not only seems to enjoy palling around with the Hollywood elite, but has also raised millions in campaign contributions here. In return, Mr. Clinton has treated his supporters here seriously, giving them the kind of importance they crave.

Jim Wiatt, a top talent agent who is president and chief executive of the William Morris agency, and a Democrat, said, "It's intolerable to think of the government regulating our business and content, and Senator Lieberman has been vocal to the point where he needs to tone down his rhetoric and not make this industry the whipping boy for the



decline of Western civilization."

But Mr. Wiatt added that the presidential campaign was hardly about one issue and that Mr. Lieberman's record on most issues was in accord with the views of many people in Hollywood.

Similarly, the actor Warren Beatty, a liberal Democrat, spoke a bit haltingly about Mr. Lieberman and his positions.

"I don't think it's possible to attribute the high level of mayhem in this country to movies and music," Mr. Beatty said. "He's a talented man and an honest man. He's a man of obvious truthfulness. He's a conservative Democrat. There's no question about it."

Jeff Berg, chairman of International Creative Management, a top talent agency, said: "Some of the things Lieberman has said about lyrics, content and theme are in basic conflict with the creative process. I disagree with that specific theme. I still think the vice president made a bold choice in picking him."

Mr. Gore's boldness in selecting an Orthodox Jew was greeted with both enthusiasm and some uneasiness in a community that has seen attacks on Hollywood by conservatives as veiled anti-Semitism.

But the selection has, in a way, turned the issue upside down. Republicans here said that if their vice-presidential nominee, Dick Cheney, had condemned Hollywood and invoked God in his speeches, Hollywood would have been in an uproar.

"The Democrats could have selected Idi Amin as vice president and Hollywood would have welcomed him," Mr. Strickler said. "There's so much hypocrisy here. The people here accept every invitation to the White House. Except when they had a conference on violence in the media. No one showed up for that."

(...)



USA Today

August 15, 2000; Page 5A

**Clintons Ride Separate Waves At Convention. Delegates Credit President, Cheer First Lady in Historic Campaign** (Excerpts)

By MARTIN KASINDORF

LOS ANGELES -- The lights were dimmed, but the moment itself was electric.

In the convention hall Monday, the political tide was ebbing for Bill Clinton, the charismatic and flawed president making his farewell address to the Democratic Party.

A different tide was coming in for Hillary Rodham Clinton. In an appearance that might forever change the way the nation views the role of first lady, she stood in the national spotlight as a candidate in her own right, a possible future in high office stretching before her.

"It's her turn now," said delegate Melanie Miller, 31, president of Young Democrats of Maryland.

The delegates, 4,338 Democrats who had preened in triumph and cringed in embarrassment alongside Bill and Hillary Clinton for eight years, were with them again in their singular moment.

There were those who wanted the convention to recognize the president for moving the Democratic Party to the political center and returning it to the White House. At the same time, they said the party should look past him to the challenges of retaining power.

"It's going to be a wonderful, wonderful night," Sen. Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., told her state delegation at breakfast, "as he passes the



torch of the party to Al Gore. He will continue to carry the torch of the nation for the next 100 days, but the torch of the party goes to Al Gore and Joe Lieberman. And aren't we excited about that?"

They were, and they cheered.

There also were those who gave a lot of thought to Bill Clinton. As he took the podium, these delegates weighed their feelings toward the man and his presidency.

Delegates are the most committed of Democrats, and they were prepared to forgive. They concluded that Clinton's achievements in domestic and foreign policy far outweighed the minuses of his personal transgressions.

(...)

There was no ambivalence toward Hillary Rodham Clinton. The delegates revered her and willed her toward success in her run for the Senate in New York. Her 17-minute speech was hailed by delegates waving blue "Hillary" signs that matched her suit, the backdrop and her eyes.

"She's gotten a raw deal," Miller said. "She's got negativity being connected to the president. If she were an ordinary person running for Congress on her intelligence and accomplishments, she'd have no problem."



Courier-Journal (Louisville, KY.)

August 18, 2000; Page 01A

**Gore Takes Party's Banner, Vows to Be 'My Own Man'** (Excerpts)

By JAMES R. CARROLL

LOS ANGELES -- Albert Arnold Gore Jr., for eight years in the shadows of the vice presidency, stepped to center stage as the Democratic Party's candidate for the White House, accepting the nomination with a declaration of independence.

"We're entering a new time," the 52-year-old vice president said at the Democratic National Convention in its showcase evening. "We're electing a new president. And I stand here tonight as my own man, and I want you to know me for who I truly am."

Gore trails in all major national polls - as well in state polls in Kentucky and Indiana - behind the Republican nominee, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. Last night, Gore sought to answer the difficulty many Americans apparently have picturing a vice president, who was an understudy to the president, putting himself in the lead role.

In a speech he largely wrote himself and which was largely autobiographical, Gore essentially re-introduced himself to the nation, with help from his wife, Tipper, whose personal photographic glimpses of the vice president seemed intended to counter her spouse's image as wooden and distant.

Gore mixed a populist message with a subtle moralistic tone that contrasted with the troubles surrounding his friend, President Clinton.

"Tonight," the vice president said, "I ask for your support on the basis of the better, fairer, more prosperous America we can build together."



Gore cast himself as the champion of working Americans who will continue and improve upon the policies that are at the core of the national prosperity. He promised "targeted tax cuts for working families," but not "a huge tax cut for the wealthy."

He said he and his running mate would make campaign finance reform the first bill they would send to Congress if elected. "You better believe we will not take no for an answer," Gore said.

He also pledged more investment in health care and education, and a more secure retirement for senior citizens. And seeking to reinforce the party's centrist theme reiterated throughout this convention, Gore vowed in the nation's film and music capital to challenge the less savory elements of the popular culture.

"I WANT YOU to know this: I've taken on the powerful forces," he said. "And as president, I'll stand up to them, and I'll stand up for you.

"To all the families who are struggling with things that money can't measure - like trying to find a little more time to spend with your children, or protecting your children from entertainment that you think glorifies violence and indecency: I want you to know - I believe we must challenge a culture with too much meanness, and not enough meaning.

"And, as president," Gore continued, "I will stand with you for a goal that I know we share: to give more power back to the parents, so that you can choose what your own children are exposed to, and pass on basic lessons of responsibility and decency."

Reminding voters of the booming economy, Gore picked up Clinton's charge issued at the convention Monday night that the Republicans were responsible in the past for deficits and recession.

"INSTEAD OF the biggest deficits in history," Gore said, "we now have the biggest surpluses ever. The highest home ownership ever. And



the lowest inflation in a generation. Instead of losing jobs, we have 22 million new jobs. Above all, our success comes from you, the people who have worked hard for your families.

"But let's not forget that a few years ago, the American people were working just as hard. But your hard work was undone," he added.

". . . How and what we do for all of you - the people who pay the taxes, bear the burdens and live the American dream - that is the standard by which we should be judged. And for all our good times, I am not satisfied."

To a crowd of party believers in the Staples Center and to a national television audience, the new nominee put considerable emphasis on his personal side, to many Americans largely unknown territory.

Tipper Gore, a photographer, introduced her husband with a collage of her own pictures of the vice president that dated as far back as their early days together.

"See the man I love in a way you may not have seen him before," she said, adding she wanted "you to know that as a husband, father and grandfather, Al has always been there for our family and he will always be there for yours."

(...)

Gore's changing style of dress and advice from pop psychologists over how to be a more aggressive male drew hoots of derision from the Republicans, comedians and newspaper columnists.

In his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia earlier this month, Bush made reference to Gore's image efforts.

"I DO NOT reinvent myself at every turn," Bush said. "I am not running in borrowed clothes."



In his speech, Gore drew loud roars when he said: "I know my own imperfections. For example, I know that sometimes people say I'm too serious, that I talk too much substance and policy. Maybe I've done that tonight. But the presidency is more than a popularity contest. It's a day-by-day fight for people. . . .

"If you entrust me with the presidency, I know I won't always be the most exciting politician. But I pledge to you tonight: I will work for you every day, and I will never let you down."

In his speech, Gore offered not only a more open view of himself, but also an open presidency in which he would continue his decades-long practice of holding meetings with citizens.

"I'm going to go out to you, the people, because I want to stay in touch with your hopes; with the quiet, everyday heroism of hard-working Americans," Gore said. "So this is not just an election between my opponent and me. It's about our people, our families, and our future - and whether forces standing in your way will keep you from having a better life."

Among other things, Gore also said he would seek 50,000 new police for the street; legislation against hate crimes; a law against any kind of discrimination in employment practices; and doubling of federal aid to medical research.

THE VICE president, whose parents had close ties to the Kennedy family, drew on President John F. Kennedy's legacy to rally his fellow Democrats and, he hoped, many undecided voters.

". . . I ask all of you, my fellow citizens: From this city that marked both the end of America's journey westward and the beginning of the New Frontier, let us set out on a new journey to the best America," Gore said, "a new journey on which we advance not by the turning of wheels,



but by the turning of our minds; the reach of our vision; the daring grace of the human spirit."

(...)



Baltimore Sun

August 18, 2000; Page 1A

**Gore's Conventional Speech Unlikely to Elevate Campaign. Heavy on Substance But Carefully Crafted**

By JACK W. GERMOND



LOS ANGELES -- Vice President Al Gore presented himself to the nation last night as "my own man" with a speech that delighted delegates and set him apart from the tainted President Clinton but probably fell short of showing Americans something new and entirely different in presidential politics.

It was, as he had promised, a speech shot through with heavy doses of substance. But it was also carefully crafted -- whether by the vice president or his corps of consultants -- to try to make a virtue of his political burdens.

The Democratic candidate moved quickly to separate himself from the administration of which he has been a part for the past 7 1/2 years. After praising "the job that's been done by President Bill Clinton" and the record on the economy, Gore cut to the main point.

"This election is not an award for past performance," he said. "I'm not asking you to vote for me on the basis of the economy we have.



Tonight I ask for your support on the basis of the better, fairer, more prosperous America we can build together."

A few moments later, he formalized the divorce that he was declaring. "We're entering a new time, we're electing a new president," he told the cheering delegates, "and I stand here tonight as my own man, and I want you to know me for who I truly am."

Having made the point on Clinton, Gore ran through a long list of issues, outlining his position on matters of special importance to Democratic constituencies -- including trade, gun control and abortion rights -- and spelling out particulars of many of his proposals. Although he never referred to his Republican opponent, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, these passages were intended to draw a contrast with what he and his allies have been calling the vague generalities of the Republicans.

It was also an approach obviously intended to reach the many voters who have been complaining about politicians being shallow -- a complaint rarely directed at Gore at any point in his career.

"I'm here to talk seriously about the issues," Gore said, "I believe people deserve to know specifically what a candidate proposes to do. I intend to tell you tonight. You ought to be able to know and then judge for yourself."

But the most intriguing aspect of the speech was Gore's decision to directly address the prime problem that he faces as a candidate: the evidence in polls and focus groups and the seat-of-the-pants judgments of political insiders that many voters simply don't like him. They see him as didactic and arrogant, talking down too often to ordinary people in his audiences.

But Gore used more benign terms in confronting the issue as he tried to build his good-guy image. "I know my own imperfections," he



said. "I know that sometimes people say I'm too serious, that I talk too much substance and policy. Maybe I've done that tonight. But the presidency is more than a popularity contest."

At another point, he talked about his willingness to "spend" his popularity if necessary to pursue some objective that is important to the nation. "Sometimes you have to choose to do what's difficult or unpopular," he said. "Sometimes you have to be willing to spend your popularity in order to pick the hard right over the easy wrong."

But there is little in the record to show Gore -- or his mentor Clinton -- spending the high ratings they enjoyed in the polls after the 1996 election. For example, the administration was criticized heavily for failing to put forward comprehensive programs for reforming Social Security and Medicare, initiatives that could have been costly in poll ratings. So the implied pledge to make hard choices came through as contrived.

The substance of the speech was unremarkable, though Gore's forceful delivery evoked wild cheers from the delegates. Democratic leaders had been hoping Gore could lead the nation to a new view of his personality in this convention. But that was probably too much to expect from a single speech.

And it was clearly too much to expect from a 52-year-old politician. Despite all the humanizing and personal touches in the speech, it was a remarkably conventional political document. He touched every constituency group in the party, anticipated his critics and declared his freedom from whatever tarnish he might have acquired from Clinton. But it was not a memorable speech that is likely to transform the campaign overnight.

On the other hand, the vice president gave his partisan supporters the kind of justification they need to leave this convention city with



genuine zeal for the ticket -- and with their doubts moderated at least to a degree. They have been saying all along that Gore's strength lies in his qualifications for the job, and the approach he took seemed to justify their faith. The enthusiasm among the delegates was impressive.

But it was far from clear that the speech could give Gore the kind of momentum he would like to carry into the general election. That possibility cannot be measured, however, until the inevitable opinion polls begin handing down at least a tentative verdict from the voters.

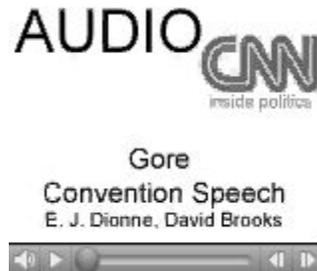
For the short term, it was enough that the newly anointed Democratic candidate for president could energize those who have chosen him to lead them.



CNN Inside Politics

August 18, 2000, 5 pm EST

**CNN's Judy Woodruff Interviews E.J. Dionne and David Brooks On  
Gore's Convention Speech (Audio)**



*Transcript:*

WOODRUFF: And we're joined now here in Los Angeles by E.J. Dionne of "The Washington Post" and David Brooks of the "Weekly Standard."

We know going into convention, we kept hearing what Al Gore needed to do was he needed to work on likability and he needed to work on leadership, both areas where he's struggling with voters, David, let's talk about likability first. How did he do in that area? Did he help himself?

DAVID BROOKS, "WEEKLY STANDARD": A little, but not so much. I think what we saw last night was the Al Gore emerging, you know: the driftwood, the stiff guy, shed all that bark and suddenly the fighter came out -- you know, alpha male triumphant. He mentioned the word "fight" 20 times in that speech last night. It was about being combative. It was a worldview which I really didn't know Al Gore had in him, but I really think now is the core of him: the idea he sees himself as the protector of



the little man, the populous fighter. And so I'm not sure that's likable. But it may be effective.

WOODRUFF: What about on the likability side, E.J.?

E.J. DIONNE, "WASHINGTON POST": Well, I think you learned more about Al Gore at this convention. On people who didn't know things about him, they stressed his Vietnam experience. And he did it himself in the speech. In some ways, that paragraph may have been the most effective, because he didn't play up what he did, he played it down, but said he did it in contrast implicitly with Governor Bush.

I think that what you also saw was an Al Gore -- he said the word "fight," but he actually spoke in a rather calm way. And I think one of the good things he did for himself is he avoided that barking, yelling, sometimes faux-populous style. And I think that went over better than other Al Gores have gone over in the past.

WOODRUFF: What about other piece of this, David, that he needed to come more of a leader, a strong leader, somebody capable of running the country. How did he do on that score?

BROOKS: Well, I think strength really was there. I mean, he really showed -- there was virility, it was, you know, Mike Tyson coming out of the corner -- laying the groundwork first for a savage campaign in the fall, but second, for protecting people against the powerful interests. He really sketched out a whole worldview, which is really the worldview of his father, really a worldview that takes you back to FDR, which fits the middle classes, sort of the Kmart voters against the upper classes, against the entrenched interests. And so that leadership and strength really was there.

DIONNE: And I think the emphasis that David put on middle class is important because it's not just sort of old-fashioned class politics out of



the 1930s and 1940s. It has that element, but he picked some very careful targets. He didn't attack all rich people, he attacked big oil, big polluters -- nobody likes big polluters -- the HMOs and the pharmaceutical companies, and then he linked that to some pretty popular policy, a drug benefit for seniors under Medicare, a health care bill of rights. DIONNE: I think it's part of two stages. I think the first stage, Al Gore is going to go after that Kmart voter, and then in the latter stage of the campaign, I think he's going to go after the better off Crate & Barrel voter, if you will, by saying, you know, I'll protect you with government. Don't wreck the prosperity.

WOODRUFF: David, just picking up on this theme, Gore indicating, I'm going to fight for working families. Is that a winning strategy?

BROOKS: I think it's not, actually. I think...

WOODRUFF: Because there aren't enough working families?

BROOKS: First of all, they don't think of themselves as working families. They think of themselves as recently fat and happy suburban families.

Second, he promises combat, which really means partisanship. And we're already seeing the Bush people respond by saying he's going to continue to divide Washington. He's going to lead to more fighting in Washington. And the Bush convention was really a lovey-dovey, mushy convention.

WOODRUFF: Bush is sounding tough today.

DIONNE: Today...

BROOKS: But that was very interesting. But I think the general trend of his campaign is, we're lovers, we're not fighters.

DIONNE: And I think what was striking is that after a period when Al Gore was the attack dog and George Bush was sort of the mellow guy,



today he really came out tough against Gore. I think that suggests that Bush understands that this race is getting closer and that Al Gore has a case to make when he says that I stand for some kind of activist government that defends you.

I think what's strident here is we are going to have a really good election about two fundamentally different views, just like Governor Bush said.

And I think also one of the points Al Gore pressed hard last night is the cost of the tax cut. And I think that he made very clear that we're going to argue about how to use this surplus.

WOODRUFF: When -- you know, there are those who are saying, well, he just ticked off a list of liberal issues last night.

David, is that what it was, or was it an attempt to say this is a new direction for the Democratic Party and here's what I believe.

BROOKS: It wasn't strictly liberal issues. He did talk about -- tick off welfare reform, which is a new Democratic issue.

But listen, I think one of the headlines of this convention has to be the diminishment of the Democratic Leadership Council, the centrist group. They talk about transforming the economy, transforming the government into the information age. That talk was gone. It was back to the more solid liberal issues. And that was part reflected on the floor. The biggest applause last night was the pro-choice line about abortion.

WOODRUFF: Gentlemen, we're going to have to leave it there.

E.J. Dionne, David Brooks, thank you both. Safe travels to both of you.

DIONNE: Thank you.

BROOKS: Thank you.

WOODRUFF: All right, great to have you.



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**When a Kiss Isn't Just a Kiss**

By CARYN JAMES

In Vice President Al Gore's campaign to change his robotic image, nothing may have helped more than the big smooch. Mr. Gore stepped on stage at the Democratic Convention on Thursday and greeted his wife, Tipper, with a quick embrace and a kiss on the lips. But instead of letting go, as nice politicians are supposed to, he wrapped her tighter in his arms, closed his eyes and gave her a full-mouthed kiss that lasted an exceptionally long time. (Actually three seconds; we have tapes; we've counted.)

When he remembered where he was -- on national television about to accept his party's nomination for president -- he backed away and went on with his business.

Of course, he could not really have forgotten the cameras for a second, and soon commentators were speculating about how calculated the kiss was. Mrs. Gore had spent days on the talk show circuit trying to humanize her husband's image, after all. And here was the living proof of his humanity, and a photograph the papers couldn't resist.

The next day MSNBC had two people on the case. Chip Reid reported that he had interviewed the Gores' daughter, Karenna Gore Schiff, who told him that kind of kissing goes on around the house all the time. He did not report whether the Gore children had spent much of their youth saying, "Yuck! Mom! Dad!"

More substantively, Claire Shipman of NBC speculated to Don Imus



that the kiss sent a message. It signaled that Al Gore (unlike some presidents we know) is a faithful husband. Excellent point; imagine what would have happened if the Clintons had dared such a scene. Though some viewers were charmed by the Gore kiss and others squirmed, no one doubted that it was based on reality. There you have what really makes it seem odd. The kiss struck everyone as a political gesture based on truth, and nothing is rarer than that.

In itself, the kiss had an old-fashioned, romantic innocence. It resembled the moment at a wedding when the groom is asked to kiss the bride and the guests can only wonder: will he give her a chaste little peck or go for it? In an earlier era, the full-mouthed bridal kiss said, "We can have sex now, we're married." Among the list of promises Mr. Gore made in his speech, the ultimate promise may have been the one he sent with body language: to restore All-American marital sex to the White House.

