

# The Candidates

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## **Family Background**

USA Today

June 15, 2000; Page 1A

### **Not in Their Fathers' Images Bush, Gore Apply Lessons Learned From Losses**

By SUSAN PAGE

WASHINGTON -- George W. Bush and Al Gore share a reverence for their famous fathers, one a former president who led the Gulf War, the other a three-term Southern senator who fought for civil rights and against the Vietnam War.

The presidential candidates share something else: a determination to avoid missteps that brought both fathers repudiation at the polls in their final elections.

The younger Bush's insistence on relying on a trio of longtime and intensely loyal aides -- despite grumbling by GOP insiders that the group is too insular -- reflects his outrage at what he saw as disloyalty during President Bush's re-election campaign in 1992. He complained that high-powered staffers were putting their own agendas first, friends and associates say.

Some of those close to the younger Gore trace his willingness to go on the attack to lessons he learned from the above-the-fray stance that his father took in 1970. Then-senator Albert Gore Sr., D-Tenn., refused to dignify what he saw as scurrilous attacks on his character with a response.

The approach of Father's Day on Sunday underscores the historic nature of this campaign, as two sons of accomplished politicians face one



another. Their contest reveals not only the candidates' personalities and priorities but also the influences of watching their famous fathers, both in victory and in defeat.

Gore was a 22-year-old Army private during his father's last campaign in 1970. His decision to volunteer for the service during the Vietnam War denied his father's opponents the damaging charge that his son was dodging the draft.

One of several Southern moderates targeted for defeat by the Nixon administration, senator Gore's opposition to the war, his support of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and his opposition to two of Nixon's nominees to the Supreme Court were used to make the case that he was out of step with his Tennessee constituents.

At town hall meetings during the current campaign, Gore describes his father's defeat as so deeply disillusioning that he was sure he would never enter the world of politics.

Also in the elections in 1970, the elder Bush, a two-term House member from Texas, lost a Senate bid to Lloyd Bentsen. Bush's more devastating loss would come years later in his re-election race for the White House.

The younger Bush was a constant presence, regular troubleshooter and occasional enforcer at campaign headquarters during his father's presidential race in 1988.

By 1992, he had become managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team but still represented his father's interests with squabbling senior aides. Friends say the younger Bush and his mother, Barbara, grew to resent the reluctance of James Baker III to leave his post as secretary of State to run a campaign that needed him.

Bush, 53, and Gore, 52, say they believe the best man lost in their



fathers' final elections. Among the lessons associates say they learned:

\* Money matters. The Nixon White House and Republican National Committee made sure Gore Sr. was "vastly outspent" in 1970, recalls Roy Neel, a longtime aide to Gore Jr. The financial disparity "was a huge factor in his (Gore's) father's defeat," Neel says.

In 1992, President Bush's reluctance to focus on raising money early meant that his campaign was still scheduling fundraisers in September, a time when he should have been focused on getting votes. "He just didn't like doing fundraisers," says Rich Bond, who was then Republican national chairman.

But the younger Bush "has a willingness to go the extra mile on fundraising that his dad lacked," Bond says. Gore's fundraising was so aggressive in the campaign in 1996 that it has been investigated by the Justice Department. These days he attends a half-dozen Democratic fundraisers a week.

\* Connect with voters. Both fathers lost their elections because they failed to maintain a strong enough connection with their constituents. The elder Bush was seen as unaware of or unresponsive to the public's economic worries in 1992. Gore Sr. was criticized in 1970 for having been so seduced by Washington's ways that he forgot his roots.

When he followed his father to Congress, the younger Gore vowed never to be vulnerable to that accusation; he repeatedly returned to Tennessee for town hall meetings. When he was in trouble during the first Democratic contests in Iowa and New Hampshire this year, he began holding meetings in those states. He stayed until every person had a chance to ask a question.

Some analysts say watching his father be repudiated for taking idealistic stands has made the vice president more cautious about



adopting causes that might make voters mad.

His mother, Pauline Gore, once described him as "more of a pragmatist than his father."

For Bush, his series of domestic policy initiatives on issues from education to longterm care reflect the lesson that voters demand to know what a candidate would do to improve their daily lives.

"President Bush assumed that the voters would reward his enormous success in foreign policy and the perception that he was a fine man of the highest integrity," says 1992 Bush campaign manager Fred Malek. But that wasn't enough.

"George W. is taking the point of view that you need to go beyond that and lay out in front of the voters a very clear sense of the changes you're going to make to improve conditions in the future," Malek says.

\* Discount polls. President Bush saw his phenomenally high ratings after the Persian Gulf War evaporate in the heat of the presidential campaign. "I learned not to take these polls too seriously," his son says. That prompted him to dismiss his early lead over Gore.

The senior Gore's unexpected defeat from a state where he had been popular, even beloved, sent a similar message. "I would speculate that if there was a political lesson from his father's defeat, it was to take nothing for granted," Neel says.

Political DNA?

Never before has the nation seen a presidential contest in which both candidates could claim such prominent political bloodlines.

The only president's son to win the office was John Quincy Adams, who in 1824 emerged victorious in a three-way election that was thrown into the House of Representatives because no candidate won a majority of the electoral vote. His leading opponent was Andrew Jackson, an



orphan who emphasized his modest roots.

The younger Bush can claim presidents on both sides of his family tree, not only his father but also Franklin Pierce, the one-term president elected in 1852 and an ancestor of his mother, Barbara Pierce Bush. His grandfather, Prescott Bush, served as a senator from Connecticut from 1952 to 1963.

Gore's father, who died in 1998 at age 90, was an influential senator and respected voice during the 1950s and 1960s. He ran for the vice presidential nomination at the Democratic convention in 1956, a job won by fellow Tennessean Estes Kefauver, and harbored hopes of landing on the national ticket in 1960. After 14 years in the House and 18 years in the Senate, however, Gore Sr. was beaten by Republican challenger Bill Brock in a bitterly divisive election.

And after eight years as vice president and four years as president, the elder Bush was unceremoniously dumped from the Oval Office in an electoral-vote landslide won by the Clinton-Gore ticket.

One of the curious aspects of the 2000 election is the drama of Bush the son facing one of the candidates on the ticket that defeated his father. Gov. Bush denies any sense of a grudge match, but other Republicans acknowledge they see the 2000 election as a chance to win vindication for the humiliating defeat in 1992.

"This is not a motivating goal of George W.'s," cautions Mary Matalin, deputy campaign manager for the elder Bush in 1992 and now co-host of CNN's Crossfire. But she adds, "If not him, maybe us. I'm not saying everybody around him wouldn't be high-fiving" at the prospect of vanquishing one of the elder Bush's vanquishers.

While both candidates openly admire their fathers and sometimes speak of them, neither has been eager to publicly explore the family-



related motivations that might be propelling them.

Still, a senior Democrat who is advising the Gore campaign sees a sense of vindication in what drives Gore as well. The vice president feels his father was treated unjustly by the voters, this adviser says. His own election to the White House would be a vindication of the rightness of his father's views.

For the younger Bush, his father presents a bit of a political complication. Some GOP strategists are leery of spotlighting the father for fear of projecting a sense of entitlement and privilege about the son. And when the former president made a rare campaign appearance on behalf of his son in New Hampshire just before the primary in February, his reference to the candidate as "this boy" made some of the candidate's aides wince. Careful consideration is being given to exactly how to showcase the former president at the Republican National Convention.

There's one more reason for concern. Democrats hope to remind voters of the reasons they defeated the elder Bush, especially a faltering economy.

While he didn't get credit for it, economic statistics afterwards showed that the nation had begun a slow climb out of its recession a year and a half before Bush lost the election in 1992.

"Are we going to keep the prosperity going, or are we going to go back to the Bush-Quayle years?" Gore sometimes demands on the stump -- a comment surely designed in part to needle his opponent. After all, no one should know better than Gore how much a son's loyalty to his father can mean.



Baltimore Sun

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**Family Ties Play Key Role in 2000 Presidential Race. Voters Find  
Appeal in Bush, Gore Lines** (Excerpts)

By ELEN GAMERMAN

WASHINGTON - When the new president moves into the White House in January, one thing seems likely. He won't get lost.

After all, the two guys trying to claim the lease on 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. have been there - one a president's first-born, the other a president's first alternate. Forget wandering the halls in confusion; Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore have gotten cozy with the place.

One of the nation's enduring ideals - that America rewards bootstrap success over lineage - does not always withstand the test of history. And this year, it is more in question than ever. With the leading presidential hopefuls inheriting their fathers' political playbooks, it seems they were preparing for this moment since birth.

This campaign owes much to two political dads - without whom the presidential race might look considerably different. Bush and Gore, the children of political families, are keeping alive the idea that birthright might have as much to do with success as grass-roots campaigning.

The candidates do not always seem comfortable showing off their political families but find ways to use them nonetheless. Bush treats his father gingerly - careful not to seem to be relying on his dad as if he were a leader-in-training, but eager to hear the former president's advice, tap his experts and use his fund-raising contacts.

Gore plays down his upbringing in Washington's power circles, but



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

he too puts the legacy to work - in his case, mentioning facets of his family legacy to better tell his story. The Democratic National Committee released an ad to coincide with Father's Day featuring the candidate with Albert Gore Sr., a longtime senator who raised his son in the shadow of the Capitol.

The unusual presence of political families in this race has experts re-examining the role of the lineage in American politics.

The truth is, presidential historians say, the people don't really like The People. We elect plenty of presidents with hard- scrabble backgrounds, but voters - given the choice - regularly reward their American aristocracy. Unlike Harry S. Truman, who at first couldn't figure out who people were talking to when they called him "Mister President," many modern candidates start learning the part long before votes are cast.

It is not just about lineage, but all that the family name entails - the political upbringing, the privileges, the high-toned education. With its Ivy League candidates, this race has the populist appeal of a Harvard-Yale game. Not since 1912 - when Harvard man Theodore Roosevelt ran against Yale man William Howard Taft and Princeton alum Woodrow Wilson - have the candidates been such academic bluebloods.

Going for the 'credentials'

"We go for guys with credentials - military credentials, academic credentials, family credentials," says presidential historian Henry Graff, adding that the family name holds particular pull. "People somehow think subconsciously that this family has been tested, and that's why they're at the top of the heap. To them, that name connotes quality."

Voters want their political aristocrats decked out in man-of-the-people clothing. When it comes to electing presidents, many historians



argue, the public is so conservative that it generally prefers familiar legacies over the newcomer.

Bush is a classic legacy contender. The Texas governor's grandfather, Prescott Bush, was a senator. His father, a president. His younger brother, another governor. His great-grandfathers, advisers to presidents. Even his dog, Spot, pulls rank - a direct descendant of President Bush's Millie, the springer spaniel who cavorted in the White House. Bush followed his father's road map - the same schooling at Andover and Yale, the same trek to West Texas to run for Congress and the same desire to be defined as a conservative with heart.

In this presidential race, Bush's family legacy has required some delicate public relations. Critics thought a joint appearance just before the New Hampshire primary - when the former president called his son "this boy" - hurt the Texas governor because it made him seem inexperienced.

So now, Bush usually keeps his powerful father behind the scenes, using him more subtly. When Bush spoke about missile defense last month with national security advisers from his father's era, he sought to capitalize on good will toward the former president's foreign policy. But it was the younger Bush who made the headlines; his father had been in the building but left before the event began.

"A respected family name is an entry point for candidates," says Bush pollster Fred Steeper. "But then they've got to take it on their own. They still have to prove themselves."

Al Gore was seen early as political progeny. As the oft-told story goes, Gore's father, a seven-term congressman and three-term U. S. senator who died in 1998, told the Nashville Tennessean before his son's birth that if the baby was a boy the news deserved front-page play. So



when Gore was born, the headline read, "Well, Mr. Gore, Here HE Is - On Page 1."

The vice president's background is more modest than Bush's - his grandfather was a Tennessee farmer - but Gore grew up with Washington's ruling elite. He floated a toy submarine in the Senate pool. He appeared in his father's campaign ads and listened in as John F. Kennedy ranted about the steel industry on the home phone.

"Little Al," as he was known, headed to St. Albans, an exclusive prep school in the nation's capital, and Harvard. By his first run for president, in 1988, he had shaken off the "Jr.," but had to work harder to counter the "Prince Albert" image his opponents used to label him a legacy brat.

Gore still treads carefully around the Washington side of his upbringing, but seems to have come to terms with his family legacy. "Don't ever doubt the impact that fathers have on children," he says in the Father's Day spot.

(...)

Now more than ever, some historians say, voters are tempted to go for politicians with camera-tested and mass-marketed families.

"We have become a country addicted to brand names - we want our Wendy's hamburger and our Kentucky Fried Chicken and our Bush and Gore," says presidential historian Douglas Brinkley. "I think we're becoming more of a celebrity culture all the time. It's name recognition."

Adds Graff, the historian:

"You copy success. It's like a guy who gets divorced and his second wife looks like his first wife. People want to feel comfortable with what they know. It's true in everything. Even politics."



Washington Post

August 10, 2000; Page C01

**The Sons of Their Fathers: Both Were Born Into the Political Elite.  
But Al Gore And George W. Bush Inherited Very Different Qualities.**

By MICHAEL POWELL

Andover George and St. Albans Al. The Republican presidential candidate salutes Dad the former president. The Democratic candidate reminisces about Dad the late U.S. senator from Tennessee.

The presidential derby plays as an ancestral political dance, two silver-spooners vying for the scepter. But that's a too-easy truth.

Bush and Gore are men of vastly different economic, social and spatial geographies. For all the talk of similar inheritances, it's their differences that define them.

Gore is a descendant of upland Tennessee hills settled by impoverished Scots-Irish, a boy from a family of modest means whose father's political station drew him into an uneasy Washington orbit. The desire to please and belong is his inheritance.

Bush descends a generational stairway of WASP wealth and political privilege, a son of Eastern aristocracy and Texan apartness. His carriage is disarming, his social class like a raccoon overcoat that hangs light across the shoulders. Nothing more annoys him than to ask that he examine the meaning of his family tree.

He is what he is. The comfort with which he inhabits his own skin is a much remarked-on advantage in the echo chamber of a national campaign.

"The world of wealth is just background for him. Bush is more real" because he could take so much for granted, says Jim Chapin, a historian



who has written on the interplay of American culture and politics. "While Gore has spent 20 years trying to be the Establishment and seems inauthentic."

Which is not to dispute that a dynastic impulse throbs in American politics, from the families Adams, Harrison, Roosevelt and Kennedy to Bush and Gore.

Famously, Adlai Stevenson Jr. made a pilgrimage to Chicago to ask Mayor Richard J. Daley how he might best start his political career. Daley replied: "Don't change your last name."

Now, with a fattened goose of an economy, the familiar is never more attractive.

But family and social class are poor predictors of a president's politics. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, scion of a WASP dynasty, unleashed the New Deal. Ronald Reagan, an Irish American who rose from mean circumstances, reversed its course.

"If someone stops and thinks about it, we would not accept a homogenized view of people and regions for a travel piece," notes Thomas Ferguson, a political scientist at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. "Bush and Gore are rich and pro-corporate, but the political and cultural geography of Tennessee and Midland, Texas, are completely different.

"Appalachia was settled by poor Scots-Irish and has been wrecked by outside companies for generations," he adds. "While in West Texas, an oil man advised me: 'It's predate or produce. And a lot of us prefer to predate.' "

Bush's comfort with his wealth, and his insistent self-identification as a rough-and-tumble Texan, has allowed him to frame his own myth. He is only incidentally, in this telling, the son of two parents descended



from New England senators and presidents, his bloodlines extending into Wall Street brokerage houses on both sides.

Dad attempted the same make-over as the son, but he always remained the Connecticut Puritan gone Texas, boiled chicken and clam chowder meeting horseshoes and cowboy boots. The former president's accent took on a Southern drawl without ever quite losing its Yankee edge, in what historian David Hackett Fischer has described as "an extraordinary feat of political linguistics."

Not George W. He has become the Texas roughneck, a man who knows the roar of a sandstorm and the despair of a dry well. That he graduated nonetheless from Andover, Yale and Harvard, and that his chosen home of Midland, Tex., is an upper-middle-class place marked by money ache, that he is a millionaire baseball team owner, all this matters little.

He carries that identification with him on the trail, a natural pol who plunges into crowds with an ease that never marked his father. And yet there's a hint of something else, of a diffidence that's more New England than Texas.

He insists, in every speech, that winning is not everything. That family is what's most important, that he will not be ripped apart by winning or losing. Perhaps this is the New England reticence, the ingrained sense that too much hunger is unseemly.

Gore now suffers no discernible lack of hunger. His father hailed from the back hills of Tennessee, where he read, by a kerosene lamp, about the much-admired William Jennings Bryan, the grandiloquent old populist. It was a political geography dominated by the cult of the strong leader--Big Daddy, in Tennessee Williams's formulation--where the people championed their leaders, and personal loyalty was all.



When Gore Sr. gained election to Congress, his son carried the burdens and earnestness of Possum Hollow, his father's birthplace, to the formal and correct world of Washington. He became an immigrant's son, traveling across geography and class. He evinced none of the rambunctious rascality of George W., who was used to tumbling about in ancestral manses and teasing the help. An old Washington hand commented of the young Gore: "He became an old person's idea of what a good young man should be."

"Gore's inauthenticity arises from his understanding the insecurities of his father," Chapin says. "He understood that his dad was scraping to send him to prep school, and he worked hard on that farm each summer."

It's a very un-WASPish hunger, his yearning to belong. And it left him with a residual ham-handedness, a desire to succeed that comes with the seams showing. How else to explain a man who has spent 20 years trying to be a respectable Washington man, yet is forever being psychoanalyzed and joked about by that same class?

He works the campaign trail dutifully, mechanically. Smile here, listen attentively there. It rarely feels natural. As a battle of scions, it feels like no contest.

But American history is a curious beast, her pounces not easily predicted. Cast the mind back and think of Carter and Bush, men uneasy on the national stage who nonetheless persevered. Or of the prototype of the uncomfortable man clomping across the political stage: Richard Nixon. Our national Iago, seething with unexamined fears and animosities and misshapen body language. A man from a lower-middle-class home in Yorba Linda, Calif., whose hunger and anger somehow connected and embodied something larger.



The problem is traction. These are not angry times. Like Bush, Gore worships the trinity of the Federal Reserve, Wall Street and Free Trade. Their policy differences seem written in the margins: abortion, the Supreme Court, school vouchers.

Our fat economy and corporate-dominated politics bind the candidates in a way that social class does not. "Gore and Bush have said all the right things, kissed all the right tushes, shaken all the right hands," says former labor secretary Robert Reich. "Neither's a maverick, the economy rules, and politics is like Muzak.

"It's not clear that they know how to stir anyone's blood, even if they wanted to."

At last, a point of common ground for the dynasts.



## Family Background - Bush

New York Times

June 15, 2000; Page 1

### **The Silent Senior Partner in Bush's Campaign**

By FRANK BRUNI



WASHINGTON, June 14 -- By most outward signs, former President George Bush has maintained a cautious distance from Gov. George W. Bush's quest for the White House, seldom making joint appearances with his son and rarely commenting on the election.

But behind the scenes, Mr. Bush is anything but remote. On several occasions between December and May, Karl Rove, the chief strategist for his son's campaign, traveled from Austin, Tex., to Houston, where the former president spends the winter, to give him private briefings.

His friends say that Mr. Bush regularly exchanges calls or e-mail messages with about a half-dozen senior officials in the Texas governor's campaign and that his chief of staff, Jean Becker, is on the phone with Mr. Rove almost every day.

And neither father nor son is shy about reaching out to the other. One close family friend said they usually chatted within 15 to 30 minutes



after the end of each of the debates in the Republican primaries.

"George and I do talk often," former President Bush said this week in written responses to questions that were electronically mailed to Ms. Becker. (Mr. Bush had declined through Ms. Becker to be interviewed on the telephone or in person for this article.) "When he asks for advice," the former president added, "I give it. He knows I will never breach a confidence or tell anyone."

Their closeness was suggested by the fact that the Texas governor, who arrived at the family compound in Kennebunkport, Me., late Friday for a weekend celebration of Barbara Bush's 75th birthday, extended his stay until today, and punctuated meetings of his campaign's senior staff with plenty of time with Dad. They golfed together twice, Ms. Becker said, and fished every day.

In recent interviews with nearly a dozen of the two men's political and personal associates, no one came even close to suggesting that the elder Mr. Bush was trying to mold his son's candidacy and act the part of a political Pygmalion.

But they did make clear that he was a large and constant presence in the campaign, hungry for the latest morsels of information, riveted by each new poll, quick to pass along the names of people who tell him they want to help, and always available as a sounding board or emotional release valve for the candidate.

At the same time, they said, the former president understood that too visible a role could feed into skepticism about whether his son was creating his own political good fortune or simply riding on his father's name. His son's aides are equally cognizant of that danger, and several said that there had been extensive discussions about how best to integrate the former president into the Republican National Convention.



By many accounts, including his own, the former president was deeply pained by journalists' and political analysts' suggestions that when he shared a stage with the governor in New Hampshire just a few days before the state's primary and referred to him as "this boy," the effect on his son's campaign was negative.

The former president said that the fallout from the event "damn sure did hurt."

"It added to convictions already held that I should not get out front, that I should continue to stay behind the scenes, off TV, out of the papers," Mr. Bush said.

An adviser to the Texas governor said the Bush campaign had combed through polling data after the New Hampshire rally, found no evidence that the event had damaged the governor and made a point of reassuring the former president.

"Of course," the adviser said, "it was very hard to convince him of that."

In some respects, Mr. Bush's situation is similar to that of President Clinton's, and his son's challenge is like Vice President Al Gore's. Both the former president and the current one have knowledge, contacts and public clout that can help the men following in their footsteps. But they must marshal those resources discreetly and recede far enough into the background to let their heirs prove their own mettle.

In other ways, the circumstance encountered by the older and younger Bush is almost unique. Only once before in American history did a president's son, John Quincy Adams, also end up in the job, and that was nearly two centuries ago. So former President Bush has no real point of reference for balancing his dual roles as his party's most recent occupant of the White House and the proud, doting father of its



presumptive presidential nominee.

"He wants to be more like a regular dad," Ms. Becker said in a telephone interview this week. "Unfortunately, that's not practical."

"If you ran for president," she noted, "and your dad wanted to help in the campaign, that would be fine and everybody would think it was great." But she said that former President Bush knew that if he assisted his son in any way that became publicly apparent, "Everybody tries to overanalyze it."

So he walks a fine line. One of his son's advisers expressed certainty that the former president and the Texas governor discussed foreign policy, "because I've caught whispers of it," the adviser said. But neither father nor son has ever given out a hint of that, and the former president steered clear of policy meetings in Kennebunkport over the past few days, two advisers said.

The former president gave speeches in support of his son's candidacy during the most intense phase of the Republican primaries, and since early last year, he has been the star attraction at 16 fundraisers that brought in about \$2.4 million, campaign officials said. (His wife, over 10 events, brought in another \$1.5 million, officials said.)

But he appeared onstage with his son only once, in New Hampshire, and their attendance at a church service in Kennebunkport on Sunday represented one of the rare times since then that the two had ventured into such a public place together.

The former president did little, Republican officials in Washington said, to press some of his longtime political confidants onto his son, even when they loudly groused about being spurned by the Austin-based campaign. But he established an informal dialogue with members of his son's inner circle, partly as a way to keep pace with all the twists and



turns of the campaign.

And members of that inner circle said he called them repeatedly on Feb. 19, when South Carolina held its pivotal Republican primary, to check on the exit polls.

People close to him say that he is a sponge for information about the campaign. His wife has described him as obsessed with the race and jokingly complained about having to tear him away from C-Span, and he receives faxes and e-mail messages from political contacts with thoughts on the race. In turn, he shares these bulletins with others, sometimes sending messages about the campaign to extended family members as often as once a week, said the oldest of his 14 grandchildren, George P. Bush.

And Republican officials who talk with the former president say his analysis of his son's campaign is several paces ahead of any news coverage of it.

"Bush is consumed with this," one of these officials said. Another described the former president as "his own little hot line," referring to a daily political journal on the Internet that collects newsy tidbits from a dizzying array of sources.

Mr. Bush's friends and associates reject any notion that the former president sees his son's campaign as a chance to avenge his loss to Bill Clinton in 1992. They say he relates to the campaign mostly in the manner of a watchful, nervous father rooting for his son to make it through a soccer match without injury and with several goals to his credit.

When Thomas D. Rath, one of his son's advisers in New Hampshire, ran into the former president just before that state's primary on Feb. 1, Mr. Bush did not interrogate him on his son's chances of victory.



Instead, he fretted over his son's health, mentioning that he had seen him on television the previous night and thought he looked worn down. "Make sure he gets enough rest," Mr. Rath recalled the father as saying.

Answering questions for this article, the former president said it had been more emotionally grueling to watch his son endure the ups, downs, slings and arrows of a presidential campaign than it had been to go through the process himself.

"Nineteen ninety-two was not the most pleasant year for me with the national press, but it is far worse for Barbara and me when George is criticized than when I was," he said.

"I guess after four national campaigns I might know what to expect," he added, "but I can tell you none of the flak I took affected me as much as when I see George unfairly criticized. If the shots are justified -- fine. But if they are cheap shots then, of course, this father does not like it."

Mr. Bush said he mainly tried to give his son emotional support, but his influence and assistance irrefutably extend beyond that. His vast network of political acquaintances contributed to the ability of his son's advisers to collect more contributions than anyone had ever raised for a primary campaign.

And the former president's contacts meant that his son was already familiar with many experts and prominent political figures who have recently advised him on policy or flanked him at public appearances.

Richard B. Cheney, who is supervising the process by which the governor is winnowing a list of Republican vice-presidential prospects, was his father's defense secretary.

Condoleezza Rice, the governor's chief foreign policy adviser, worked in the Bush administration and became personally friendly with the former president. So did Gen. Colin L. Powell, who recently helped the



governor pitch his proposal for a more expansive national missile defense system than President Clinton had proposed. And the list goes on.

So does the dialogue between father and son, and the former president obviously relishes it.

"Over all, life is very good and when it comes to politics, there can be no prouder father in the land," the father said, referring as well to his another of his four sons, Jeb, who is the Florida governor.

"Two governors of big states, one of whom might just be president," he added. "What a country!"



New York Times

August 4, 2000; Page 23

**The Republicans: To Political Clan, Convention Is Just Like Old Times**

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 3 -- The hottest convention in town is perhaps not the obvious one made up of 15,000 journalists and an occasional Republican, but rather a more private one unfolding away from the television lights, one to which admission is based not on politics but on blood and marriage.

"It is a family reunion," Laura Bush explained last month.

Indeed, one of the conveniences of having a family active in presidential politics is that it offers a unique opportunity for quadrennial reunions with lots of balloons and confetti. Throngs of Bushes have been at all the Republican conventions since 1980, cheering one of their own at each one except for 1996, when they took a brief break.

This time as well, scores of the extended Bush clan are on hand, and as George W. Bush gave his acceptance speech tonight, a spotlight illuminated his family: his parents, his twin daughters, Barbara and Jenna, as well as his sister and three brothers and all of their children.

Most members of the extended family are staying at the Wyndham Hotel, along with the candidate himself. Security keeps the paparazzi away, but Karen P. Hughes, the candidate's chief spokeswoman, said the hall near her room was full of little Bushes charging up and down.

The Bushes are, of course, less harassed by paparazzi than other prominent political families, like the Kennedys, but they are also more reticent, and George W.'s four siblings have mostly refused to give



interviews about him this year.

Still, perhaps sensing the friendly atmosphere, a few have emerged from the cocoon and one -- George P. Bush, the son of younger brother Jeb -- has become a hot media property, perhaps the most sought-after member of the clan among television producers after George W. himself.

George P., 24, had a formal coming-out celebration of sorts when he addressed the convention tonight.

Jeb and George P. together addressed a fund-raising luncheon on Wednesday for 3,000 people, offering a "10-best" list of reasons George W. should be elected president. These included "will cut federal spending by using left-over 'From the desk of President Bush' note pads" and "I left a carry-on bag on Air Force One back in 1992, and I want it back."

The convention has seemed wary of giving too large a role to former President Bush, for fear of reinforcing public doubts about whether his son is his own man. But Barbara Bush was given the podium to introduce her son on Monday night when the candidate spoke briefly by satellite from Gettysburg, Pa., and the potential first lady, Laura, was given the chance to make a major speech on Monday.

While George W. has stayed mostly in his hotel since coming to Philadelphia on Wednesday, watching the proceedings on television with family members and old friends -- several of his old fraternity pals from Yale are also staying at the Wyndham and hanging out with him and his family -- his parents have dutifully attended most convention sessions, logging more hours than many delegates. They sit in a family V.I.P. area just above the convention floor.

Barbara Bush sits in the center, regularly leaping up to hug one relative or another straggling in to join the reunion, and is usually near her twin granddaughters. The girls have have resolutely stayed away



from the mobs with microphones and notebooks, reflecting George and Laura Bush's efforts throughout their years in the Texas governor's mansion and on the campaign trail to retain their daughters' privacy. Early on, one of the girls was mortified when a television crew happened to be in the mansion and caught her father teasing her about a boy who was telephoning for her; ever since, the Bushes have generally kept the girls away from the cameras.

One child who has been more public is Pierce Bush, the 14-year-old son of George W.'s younger brother Neil. This is already Pierce's third convention, and he appeared twice on CNN, praising his uncle the presidential candidate -- while disavowing his own interest in the job.

"You don't really know," he said modestly in answer to a question about a political career, but he added: "It runs in the family. What can I say?"

Neil Bush, one of George W.'s younger brothers, has generally been the least inclined to talk to reporters in recent years, perhaps because of a general feeling in the clan that the news media treated him harshly when he was caught up in a savings-and-loan scandal in his father's administration. But he appeared briefly on Larry King Live on Wednesday.

His younger brother Marvin, a management consultant in Texas, also gave a brief television interview. George W.'s sister, Dorothy, the youngest in the family, is here and, as a Maryland resident, cast her delegation's votes for her brother. And Jeb Bush tonight cast Florida's votes for his brother, as well.

The family members declined to be interviewed and have generally been wary of the press, partly because of a feeling that reporters mistreated President Bush in 1992 and tend to be mocking George W.



today.

But the Bushes all have plenty of training and practice in looking like a loving, model family when the cameras are focused on the V.I.P. box (and probably when they are not, as well).

In 1988, when President Bush was running for the White House, his advisers were worried that his Democratic rival, Michael S. Dukakis, came across as more lovey-dovey with his wife than President Bush did with his. "I'm being advised to do that, reach out, hold Bar's hand," President Bush grumbled in a diary entry quoted in his memoirs, and he included a note that he wrote to his wife:

"Sweetsie, Please look at how Mike and Kitty do it. Try to be closer in, more -- well er romantic -- on camera. I am practicing the loving look, and the creeping hand. Yours for better TV and more demonstrable affection. Your sweetie-pie coo-coo. Love 'ya. G.B."



## **Family Background - Gore**

Washington Post

April 11, 2000; Page A06

### **Gore's Mother Gets a Degree. Vice President Interweaves His Views, Her Life Story** (Excerpts)

By CECI CONNOLLY

NASHVILLE, April 10 -- Vice President Gore came to his home state today to watch his mother belatedly collect her college degree and used the ceremony to link his progressive views to her remarkable life story.

"For all of my 52 years my mother has been the greatest teacher I've ever had," he said in his tribute. "She taught me that through quiet dignity and determination one woman could make all the difference. She taught me that there are no doors that cannot be opened if you work hard enough and knock persistently enough."

Described by her son as a poor girl who broke barriers every step of her 87 years, Pauline LaFon Gore left Union College (now Union University) after two years and headed to Vanderbilt Law School without an undergraduate degree. At the time, students could qualify for law school by passing a test.

"The truth is, my mother not only skipped forward to law school but she earned her Union degree through a much harder course, through a lifetime of service to others," the vice president said after a private luncheon celebration.

Though Gore spent his youth largely in a Washington hotel and prep schools, his parents lived true American success stories, rising from hardscrabble rural Tennessee roots to the apex of politics. Gore's late



father, Albert Sr., was the maverick senator who broke with his southern colleagues on civil rights and the Vietnam War. His mother was the shrewd behind-the-scenes strategist.

"My mother took as her role model Eleanor Roosevelt, who made it respectable for women to be actively involved in a political campaign," he said, crediting his mother with her husband's best campaign slogans.

"There will never, ever be a better campaigner than Pauline LaFon Gore."

(...)

Pauline Gore, wearing a royal blue dress and pearls, gingerly made her way to the podium to accept her bachelor of arts. "Thank you very, very, very, very much," she said in a soft voice. "I cannot tell you how proud I am to be here."



Washington Post

October 3, 1999; Page A1

**Gore Learns From Father's Life** (Excerpts)

By DAVID MARANISS and ELLEN NAKASHIMA



In the foothills of middle Tennessee there is a little village called Difficult. Whatever hardship that place name was meant to convey, it could not match the resigned lament of the nearby hamlet of Defeated, nor the ache of loneliness evoked by a settlement known as Possum Hollow. It was that kind of land, unforgiving and isolated, if hauntingly beautiful, for the farmers and small merchants who settled the region, families named Hackett and Woodard, Key and Pope, Gibbs and Scurlock, Beasley and Huffines, Silcox and Gore.

For generations one old road, Highway 70, was the main road west and the best way out, weaving through the hills of the Upper Cumberland past the county seats of Carthage and Lebanon and across the barrens of rock and cedar and flat cactus to the capital city of Nashville. Albert Arnold Gore, father of the vice president, regularly drove that route 65 years ago to study at the YMCA night law school, and to loiter at the coffee shop of the nearby Andrew Jackson Hotel, pining for a



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

brilliant young waitress named Pauline LaFon who would forgo her own law career to become his wife and adviser and, some say, his brains.

Now on the morning of Dec. 8, 1998, the whole Gore family was retracing that original journey, traveling west to Nashville through a dreary gray mist. Al Gore made the trip in a limousine, braced by his mother, his wife, Tipper, and their four children. His father, the former United States senator who gave Al his name and his life's profession, rode ahead as usual this one last time, at the front of the funeral cortege, his body resting within a solid cherry casket inside a black Sayers and Scoville hearse.

He had died three days earlier at age 90 in a way that any father might wish to go: in his own bed in the big house on the hill above the Caney Fork River, his wife of 61 years at his side, his only son, vice president of the United States, holding his hand for the final six hours. Senator Gore, as he was commonly known, seemed to linger long enough for the arranging of all that needed to be arranged and the saying of everything that needed to be said. His last words of advice – "Always do right," he reportedly whispered – might have been uttered with posterity in mind.

But what was the meaning of the old man's life? That was the question the son grappled with as he rode west through the mist down the ancestral highway, occasionally reading something aloud as he revised the text of a eulogy he had composed on his laptop computer.

He had been at it for 28 1/2 hours straight, since 4 on the morning before when he bolted out of bed and began rummaging through a drawer in the predawn darkness, gathering up loose scraps of paper that he had been tossing in there for weeks, usually after returning from his father's bedside. On each crumpled page he had scribbled a few words



that represented something more, a family folk tale or serious political theme – scraps of paper that, if pieced together, might bring 90 years back to life.

My father was the greatest man I ever knew in my life, he began, and he kept writing past dawn and through breakfast and lunch until 7 that night, when, as he later recalled, he "showered and shaved and grabbed a bite to eat and went down to the funeral home for the wake and stood in line and shook hands with the people."

(...)

### *The Distant Look*

The first politician Al Gore mentioned in the eulogy to his father was a former congressman from middle Tennessee who "made all the families in this part of the country proud" by becoming secretary of state under Franklin D. Roosevelt and winning the Nobel Peace Prize. For anyone seeking to understand the origins of the political personality of the vice president, routinely characterized as stiff and oddly formal, there are clues to be found in the direct line that traces back through the Gores to their political hero, Cordell Hull.

During his teenage years in the Upper Cumberland hills, Hull often "ran the river" with Allen Gore, floating logs down the Caney Fork and Cumberland toward Nashville and taking a steamboat back. Albert Gore grew up hearing his father's stories about those days and watching Hull's political rise, and wanted nothing more than to be like him.

Many of Hull's basic political convictions – his belief in progressive taxation, internationalism and free trade – were bequeathed to Albert Gore, and then to son Al, but also notable was the style that was passed along as well. Hull's public manner was invariably formal and correct, as if to insist that he never be taken for a hillbilly from the hollows of middle



Tennessee. Gore Senior consciously modeled himself after Hull, adopting the same formal bearing for the same reason, but then slightly exaggerating it: always in dark suit, white shirt and tie; courtly, but rarely relaxed in public, little small talk or informality, always on, speaking in complete sentences full of Latin-rooted words, as if his thoughts were being recorded for history.

In the eulogy, Al Gore took wistful note of this last trait, saying that he "always marveled" at his father's vocabulary and archaic pronunciations – "for example, instead of 'woond,' he always said 'wownd.'" Others viewed it as a symptom of grandiosity, someone trying too hard to impress. "He did try to compensate for perceived inferiority to a degree," said historian Kyle Longley. "He went out of his way oftentimes to use very SAT language – the only time you see those words is on the SAT [exam]."

(...)

James Fleming, a Nashville doctor who was a college friend of Al's older sister, Nancy, described it as "the worst thing in the world" to get trapped in a conversation with Gore father and son. "One day I had to sit on the back porch up in Carthage with Albert and Al, and you know they don't talk baseball and they don't talk about sex or girls, they talk about issues and politics and things that ordinary people have no interest in whatsoever, so it was very difficult to be included in that," Fleming said, using a touch of satirical hyperbole to make his point. "Every now and then they'd ask, 'So what do you think of the Federal Reserve?' I wasn't up for the Federal Reserve. It was awful!"

That is not to say that the son became a duplicate of his father's personality. Few have accused Al Gore of loving the sound of his own voice or of acting magisterial. Nor, on the other hand, did he develop his



father's maverick flair. Gore Senior's aura of independence, which allowed him to break away from his more conservative southern Democratic colleagues on issues of race and oil tax breaks and the Vietnam War, was stimulated, he once said, by his isolated childhood in Possum Hollow, "where every boy was pretty well on his own out in the woods and on the lonesome hills." There was no comparable experience in young Al's formative days, especially not at St. Albans, where the emphasis was not on independence but on a sense of team.

But the son did carry his father's formality into public life, a character trait accentuated by something detected by Charles Bartlett, the veteran political reporter from Chattanooga who observed Tennessee politicians for more than six decades. From Gore Senior to Gore Junior, there was one telltale physical sign of the culture of the Upper Cumberland, coming down through the genes, Bartlett believed: "It's the eyes. The one way he is most like his father is that he does have that distant look in his eye. It's a mountain thing. It's the look of people who don't quite trust anybody. I see that distant look in Al and it reminds me of his father."

(...)

*Al Gore: The Power of Pauline*

They say opposites attract, Al Gore wrote in the eulogy to his father, explaining the marriage of his parents.

Pauline LaFon did share some characteristics with Albert Gore. Like him, she came out of relative poverty in a small southern town and believed from an early age that circumstances could not deter her. But she was at once warmer and more politically savvy than her husband. "Pauline was the brains and Albert was the pretty blond," is how one former Tennessee journalist put it, stretching the reality to make the



point. No one familiar with the family disputes the idea that Albert would not have gone nearly as far in life without her.

Once, according to family lore, Pauline became so exasperated with her husband that she said, "I think I'll leave."

"Why, that's a good idea," he responded. "I believe I'll go with you."

(...)

Pauline attended Union College in Jackson, then borrowed \$100 from the Rotary Club of Jackson and rode the bus to Nashville to attend Vanderbilt law school, where she became the 10th female graduate. She paid back the loan by waitressing nights at the Andrew Jackson coffee shop, where one of her regular customers was Albert Gore, who was stoking up on caffeine before making the drive back to Carthage on old Highway 70. Albert could not get enough of Pauline, with her handsome cheekbones and piercing blue eyes and strong but comforting bearing. Within two years, after they took the bar exam together and Pauline endured one unsatisfying year practicing law in Texarkana, they slipped away to Tompkinsville, Ky., and got married.

There was a certain mystery to the ceremony on May 15, 1937. Their families were not there, and a handwritten notation on the certificate directed that news of the marriage not be published. Perhaps the secrecy was prompted by another fact revealed on the certificate -- that Pauline had been married once before and divorced, a part of her early life that she never again wanted to discuss.

In all events, once they were united, Albert and Pauline Gore seemed to meld perfectly. "They weren't two people, they were one," said Louise Gore, a second cousin whose father, Grady Gore, had grown up with Albert in Possum Hollow. "They were as close as two people could be."

Here was another contrast with Bill Clinton, who sat among the



mourners at Albert Gore's memorial service in Nashville. Clinton grew up with an alcoholic stepfather who abused his mother; he reacted by trying to become a peacemaker, constantly seeking to soothe or conceal the rough edges, and to go out into the world to achieve and redeem the family. Gore, meanwhile, said that his parents' strong marriage allowed him to grow up "secure and confident" that his needs would be met. While his parents expected much of him and instilled in him fierce competitive instincts, he never seemed driven, as Clinton so clearly was, to win the approval of strangers.

(...)

### *The Last Trip Home*

After the memorial service in Nashville, the funeral cortege turned back toward Carthage, traveling east through the mist not on old Highway 70 but along Interstate 40, the other main road in the life of the Gore family. Al Gore had planned the return route, what he called his father's "last trip home," as another metaphor for his life's path.

As a senator in 1955 and 1956, Albert Gore had helped write and pass legislation creating I-40 and the rest of the interstate highway system, the largest public works project in American history. That is where the son's interest in politics and government began, when Senator Gore brought him along to hearings of the Senate Public Works committee in Room 412 of the marble-foyered Russell Senate Office Building and the 8-year-old boy became captivated by the debate over where the superhighways would go and how wide the lanes would be and what color was best for the road signs, blue or green.

The interstate project made a lasting impression on Al; it served, in a sense, as the generational precursor of his own later work in Congress promoting the Internet's information superhighway. The father passed



down to his son something else, it seems: an overeagerness to take credit. Although Albert Gore was an important figure in the interstate highway bill, there were many other key participants in Congress and the Eisenhower administration, but he never shied away from calling the system his own. It was not unlike Al Gore's later boast that he invented the Internet -- stretching an indisputably important role into a seminal one.



## **Career Highlights - Bush**

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

May 15, 2000; Page A6

### **Gore Blames Bush for Negative Texas Rankings, Hopes Voters Buy It**

(Excerpts)

AUSTIN, TEXAS -- The presidential ambitions of Republican Gov. George W. Bush are drawing attention to Texas' record on everything from executions to smog, with Vice President Al Gore taking whacks at the way Texas deals with prisoners and drugs. Other critics are focusing on Bush's home-state record on issue after issue: Houston is the nation's smoggiest city; Texas has the nation's highest number of children without health insurance; and Texas leads the nation in carrying out the death penalty. But blaming a candidate-governor for his state's deficiencies is no guarantee of victory.

\* The presidential campaign tactic of pinning a governor with his state's record sometimes works -- Bush's father vs. Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis in 1988 -- and sometimes doesn't -- the elder Bush vs. Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in 1992.

When the band Austin Lounge Lizards released "Stupid Texas Song" two years ago, the 2000 presidential campaign was not on their minds.

But the Lizards' parody of boastful Texas songs -- "Our rattlesnakes the coiliest, our beaches are the oiliest / Our politicians most corrupt, our stop signs most abrupt" -- could almost serve as Vice President Al Gore's anthem these days.

The presidential ambitions of Republican Gov. George W. Bush are drawing attention to Texas' record on everything from executions to



smog, and Gore is leading the charge.

The vice president has been taking whacks at the way Texas deals with prisoners and drugs, saying, "Governor Bush seems content" with it.

Other critics are taking aim at Bush's home-state record on issue after issue: Houston is the nation's smoggiest city; Texas has the nation's largest number of children without health insurance; and Texas leads the nation in carrying out the death penalty.

Texas authorities are under greater scrutiny, too.

Two state officials -- Charles Williams, chairman of the police training commission, and Health Commissioner William "Reyn" Archer -- recently came under fire after comments they made about minorities. Both apologized, and Williams resigned. Neither man had been a household name, even in Texas, before the national spotlight found them, thanks to the hotly contested presidential campaign.

Blaming a candidate-governor for his state's deficiencies is hardly a new campaign tactic.

Bush's father used it successfully against Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis in the 1988 presidential election and unsuccessfully against Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in 1992. In the keynote address to the 1992 Republican National Convention, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm ran through a litany of Arkansas' problems and asked, "Do we want America to look like Arkansas?"

Bruce Buchanan, a University of Texas political scientist, said, "Sometimes it works, and sometimes it doesn't."

(...)

Critics can and do point to rankings.

Texas ranks last in state government spending per capita; 49th in



state appropriations for the arts; 46th in maximum monthly welfare payments for needy families; 45th in percent of population graduating from high school; ninth in percentage of children living in poverty; and second in prisoner incarceration rate.

The state ranked fifth in the latest figures, out Thursday, for toxic chemicals released into the environment. Texas had ranked first until mining companies and electric power plants were added for the new figures for 1998.

"If you look at the statistics, Texas is on the bottom in a lot of things," Buchanan said. But he noted that both Republicans and Democrats had steered Texas on its conservative course.

"This is an outgrowth of the political culture, a bipartisan decision not to emphasize some things," Buchanan said. "We've decided not to coddle criminals, not to spend a lot on social services or education, not to overhaul the tax system," which relies on sales and property taxes while prohibiting a personal income tax.

Buchanan said, "The question for the campaign is, what is Bush's fault?"

Some outsiders are confounded by the bipartisan nature of Texas policy, said T.R. Fehrenbach of San Antonio, author of the book "Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans."

Bush is only the second Republican elected governor in 120 years, and Democrats have controlled at least one house of the Legislature during his entire tenure.

"Two-thirds of the population of Texans are conservative voters," Fehrenbach said. "This muddies up the partisan thing."

Lt. Gov. Rick Perry, who will be promoted should Bush win in November, has been on radio talk shows defending Bush and Texas. He



said that a booming economy brought so many new people to Texas in the 1990s that it now tops New York as the nation's second-largest state.

"To those who want to home in on George Bush and say he's been a horrible governor and Texas is a horrible place, I come back to one simple fact: If Texas were this total backwater, polluted, ill-educated, no-health-care place to live, why did eight million people move here over the last decade?" Perry asked.



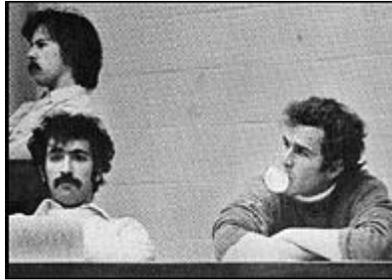
Washington Post

July 28, 1999; Page A01

**The Life of George W. Bush. At Height of Vietnam, Graduate Picks**

**Guard** (Excerpts)

By GEORGE LARDNER JR. and LOIS ROMANO



Two weeks before he was to graduate from Yale, George Walker Bush stepped into the offices of the Texas Air National Guard at Ellington Field outside Houston and announced that he wanted to sign up for pilot training.

It was May 27, 1968, at the height of the Vietnam War. Bush was 12 days away from losing his student deferment from the draft at a time when Americans were dying in combat at the rate of 350 a week. The unit Bush wanted to join offered him the chance to fulfill his military commitment at a base in Texas. It was seen as an escape route from Vietnam by many men his age, and usually had a long waiting list.

Bush had scored only 25 percent on a "pilot aptitude" test, the lowest acceptable grade. But his father was then a congressman from Houston, and the commanders of the Texas Guard clearly had an appreciation of politics.

Bush was sworn in as an airman the same day he applied. His commander, Col. Walter B. "Buck" Staudt, was apparently so pleased to



have a VIP's son in his unit that he later staged a special ceremony so he could have his picture taken administering the oath, instead of the captain who actually had sworn Bush in. Later, when Bush was commissioned a second lieutenant by another subordinate, Staudt again staged a special ceremony for the cameras, this time with Bush's father the congressman -- a supporter of the Vietnam War -- standing proudly in the background.

Bush's father went on to run for senator in 1970 against Lloyd Bentsen Jr. -- a prominent Texas Democrat whose own son had been placed in the same Texas Guard unit by the same Col. Staudt around the same time as Bush. On Election Day, before the polls closed, Guard commanders nominated both George W. Bush and Lloyd Bentsen III for promotion to first lieutenant -- even as the elder Bentsen was defeating the elder Bush.

Three decades later, as Bush begins a campaign for the presidency that has invited new scrutiny of his life, Staudt and other Guard commanders insist no favoritism was shown to him. But others active in Texas politics in the 1960s say the Texas National Guard was open to string-pulling by the well-connected, and there are charges that the then-speaker of the Texas legislature helped George W. gain admittance.

Vietnam was clearly a crucible for Bush, as it was for Bill Clinton, Al Gore and most other men who left college in the late 1960s. Bush maintains that he joined the National Guard not to avoid service in Vietnam but because he wanted to be a fighter pilot. Rather than be drafted and serve in the infantry -- an assignment Bush has acknowledged he did not want -- he agreed to spend almost two years in flight training and another four years in part-time service.

(...)



### *Grabbing a Slot In the National Guard*

Bush learned that there were pilot openings in the Texas Air National Guard during Christmas vacation of his senior year at Yale, when he called Staudt, the commander of the 147th Fighter Group, and, he said, "found out what it took to apply."

"He recalls hearing from friends while he was home over the Christmas break that the Guard was looking for pilots and that Colonel Staudt was the person to contact," said his communications director, Karen Hughes. She said Bush did not recall who those friends were.

Retired Col. Rufus G. Martin, then personnel officer in charge of the 147th Fighter Group, said the unit was short of its authorized strength, but still had a long waiting list, because of the difficulty getting slots in basic training for recruits at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio. Martin said four openings for pilots were available in the 147th in 1968, and that Bush got the last one.

Staudt, the colonel who twice had himself photographed with Bush, said his status as a congressman's son "didn't cut any ice." But others say that it was not uncommon for well-connected Texans to obtain special consideration for Air Guard slots. In addition to Bush and Bentsen, many socially or politically prominent young men were admitted to the Air Guard, according to former officials; they included the son of then-Sen. John Tower and at least seven members of the Dallas Cowboys.

"The well-to-do kids had enough sense to get on the waiting list," Martin said. "Some [applicants] thought they could just walk in the door and sign up."

One address for those seeking help getting in was Ben Barnes, a Democrat who was then the speaker of the Texas House and a protege of



Gov. John B. Connally. A top aide to Barnes, Nick Kralj, simultaneously served as aide to the head of the Texas Air National Guard, the late Brig. Gen. James M. Rose.

An anonymous letter addressed to a U.S. attorney in Texas, produced in a discovery proceeding for an ongoing lawsuit, charged that Barnes assisted Bush in getting into the Guard. The suit was brought by the former director of the Texas Lottery Commission, who believes Barnes, now a lobbyist, may have played a role in his dismissal.

In a deposition for the suit, Kralj confirmed that he would get calls from Barnes or his chief of staff, Robert Spelling, "saying so-and-so is interested in getting in the Guard." Kralj said he would then forward the names to Gen. Rose.

In an interview, Barnes also acknowledged that he sometimes received requests for help in obtaining Guard slots. He said he never received such a call from then-Rep. Bush or anyone in the Bush family.

However, when asked if an intermediary or friend of the Bush family had ever asked him to intercede on George W.'s behalf, Barnes declined to comment. Kralj, in his deposition, said he could not recall any of the names he gave to Gen. Rose.

Hughes, Bush's spokeswoman, said: "The governor has no knowledge of anyone making inquiries on his behalf."

Martin and others said Bush was quickly accepted because he was willing to sign up for the intensive training and six years of service required of fighter pilots. "It was very difficult to find someone who would commit himself to the rigorous training that was required," says Martin.

Bush, said Staudt, "said he wanted to fly just like his daddy."

Bush's father had volunteered for service in World War II at the age of 18 and was shot down while flying combat missions in the Pacific



theater. By enlisting in the Guard, his son not only avoided Vietnam but was able to spend much of his time on active duty in his home town of Houston, flying F-102 fighter interceptors out of Ellington Air Force Base.

In discussing his own decision, he has always said his main consideration was that he wanted to be a pilot, and the National Guard gave him a chance to do that. In 1989 he tried to describe his own thought process to a Texas interviewer. "I'm saying to myself, 'What do I want to do?' I think I don't want to be an infantry guy as a private in Vietnam. What I do decide to want to do is learn to fly."

Asked in a recent interview whether he was avoiding the draft, Bush said, "No, I was becoming a pilot."

Four months before enlisting, Bush reported at Westover Air Force Base in Massachusetts to take the Air Force Officers Qualification Test. While scoring 25 percent for pilot aptitude -- "about as low as you could get and be accepted," according to Martin -- and 50 percent for navigator aptitude in his initial testing, he scored 95 percent on questions designed to reflect "officer quality," compared with a current-day average of 88 percent.

Among the questions Bush had to answer on his application forms was whether he wanted to go overseas. Bush checked the box that said: "do not volunteer."

Bush said in an interview that he did not recall checking the box. Two weeks later, his office provided a statement from a former, state-level Air Guard personnel officer, asserting that since Bush "was applying for a specific position with the 147th Fighter Group, it would have been inappropriate for him to have volunteered for an overseas assignment and he probably was so advised by the military personnel clerk assisting him in completing the form."



During a second interview, Bush himself raised the issue.

"Had my unit been called up, I'd have gone . . . to Vietnam," Bush said. "I was prepared to go."

But there was no chance Bush's unit would be ordered overseas. Bush says that toward the end of his training in 1970, he tried to volunteer for overseas duty, asking a commander to put his name on the list for a "Palace Alert" program, which dispatched qualified F-102 pilots in the Guard to the Europe and the Far East, occasionally to Vietnam, on three- to six-month assignments.

He was turned down on the spot. "I did [ask] -- and I was told, 'You're not going,' " Bush said.

Only pilots with extensive flying time -- at the outset, 1,000 hours were required -- were sent overseas under the voluntary program. The Air Force, moreover, was retiring the aging F-102s and had ordered all overseas F-102 units closed down as of June 30, 1970.

(...)



Baltimore Sun

August 3, 2000; Page 1A

**This Bush A 'Late Bloomer'. Growth: He Followed in His Father's And Grandfather's Steps, But Success Came At a Slower Pace** (Excerpts)

By SUSAN BAER

WASHINGTON - As many of George W. Bush's friends did just over a decade ago - after the president's son became part-owner of the Texas Rangers - K. Michael Conaway came early to a game to watch batting practice with his two sons. In his usual playful manner, Bush sneaked behind Conaway, a former partner in the oil business, and gleefully whispered in his ear:

*"My own personal field of dreams."*

In ways George Walker Bush could not have known then, that run-down, dusty diamond in Arlington, Texas, was more than a baseball fan's version of heaven. His success with it, in his mid-40s, was the first real triumph of his professional life, and led almost directly to the field of political hopes and dreams he will look out upon tonight as he accepts his party's nomination for president of the United States.

Bush steps onto the podium at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia with a remarkably abbreviated, back-loaded resume, one that reflects a life that came together in little more than the past decade. The 54-year-old son of a president and grandson of a senator is so new to the national spotlight that millions of Americans will be getting their first extended close view of the Texas governor when he speaks to the convention tonight.

Bush's success with the Rangers in the early 1990s, due mostly to a gleaming new ballpark he built, financed largely by taxpayers, gave him



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

the credibility and profile to win the Texas governor's race in 1994. And from there - with a term and a half under his belt - it has been a straight, if not seamless, shot to the GOP presidential nomination.

(...)

And the young Bush started down the blue-chip road of expectations that began on a hilltop at the Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., the elite prep school his grandfather, Prescott Bush, and father had attended.

Bush's loud, fun-loving spirit asserted itself there amid the buttoned-down atmosphere of coats and ties, morning chapel and rigorous academics, and he made his mark as head cheerleader and "high commissioner" of stickball. When he announced that he was applying to Yale University - again, following the two previous generations of Bush men - the dean of Andover urged him to apply to other schools as well.

In 1964, however, legacy was still important at Yale, where Prescott Bush sat on the board of trustees, and George W. need not have applied elsewhere. Earning gentleman's C's, as Al Gore did at Harvard, the history major concentrated on fraternity life, beer, girls and sports.

He eschewed all the political, academic and journalistic societies that were crackling on campus in the mid- to-late-'60s, as well as the agonizing debate over the Vietnam War.

"That wasn't his interest," says a college roommate, Rob Dieter, a law professor at the University of Colorado. "George was pretty much there to get out of it what he wanted - the experience of the people who were there."

Biographer Bill Minutaglio believes that Bush's Yale experience - in which the establishment that afforded comforts and privileges to people



with names like Walker and Bush was being challenged and turned on its head - created in the third-generation Yale an anti-intellectual streak and disdain for those he considered snobs. Bush would rail against the "intellectual superiority" of Eastern elites.

"He felt extremely ostracized and isolated to the point of being claustrophobic," says Minutaglio, author of "First Son, George W. Bush and the Bush Family Dynasty." "He saw the rejection of the things his father and grandfather experienced at Yale. It really informed his whole life."

After college, Bush signed up to be a pilot in the Texas Air National Guard, a relatively safe, yet respectable alternative to the draft. Some have suggested that the option was available to him because he was a congressman's son, but he and his family have categorically denied that strings were pulled on his behalf.

Questions have also been raised about the degree to which he attended Guard meetings. He says he performed as required.

Living in Houston, he tried several jobs, most of them secured through the help of family friends, and continued his self-described "wild, exotic" ways.

#### *Disappointed father*

On one trip to Washington to visit his parents, he drove over a neighbor's trash can after a night of drinking with brother Marvin, then 15. Called on the carpet by his father, the younger George Bush snapped, "You want to go mano a mano?" There was no fight, only the sting of disappointment conveyed from father to son.

Looking for direction, Bush applied to the University of Texas Law School, but was rejected. Instead, he returned to the Eastern establishment he seemingly deplored, to Harvard Business School.



There, his boots, thrift-shop attire and mouthful of chewing tobacco, which he spat into a paper cup during class, made the son of the then-chairman of the Republican National Committee conspicuous.

With his M. B.A. in hand, Bush returned to Midland - to the oil business that had made his father a millionaire, to his family connections and to his buddies.

One night in 1975, Bush and his Midland pal Charlie Younger followed Willie Nelson and his band on stage in nearby Odessa, fueled by much beer and Younger's acquaintance with the drummer. As Nelson began singing "Whiskey River, take my mind," the uninvited duo hung toward the back of the stage and sang along.

"We had a good time," says Younger, an orthopedic surgeon in Midland. "We never got out of control, but we'd get right on the edge."

Friends like Conaway say it was "almost a given" that Bush would enter politics. But ever impatient, Bush might have jumped the gun when he decided to run for Congress in 1977 with a winning personality, a good education and family friends who were willing to dig into their pockets, but no record of personal achievement.

His failure in that race knocked some of the bluster out of him, friends say, as did his marriage to Laura Welch, a reserved teacher and librarian from Midland, in the middle of the campaign only three months after they had met.

"His marriage was the mountaintop event in his life," says Younger.

Plan for family, politics

Finally, Bush got serious about making something of himself. "He said he wanted to make enough money somewhere for his family to be taken care of because one of these days, in some arena, he was going to throw his hat in the political arena again," Conaway says.



Bush had little money of his own when he started his oil- drilling business. But he had no trouble finding investors in friends and his family's wealthy associates, some of them prominent Republicans and many of them prominent executives.

"You couldn't ignore the fact that his dad was vice president of the United States at that time," says Conaway, one of Bush's business partners. "It helped in the early years in getting some doors opened that might not have been opened otherwise. But then we were on our own. "

On his own, Bush never got the big payday his father had.

"He wasn't going to take the big risk for the big gain," says Younger, who invested money with Bush. "He was hitting singles instead of home runs."

He was also drilling dry holes. "A lot of it was luck," says McClesky. "He wasn't that lucky."

But Bush was lucky in finding financial white knights who came to his company's rescue every time it looked as if it was about to hit bottom. In 1982, with oil prices beginning to slide, he received a \$1 million infusion from a New York investor who was a friend and classmate of James A. Baker III, manager of the elder Bush's 1980 presidential run and his future secretary of state.

Two years later, Bush's still-struggling company merged with oil exploration company Spectrum 7, partly owned by William DeWitt Jr., who later would invest in the Rangers with Bush. Bush was named CEO and received a \$75,000 salary.

In 1986, as oil prices were collapsing and Spectrum was more than \$3 million in debt, Bush merged Spectrum with Harken Oil and Gas, a large Dallas company eager to put celebrities on its board of directors. Along with a seat on the board, he received a consulting contract for as



much as \$120,000 a year - even though he was working on his father's presidential bid - and stock that he would sell for more than \$835,000.

In fact, while many of his investors lost money through the years, Bush turned the \$50,000 he had in start-up capital to a net worth of \$2 million by the time he got out of the oil business a decade later.

"He had a steady increase in his net worth," says McClesky. "Aside from the wells he acquired, he had other investments that grew and did well."

The sale of his Harken stock in 1990 prompted an insider trading investigation of Bush by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Bush had sold his shares just before major losses by Harken were reported.

Bush said he sold the stock to pay off a bank loan he had obtained a year earlier to buy the Rangers. After investigating, the SEC, headed by then-President Bush's appointee and former aide Richard Breeden, took no action against Bush.

Although Bush had minimal success as an oil executive, colleagues said he was a hard worker and efficient manager. He was drinking heavily at the time, but co-workers said they never saw signs of it at work. He was in the office by 8:30 every morning, sharp and clear-eyed.

But alcohol loomed large in his life, though he has said he was not an alcoholic. With pressure from his wife and inspiration from the Rev. Billy Graham, whom he'd met at the family home in Maine, he quit drinking, cold turkey, just after he turned 40. He attended Bible classes and, as he says, opened his heart to Jesus Christ.

"It was huge to him," Conaway says of Bush's Christian re-awakening. But to others around him, it was more subtle than what Conaway calls "a light-switch kind of change."

No longer actively engaged in the oil business, he took his family,



which included twin daughters Barbara and Jenna, to Washington to work on his father's 1988 presidential campaign.

Bush labored hard and effectively, but he came out of the campaign with no sustained interest in politics. With his father headed to the White House, he was eager to return to Texas and the private sector.

For good reason. His former Spectrum associate, DeWitt, whose father had owned several Major League Baseball teams, asked Bush if he'd be interested in putting together a group of investors to buy the Texas Rangers from Eddie Chiles, a friend of Bush's father. Bush jumped at the chance. He formed a group that included old fraternity brothers, business school buddies and figures from his father's political life, including Fred Malek.

*'His name was a big plus'*

"Everyone believed he was the guy to do it," says Malek, who managed the national GOP convention for the senior Bush in 1988.

With Texas financiers, the group bought the ball club in 1989 for about \$80 million.

Bush invested only \$606,000, most of which he borrowed from a bank. His stake was among the smallest, but the son of the newly elected president of the United States was named managing general partner along with investor Ed "Rusty" Rose III.

Bush would become the public face of a franchise that badly needed a makeover.

"I don't think there's any question his name was a big plus for the whole enterprise," says Tom Schieffer, who eventually became president of the team. "His name was the same as the president's. That brought a lot of attention to the franchise."

And, to be sure, it was a mutually beneficial relationship.



Bush sat in the stands - in the front row behind the dugout - signing autographs, bantering with the players and giving out baseball cards with his picture. His face was seen almost nightly on the TV sports news.

"It was a defining moment for him," says Lisa LeMaster, a media coach who worked with Bush during that time. "He needed something between the commas. Before '89, he was always 'George W. Bush, son of President Bush.' After this, he was, 'George W. Bush, managing general partner of the Texas Rangers.'"

The Rangers also afforded Bush what had eluded him in the oil patch: millions.

The partners realized that, to turn the team's fortunes around, receive maximum revenues and attract new players, the team needed a new ballpark. Although Bush, as a politician, would make tax cuts a central part of his agenda, his group launched an aggressive campaign to persuade Arlington officials and residents to approve a half-cent local sales tax increase to build a stadium.

With \$135 million in taxpayer funds and about \$50 million from the Rangers, mostly from a \$1 ticket surcharge, the stadium was built. When The Ballpark in Arlington opened in 1994 with its luxury sky boxes, the value of the team immediately soared.

When the group sold the team in 1998 for \$250 million, Bush's share was close to \$15 million, with an additional \$1 million to \$2 million expected in a second distribution.

When he had toyed previously with the idea of running for governor of Texas, strategists had told him he had nothing but a name to show for himself. Now he had what he needed. The new stadium was certain to set him up financially, his father, defeated in 1992, no longer cast such an imposing shadow and, at last, he had a business success to boast of.



What's more, the Texas GOP, which had lost the governor's post in 1990 to Democrat Ann Richards, desperately wanted it back.

"By '94, politics was looking for him harder than he was looking for it," says Hance, a Democrat-turned- Republican who defeated Bush in the 1978 congressional race. "He was the right person at the right time. I've always said, 'Luck never hit someone sitting in the shade.' He was out moving around."

Many associates were surprised - shocked, in fact - that Bush would give up his dream job for a risky political race. "Most people thought he was crazy," says LeMaster. "But he always thought, probably more than anyone, he could win."

Against the popular Richards, who derided the senior Bush at the 1988 Democratic Convention for being born "with a silver foot in his mouth," Bush ran a disciplined, tightly focused campaign. He diligently stuck to four - and only four - issues: educational accountability, limiting civil lawsuits, tightening juvenile justice laws and welfare reform.

While Richards baited Bush by calling him "Shrub," "Junior," even "some jerk," he kept his cool, and toppled the incumbent with 54 percent of the vote. To this day, Bush points to that race as evidence of how he is often underestimated.

Once in office, he stuck to his four themes, having chosen issues that had been reverberating through the legislature, and put his stamp on bills in each area.

In education, the signature issue in Bush's presidential run, Texas adopted a new framework that shifted power to school districts but gave the state responsibility for making sure that students were learning.

The one bold initiative Bush proposed failed: a plan to reform the tax code to spread the tax burden more equitably.



Mediation, compromise

Questions raised nationwide in recent months about the courts' ability to determine guilt in death penalty cases have turned a spotlight on the 134 men and women executed in Texas during Bush's governorship and his firm confidence that all were justified.

But more than any legislation or statistic, Bush made his mark as a mediator and pragmatist, developing relationships with powerful Democrats and compromising when necessary.

And with his oversized personality - he would banter with the cleaning ladies in the state Capitol in his mangled Spanish and give a nickname to nearly everyone he met - he became so popular that, in his successful 1998 re-election campaign, he won the endorsement of the Democratic lieutenant governor.

Even before his re- election, he had been laying the groundwork and developing themes for a presidential run. And by 1998, Republicans felt they had found in George W. Bush the right person at the right time to reclaim the White House.

If he is short on political experience, friends and supporters say, he will rise to the occasion. He has before.

"It's just amazing the way he has adapted and matured and developed in even just the last six to 12 months," says Malek. " Now he is someone you can sit down and talk to and see this would be a good president."



## **Career Highlights - Gore**

Washington Post

August 10, 2000; Page A01

### **The Life of Al Gore. After Traumatic April, A Book Takes Shape**

(Excerpts)

By DAVID MARANISS and ELLEN NAKASHIMA

Hmmm, thought John Sterling, an editor at Houghton Mifflin. This might be interesting. But then again, it might not. He was reading an eight-page book proposal that had been submitted to him by literary agent Mort Janklow on behalf of a prospective first-time author, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee.

The book would deal with the global environment and how it should be protected. That much was apparent, if little else. It was hard to discern whether this was meant to be a guided tour of the Earth's far-flung ecological hot spots, a compendium of obscure congressional hearings or a philosophical treatise on the interconnectedness of the physical and spiritual worlds. There was no clear story line, and the ideas went all over the place. Finally, there was a problem with the tentative title. Gore wanted to call his tome "The New World War."

When he finished reading the proposal, Sterling told Janklow that he might consider the book depending upon the answers to two questions. Would there be a ghostwriter? The environment was a tough subject to sell anyway, and Sterling wanted nothing to do with a manuscript from a senator seeking to advance a political platform and using a ghostwriter. Second, were they in this for the money and looking for a big advance? If so, no dice.



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

The agent passed the questions along to Gore and called back with the answers. No, they were not looking for a huge sum of money. Gore was serious. He would not need a ghostwriter, and he was not intending to use it as a campaign platform. The proof was there in a sentence in which Gore had boldly declared: "I have decided to risk my entire political career with a series of extremely controversial proposals."

That was enough to lure Sterling out of Manhattan to visit Gore at his Senate office on July 27, 1990. On the way down, he wondered who would be in the room with the senator, assuming it would be crowded with media handlers and policy aides. He also assumed that Gore would behave like a typical politician with too many meetings scheduled and too little time, and give him perhaps 30 minutes, at most an hour. Instead, he was surprised to find Gore utterly alone and ready and eager to talk for hours, from 2 to 4:50, in the end.

Here was Gore the irrepressibly spirited pedagogue, all substance, synapses firing away, going laterally across a vast swath of material at 100 miles an hour and then deep into a single subject. He's doing a data download to some extent, Sterling thought, and though it was obvious that Gore was showing off, it was still quite a sight to behold. It became immediately obvious to the editor that Gore had no idea how to structure the book. But it was also "clear that he absolutely was going to write the book or had to write the book because it was all inside him. He was genuinely passionate about the subject." At some point in the conversation, Sterling told Gore that he would have to find a new title. But, Gore argued, the degradation of the environment has to be considered on the level of a world war. People need to mobilize to address the problem in the same way they would to fight a world war. Sterling understood the metaphor but made it clear that "The New World War"



would not work.

Gore accepted the advice without further resistance, and the makings of an agreement were at hand. On Aug. 2, the deal was done for an untitled work, with the understanding that Sterling would be willing to come down to Washington regularly to help Gore find a shape to the book.

(...)

The concept of global warming through what was called the greenhouse effect was at the center of Gore's thinking about the environment. It was an idea that had intrigued and disturbed him since his college days, when he had taken a course from Harvard professor Roger Revelle, the first scientist to systematically monitor carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, using data collected at the Mauna Loa volcano in Hawaii. It was during Gore's years at Harvard in the mid-1960s that Revelle began sharing the results of his study. He told his students that over eight years of measurements, the concentration of carbon dioxide levels had increased markedly each year, and that this would cause the Earth to grow warmer. It was from Revelle, Gore said later, that he realized that nature is not immune to our presence and that we could actually change the makeup of the Earth's entire atmosphere in a fundamental way.

(...)

Although Gore had dropped the idea of doing a television series simultaneously (putting off the documentary until later), he still tended to think of the book in visual more than literary terms. He imagined that he would be "a very strong first-person presence all the way through," taking the reader along on his tour.

Sterling gradually steered him away from that idea, suggesting



instead that Gore choose a few points where writing in the first person seemed appropriate, particularly at the beginning and end, but then get out of the way of the story. Sterling was also struck by the interplay of science and spirituality in Gore's thinking. Gore was in essence a fact-based thinker, but his spiritual search had become so strong since Albert's accident that he wanted to infuse a number of chapters with religion and philosophy and his own search for the lessons of life. They talked this over while reshuffling the index cards, until it became clear that a separate chapter on ecology and spirituality would be more effective.

Gore began writing the book in the late fall of 1990 and early winter of 1991. This was not an otherwise uneventful period of his life. His wife was still struggling with her post-accident depression. She had stopped exercising and gained weight and was feeling increasingly withdrawn. At the same time, Gore had a Senate reelection campaign to run, though with minimal opposition. And in January 1991, he faced a major foreign policy issue in the Senate, the handling of the Gulf War.

(...)

Even during that period, Gore's staff carved out large chunks of time for him in the early morning and evening so he could slip over to the Methodist Building and write. He became known for pulling all-nighters there while consuming gallons of Diet Coke. He was often cranky and slow to thank those assisting him, which they generally attributed to a lack of sleep and tolerated only because he seemed hardest on himself. The most popular account of his writing effort concerns the night he apparently fell asleep at the computer and awoke hours later to discover that his elbow had inadvertently hit the keyboard and written thousands of r's . . . or k's or m's, depending on who told the story.



The writing could be clunky in any case. Gore told Sterling that he just wanted to get it all down, and worry about style later. Though he engaged a researcher in the early stages of the work and drew upon staff members at various points to help gather information and to read drafts, the work product was decidedly his and not that of a hired hand. Gore had vowed to be bold, both in his proposals and in his personal statements, and in that latter area, the early drafts of the manuscript were even stronger than the eventual book.

At one point, he showed staff members a version in which he said that his commitment to pushing a strong environmental agenda was more important to him than holding public office and that he might not run again. One staff member, upon reading that section, bluntly told him, Gore, you are so full of [expletive], it's ridiculous. You are making a promise you can't keep. Make the point about how real these issues are to you. Make the point about too often holding your finger to the wind and not being driven to do the right things. Make those points, but don't take yourself out of the game. It doesn't make sense! That section was deleted.

(...)

Although scientists helped Gore revise factual misconceptions in his drafts, and Sterling helped him rearrange chapters and rewrite sections, the rhetoric in the manuscript remained passionate and urgent from beginning to end. In one of his more strident metaphors, Gore related the global environmental situation to Hitler's rise in Germany, saying that an ecological Kristallnacht was at hand and an environmental Holocaust was imminent. Protecting the Earth, he said, had to become the central organizing principle of humankind. He called for a Global Marshall Plan that would stabilize the world population, educate the world's citizens on



the environmental emergency, develop cleaner technologies (leading to the elimination of the internal combustion engine in 25 years) and establish ways to measure and assign economic consequences to every corporate and governmental act that affected the environment.

The Marshall Plan concept went back to Gore's original idea that the environmental dilemma had to be confronted with the vigor of a world war. But if Sterling vetoed the title "The New World War," what should it be? They did not settle on the answer until the final hour of the deadline for putting out the catalogue listing Houghton Mifflin's winter backlist. In a long list of possible titles, the word "earth" had been in several of them as well as the word "balance." What if they put them together? Sterling uttered the phrase "earth in the balance" to agent Janklow, who liked it. Gore was not certain but finally said, "Yeah. Yeah, that sounds like it could really work when you think about it."

The last words Gore wrote for the book were for the dedication. He considered "a lot of different possibilities" before the obvious came to him. He was Bo again, his late sister's nickname for him, and he typed NANCY LaFON GORE HUNGER--"and it just unleashed a huge . . . I didn't stop crying, you know, for a long time. Just typing that much. And then I knew obviously that was who the book would be dedicated to." The publication date for "Earth in the Balance" was the third week in January 1992. It came out to favorable reviews, and moved onto the bestseller list just as the nation was getting its first look at the provocative young governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton.

(...)



New York Times

August 13, 2000; Page 1

**In Congress, Gore Selected Issues Ready for Prime Time** (Excerpts)

By KEVIN SACK and ROBIN TONER



WASHINGTON, Aug. 12 -- The Democratic freshman class that was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976 was a remarkable one, loaded with bright and ambitious young reformers who blended the idealism of their generation with the cynicism bred by Watergate and Vietnam. Many would go on to bigger things -- Richard A. Gephardt to the top of the House Democratic leadership, Leon E. Panetta to the White House as chief of staff, Barbara A. Mikulski to the Senate.

But even in this hotbed of ambition, Al Gore stood out. As former Representative Jim Cooper of Tennessee put it, "Al was never a backbencher." Almost as soon as they arrived on Capitol Hill, members of the class of '76 began looking for ways to break out of the pack. Some, like Mr. Gephardt, played the inside game, building the personal alliances essential for rising in Congressional leadership. Others, like Mr. Gore, a young Tennessean with a famous political name, preferred the outside game.

It was not his way to twist arms or trade favors. While he made friends, particularly on the basketball court in the House gym, backslapping was not his political strong suit. Instead, Mr. Gore, who



was 28 when first elected, went methodically about the task of identifying issues -- many slightly obscure but all deadly serious -- that he could make his own.

Throughout his 16 years in Congress, 8 in the House and then 8 in the Senate before becoming Bill Clinton's running mate, Mr. Gore was strikingly effective at winning attention by championing just-over-the-horizon consumer-oriented causes. Toxic-waste dumping. Genetic testing. Global warming.

He reveled in the details, in mastering the arcana of arms control or computer technology, issues the average politician might find bloodless or simply too hard, then trying to popularize those issues with the voters at large.

So effective was his strategy, and so media-savvy his approach, that former Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, once the No. 2 Republican in the Senate, remembered: "We called him Prime Time Al. That's what he was known as in our cloakroom."

(...)

Mr. Gore himself, when asked in a recent interview aboard Air Force Two to summarize his Congressional career, said the message was simple: "I will not hesitate to take on any special interest that is operating to the disadvantage of the American people. And I'll never hesitate to take on any challenge, however complex or difficult."

But the Bush campaign will portray Mr. Gore as a man who carefully crafted his Congressional career to maintain his political viability, a man with little grounding other than his own ambition. "Al Gore's flip-flops on important issues, including guns and abortion, underscore why there's a leadership gap in this campaign," said Dan Bartlett, a Bush campaign spokesman.



Clearly, Mr. Gore was engaged in a balancing act for much of his Congressional career. He chose issues that pushed him to the national stage, but he was compulsive about tending his district back home. He studiously avoided the kind of polarizing debates that ultimately contributed to the defeat of his father, Senator Albert Gore Sr., in 1970. The issues the younger Gore selected had the advantage of being virtually nonideological. There was right and wrong in Mr. Gore's positioning, but rarely was there right and left.

On the most volatile controversies, like abortion and gun control, he took stands that put his conservative constituents at ease and then shifted positions as he moved from Tennessee politics to the national arena. To the extent he ever alienated the home folks, he usually managed to work his way back into their good graces by maintaining a relentless regimen of town hall meetings, sometimes five on a given Saturday.

It all left his political rivals with little room to maneuver. "He picked out issues that unless Adolf Hitler was your idol you couldn't disagree," said Victor H. Ashe, the mayor of Knoxville, Tenn., and Mr. Gore's Republican opponent in his first Senate campaign in 1984. "Organ transplant databases. More money for Alzheimer's research. Infant formula. I mean, who in their right mind is going to fight against those? He avoided any issue that could be divisive." (...)

An Invaluable Forum The Democratic freshmen who entered the House in the post-Watergate classes of 1974 and 1976 expected to make a difference, fast, in contrast to their predecessors' long years of quiet back-bench servitude. Mr. Gore hoped to be on the Appropriations Committee, the seat of federal largess, but he lost out to his friend and fellow freshman Norm Dicks of Washington. He landed, fortunately



enough, on the Commerce Committee. Mr. Dicks recalled saying he had done Mr. Gore a favor: "I told him, 'Now you'll be on Commerce and on TV all the time.' "

Indeed, the Commerce Committee had purview over a wide array of consumer issues -- involving energy, the environment, health care -- and it gave Mr. Gore an invaluable forum. He got a seat on the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, and eventually became chairman of a similar subcommittee of the House Committee on Science and Technology.

From those perches, Mr. Gore quickly became known as a meticulously prepared, take-no-prisoners inquisitor, aided by his background in law and his five years as a newspaper reporter. The headlines from back home -- and some in Washington -- portrayed an aggressive young lawmaker standing up for consumers, whether he was charging monopoly practices among natural-gas pipeline companies or exposing an international uranium cartel: "Gore: Thousands of Babies Drinking Harmful Formula?" "Rep. Gore Breaks Up a Monopoly." "Gore Questions Contact Lens Solution Use." "Gore Introduces Nationwide Transplant Organ Bill."

It was a pattern that would continue over the years as he crusaded against the marketing of unhealthy baby formula, raised early ethical concerns about the use of genetic testing and engineering, promoted the benefits of midwifery and helped establish a national organ transplant network.

Barely past 30, Mr. Gore was in the thick of the struggle for the passage of the Superfund Act of 1980, which established a fund to clean up toxic wastes. He was also an important member of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future. "We'd bring in top scientists, top futurists



who were looking at technological developments, their implications for society," Mr. Gephardt said.

Much later, Mr. Gore would become the butt of late-night talk show jokes for his claim of having helped to create the Internet. But Congressional colleagues say he really was ahead of the curve in seeing the implications of new technologies, like computer networks and genetic testing.

"He understood the link between technology and development; he could see the future very well," said David E. Bonior of Michigan, now the Democratic whip. Mike Kopp, one of Mr. Gore's early aides, remembered him subscribing to scientific journals, "obscure publications," at home, clipping out articles and bringing them in for his staff to review.

He certainly had his detractors, who saw his hunger for the media limelight as extraordinary, even by Washington standards. Former aides say he was skilled at cultivating reporters, studying their interests and then catering to them. Still, by most accounts Mr. Gore fit happily into the culture of the House. His father cast a formidable shadow, but as another famous son of a famous Congressman, Representative John D. Dingell put it, "It is not looked down upon in this place" to have a family legacy. Mr. Dingell, the Michigan Democrat who was the exceedingly powerful chairman of the Commerce Committee from 1981 to 1995, became something of a mentor to Mr. Gore.

Mr. Gore could be a demanding, micromanaging boss, traits that have extended to his campaign. In his early days, he sorted the office mail himself and insisted on reviewing and editing the most pedestrian constituent letters. Former aides said he did not take well to criticism and was not particularly solicitous of advice from underlings. Though he was accessible, he avoided both small talk and confrontation. "Typically,"



said Mr. Kopp, "his reaction when you criticized him was he'd either walk away or get busy doing something else."

But he also hung out with members of the House like Tom Downey of New York, most of them young men with young families, and was among the regulars in the freewheeling basketball games at the House gym. "I had closer friendships in the House," Mr. Gore said, comparing it with the Senate. "I just, I had more fun in the House."

Still, even in the House gym, his competitive instincts showed. Mr. Bonior recalls walking into the gym one night to find Mr. Gore on his back at midcourt, trying to make an implausible shot that others could not match. (When asked about this in an interview, Mr. Gore said without a pause, "Not trying.")

#### Addressing Arms Control

Midway through his tenure in the House, at the start of the 1980's, Mr. Gore began his move to a more national arena, obtaining a seat on the House Intelligence Committee and plunging into the most arcane field in Washington: arms control. It has become a highly burnished chapter in the official Gore story -- how he heard the persistent fears of nuclear war from the folks back home, how he embarked on a secretive yearlong tutorial on arms control with Leon Fuerth, today his national security adviser and then a top staffer with the Intelligence Committee.

"The levels of anxiety were high, and the liberal position was the freeze," said Peter Knight, a top aide at the time. "He was looking for a more complete answer."

(...)

"It's not a black and white thing," said Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, an international-security policy group. "If you take a longer-range view, the outcome that Gore was pushing -- take



the warheads off these land-based missiles, that single-warhead missiles are the route to stability on land -- what Gore was pushing for became conventional wisdom 15 years later."

What was clear was that Mr. Gore was playing at a very high level of the game.

(...)

To the extent that he could, Mr. Gore minimized opportunities for disagreement. In line with his district, he opposed both Medicaid financing of abortion and most forms of gun control, positions that he changed as he felt the lure of national politics. "There's no doubt that I changed my position," he said, but he noted that many Democrats had evolved on such issues.

Clearly, though, Mr. Gore had no interest in leading on divisive topics. "On the abortion stuff, he was never out front," said former Representative Peter H. Kostmayer, a Democratic member of the class of '76 from Pennsylvania. "I never noticed how he voted. He did it quietly. I was surprised to read that he had ever been antichoice."

Mr. Gore called himself "a raging moderate," and it worked. After a close first election, he ran unopposed in 1978, won with 79 percent in 1980 and was unopposed again in 1982.

(...)



Washington Post

December 29, 1999; Page A1

**Gore: To Serve or Not to Serve** (Excerpts)

By DAVID MARANISS and ELLEN NAKASHIMA

(...)

In a small town like Carthage, the cost of war is painfully easy to comprehend. It is etched into a large granite stone memorial that stands in front of the Smith County Courthouse, listing the county's fallen: 138 from the Civil War, one from the Spanish-American War, 24 from World War I, 54 from World War II and eight from Vietnam: Joe Taylor, James H. Stiliz, Glenn Pope, Joe L. Midgett, James Stallings, Jackie Underwood, R. Shannon Wills and James E. Bush.

Most of the young men of Smith County entered the military the same way. They were called up by the local draft board run by Elizabeth Beasley on the bottom floor of the post office. In the morning darkness, they boarded a Trailways bus on Main Street, were handed a tuna fish sandwich and a Coke, and were sent off to the induction center in Nashville. Not all of them wanted to go. Jack Martin said "they had to pull the splinters out from under my fingernails from where I was hanging onto the porch" at his family's grocery. His father, a World War II veteran, said to him, "If I could go in your place, I would." But everyone in Jack's family knew what his responsibility was, "just like I knew it." There were ways he might have gotten out, he said:

"I coulda gotten married.

"Gone to college.

"Had a child.

"Left the country.



"But you don't do that.

"You just don't do that. Period."

One of the names in Mrs. Beasley's registration book in 1969 was Albert Gore Jr. He might live most of the time in Washington or Cambridge, but Carthage was always listed as the family's hometown, and it is where he registered for the draft.

He still subscribed to the Carthage Courier, where the military comings and goings of the local boys were front-page news. Thomas Bush was on leave. Garry Carter was in Vietnam. Sgt. Kenneth Bennett was awarded the Silver Star. Boatswain's mate Walter G. Pope died leading a Navy SEAL team in the Mekong Delta. Jimmy Trainham got hit by shrapnel in his legs and eyes serving with the 1st Cavalry near the Perfume River. James Donald Stallings's jeep hit a mine and blew his body apart. Jackie Underwood came home to Pleasant Shade in a casket, and when they buried him and the bugler played taps, one Vietnam vet's mother wrote to him, "it echoed all over the little old town that sets in a small valley."

In Cambridge, reassured by the prevailing sense that the war was evil and had to be stopped and that any means of avoiding it was acceptable, Gore allowed himself to consider other options. But it was impossible, he said later, for him to think of Carthage and not come back to the conclusion that he had to go. "The meaning of a decision to say, 'I'm going to get out of this by hook or crook,'" Gore said, "is very different in Carthage and in the eyes of the guys that I knew there, than it was among my peer group in Cambridge." And by registering in Carthage instead of Washington, he could not think of the process as the random doings of a faceless bureaucracy.

In the list of draft-eligible young men in Mrs. Beasley's registration



books at the Selective Service office in Carthage, he said, "there wasn't a huge big number of people, few of whom I knew. There was a very small number of people, all of whom I knew. And the take each month was three, four, two, three out of four, five, three, four. And what was common in Boston and Washington was unheard of out in Carthage. Finding a way out. And there were lots of ways out. But not in Carthage."

The prospect of another Jackie Underwood being buried in his place, the political demands of his father's reelection campaign – even if he was taking Tipper's advice and turning the question around to you, what do you think is best for you?, he knew now, a few weeks before his graduation, that the answer was that he had to go into the Army and that he would have to go in as a private. As he told Neustadt during one of their conversations, he felt he "had to do what his father's constituents had to do."

There were always other options for him if he wanted them. His cousin Gayle Byrne was in graduate school in Alabama. Her then-husband, who was working in the state legislature, knew a top officer in the Alabama National Guard and played trombone in the guard's band. According to Byrne, her husband inquired of the top guardsman, "This is Senator Gore's son, it's my wife's cousin, would you have a spot for him in the Alabama National Guard? He is just coming out of college." They had not discussed the plan with Al or his parents before they pursued it. Byrne said she was "thinking along the lines of, this would be wonderful, this would provide him with a way to avoid the draft and avoid going to Vietnam."

The Alabama National Guard officer called back and said yes, they did have a spot for Al Gore. Byrne was ecstatic. Her husband thought he was "going to be a hero" and hailed by the family as "a wonderful guy" for



saving young Al from Vietnam. "We then went straight to the telephone and called Al and said, 'We've secured a spot for you in the Alabama National Guard!'," Byrne recalled. "I don't remember if he thought about it for 15 seconds or a minute and a half; it was no more than two minutes. He said, 'I appreciate all that you've done for me, and I know that this has been a lot of work for you, but I believe what I'm going to do is enlist.'"

The response floored them. Byrne's husband said he "almost felt little for having offered it to him. Like this guy is operating on a higher plane, and I feel bad that I even suggested it to him."

The question was settled, for the most part, but until the day Gore entered the Army there were constant tugs of doubt, he said later. "Somebody that age, with a decision like that, it's a little different from a Cabinet officer or a president getting a typed memo listing the options with little boxes to check off and as soon as you check off the box then all the different bureaucracies move into play. It's more like you know, 'I think I'm going to do that. And the next day . . . aaahhhheerrrrnnnn. Yeah? I think I'm going to do that! Uhhhhunnnrrrrh . . . ' The process I'm trying to describe is one where you come to a tentative conclusion and you double-check your feelings and where your heart is and second-guess and then come back to it."

(...)



## **Personality and Character**

USA Today

June 8, 2000; Page 19A

### **How Would Gore Govern? How Would Bush? Campaign Focus Finally Starts to Shift From Candidates' Character and Positions to How They Would Lead** (Excerpts)

By NORMAN ORNSTEIN

In the past few weeks, George W. Bush has shifted the central theme of his presidential campaign from "compassionate conservative" to "committed bipartisan coalition-builder" -- with a primary-season detour to "reformer with results" along the way.

The three themes do not signal a makeover in the making; rather, all three have a similar focus: If Bush is elected president, he simultaneously will occupy the middle ground, push for change and achieve success by building coalitions across party lines.

Al Gore, of course, has not let any of these themes go unchallenged. While stressing his own commitment to bipartisanship and pragmatic centrism, Gore has criticized Bush for extreme, uncompassionate and uncentrist positions on such important issues as health, taxes, guns and Social Security, and for general ineffectiveness and a lack of results in Texas.

One easily could criticize Bush for vague, feel-good campaign themes, and Gore for relentless attacks. But I actually am encouraged by the state of campaigning now, despite the fact that we are moving full bore into total campaign mode a full five months before the November election.



What's encouraging about this?

Typically in recent decades, our campaigns have had two focal points. One is "character" -- which in the '80s and '90s meant looking for scandal, or determining what illegal or questionable substances a candidate may or may not have ingested in his youth. The other is a detailed analysis and parsing of the issue positions of the candidates.

Don't get me wrong. We have learned, often ruefully, how significant character is as a quality in a president. And knowing what positions candidates take on issues we care about is clearly essential to determining how we as voters will and should feel about them. But our laserlike obsession with scandal as character, and issue positions as lodestar has caused us to lose the forest for the trees.

The forest is governing. The fundamental role of a president (not to mention the roles of members of Congress) is to govern, which means working with other institutions in our separated system of powers, checks and balances; negotiating around public opinion -- knowing when to lead and shape it, when to avoid a quixotic crusade and when to pursue one; and setting priorities with limited powers and resources. It means building political capital, spending it appropriately and knowing how to replenish it.

Character is an essential part of leadership in governing. But knowing whether a candidate smoked marijuana at age 16, avoided the draft at age 18, or committed an infidelity at age 30 (or age 50) may not tell us much about whether the candidate understands the concept of political capital, or knows how to build coalitions in a Congress that has deep ideological divisions and the smallest partisan margin in almost five decades.

In an insightful new book called *The Presidential Difference*,



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

Princeton political scientist Fred Greenstein makes the case for "emotional intelligence" as a key component for successful governing.

It matters whether a candidate advocates choice or opposes abortion, wants a big tax cut, a small tax cut or no tax cut at all. But strongly held issue positions tell us little about what actually can get enacted into law.

To get there, we need to ask the next round of questions, starting with: Will a candidate's strongly held positions be rigid impediments to compromise, or crafty starting points for genuine policy movement?

With both Bush and Gore focusing now on which one has the qualities to build bipartisan coalitions, a huge opening has been provided for reporters, scholars and voters to examine their records and personae, and address the critical questions of governing.

In January, a project I help run called The Transition to Governing Project held detailed seminars on what the backgrounds, experiences and approaches of these two candidates tell us about their ability to govern.

We learned that Bush has indeed been a pragmatic, bipartisan problem-solver

as governor -- but we also learned that his enthusiasm about issues was episodic, ranging from intense interest in education to virtual disinterest in health. And it became clear that while Bush was extraordinarily successful at engaging Democrats in the Texas legislature, most of those Texas Democrats resemble national Republicans in ideology more than they do congressional Democrats.

We learned that Al Gore was a wide-ranging, activist legislator during his years in the House and Senate. In some areas, such as global warming, the information superhighway and the Midgetman missile, he was a clear opinion leader, forcing issues onto the national agenda,



sometimes with bipartisan support. He could take tough, courageous positions against a majority of his party -- for example, in support of the Gulf War.

But he also was not known for his ability to build coalitions to get legislation passed, and was viewed by some of his colleagues as aloof, holier-than-thou and occasionally quite partisan.

These observations/insights are a rough first cut at exploring how Bush and Gore would govern. We have five months to learn more.

(...)

Norman Ornstein, a senior resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is a member of USA TODAY's board of contributors.



Los Angeles Times

July 9, 2000; Page 18

**He Smirks, He's Too Stiff. Which is the Winning Personality?**

(Excerpts)

By ELIZABETH MEHREN

Eighteen months ago, Bill Clinton was battling impeachment and the country was obsessed with presidential character. Now, as the country prepares to choose his successor, attention has shifted--to George W. Bush's smirk and Al Gore's stiffness.

The Texas governor and the vice president fire off competing position papers on retirement income and educational testing standards. They pledge to slice taxes, save the environment and give every grandma a computer. Ho-hum: What voters, many in the media and political insiders seem fixated on is personality.

Far from Bush's views on a "Star Wars" missile defense or the national debt, voters appear infatuated with the casual ease of an overgrown fraternity boy in cowboy boots. True, some are bothered by his facial eccentricities and by the fact that this son-of-a-president can seem arrogant and seldom reads books. But many others are charmed by his nonchalance and see him fondly as a rich kid who may not be the brightest guy but who got a lot of breaks and made the most of them.

**Gore's Stolidity Inspires Fascination**

Gore's determination and intelligence are seldom in question, and many people give him points for dogged persistence. With all those beautiful children--and now, a gorgeous grandchild--he's got "family man" written all over him. But his straight-arrow stolidity seems to evoke a perverse fascination of its own. Does he ever lighten up? How many



times can he remake his wardrobe?

Presidential politics always is something of a popularity contest, and ever since George Washington (perhaps the father of political stiffness), personality has played an undeniable role. But in the first presidential election of the new century, that role seems, for now, to be greater than ever.

An era of contentment--no wars, a robust economy--has stolen the sense of urgency that drives many elections. Party affiliation is perfunctory for most, and the ideological differences between two centrist candidates sometimes elude even their strongest supporters. Plus, the national attention span has shrunk to the blink of an eye. A fat and happy electorate has little patience for subtleties, and unlike policy, personality is simple to grasp.

"Look, I'm 64 years old," said historian Stephen E. Ambrose, who has met every president since Truman. "All my life, this country has either been in a depression or at war, so that who we elected as president was important to every single family in America. It was life and death. It's a new era, and a feature of the new era is that the presidency isn't all that important. So what the hell else are you going to concentrate on except personality?"

In several recent focus groups, voters were happy to do just that. Which candidate would make a more desirable date? Women said Gore, because he would pay more attention to them. For a guys' night out, men in the same group chose Bush as more fun.

Polling specialists say these questions matter because they help measure how candidates connect with the voting public. Republican pollster Frank Luntz said that in his recent research "nobody's been talking about Social Security, taxes, education. None of the issues comes



up. What people want is a straight shooter." What kind of person the next president is "outruns every other issue in this election."

Personality has also claimed center stage because politics has become a form of entertainment. Voters expect a chief executive not just to govern but to share his predilections in music, books, even lingerie. "Both Gore and Bush are being evaluated as television personalities," said Democratic media consultant Dan Payne.

Both campaigns are well aware of the significance of personality politics and are hoping to use barrages of paid advertising and the coming conventions to underline and dramatize their man's strengths and to shore up their weaknesses. Which raises a fundamental question: What can a public figure do to change the perception of his personality?

The candidates' personality quirks have become deeply ingrained in the popular media. Jay Leno recently talked about a mock Barbara Walters interview with Al Gore: "She asked, 'If you were a tree, what kind of tree would you be?' Al Gore got mad. He said, 'What do you mean if I were a tree?' "

When Syrian President Hafez Assad died, Leno took aim at Bush: "You know who was most devastated by his passing? George W. Bush. Not because he was close to Assad or anything, but just last week he learned the president of Syria's name. Great, all that work for nothing."

Political humor notwithstanding, a poll from Harvard's Joan Shorenstein Center showed that in late June, about 70% of voters were paying little or no attention to the campaign. Newspapers and magazines are full of articles about Bush and Gore, and a quick trip to the Internet brings up either candidate's position on anything and everything. But plenty of voters appear overwhelmed.

"The level of complexity is such that most people really can't handle



it, even if they make the attempt," said Shawn Rosenberg, director of the political psychology program at UC Irvine. Rosenberg's studies have shown that only about 30% of eligible American voters are able to position a candidate relative to their own specific interests. "Even among those people, the understanding of politics is relatively crude."

Yet humans are hard-wired to make judgments about people based on minimal information. Reactions to personality are generally quick, and usually long-lasting. Impressions of a candidate's personality come most often from television--and in some cases, public gatherings where a candidate is inspected with less precision than cattle at the county fair.

(...)

#### Perceptions Doom Quayle and Bauer Bids

Already in Campaign 2000, personality has claimed several casualties. If Gary Bauer was annoying, the perception that former Vice President Dan Quayle was a dolt cratered his presidential hopes, said Lionel Sosa, a San Antonio media consultant for Bush.

Sosa warned that, like Quayle, Gore has an unnerving media presence that sends bad signals about his personality. "Gore doesn't make stupid mistakes, but he comes across as if he's in front of the mirror, practicing for whatever he's supposed to be doing."

That theme has been a favorite for Dan Wasserman of the Boston Globe, who like many political cartoonists has hammered away at the candidates' foibles. He depicted Bush getting scrambled on the abortion issue, unable to remember if he's for or against abortion rights. Finally, he declares himself pro-life-of-the-party. Gore, said Wasserman, "seems permanently rooted in the self-help section of the bookstore. Gore's the guy who always volunteered to clap the erasers."

Personality is a behavioral skeleton: the innate, enduring and largely



immutable structure that shapes individual behavior, said Michigan psychologist John Berez. Character--learned moral and ethical behavior--resides within that skeleton. Honesty and loyalty, for example, are character traits that may be present or absent in any personality.

Berez describes the vice president as a classic obsessive-compulsive, someone who successfully compartmentalizes emotion and intellect. Berez calls Bush a histrionic--or outwardly emotional--personality, not unlike Ronald Reagan. "He's the back-slapping guy," Berez said of Bush.

Politicians also express personality through organizational style, said Charles O. Jones, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin. Like his father, George W. Bush "expresses himself through organization, and in connections to others." As a vice president, Gore hasn't had a chance to display his decisional style, "and he's fighting that right now," Jones said.

#### Bush's 'Sneer' Is Seen as a Problem

Voters also pick up on body language--what social scientists call nonverbal cues. Once again, Bush's crooked little smile comes up. "That sneer is not going to help him at all," said social psychologist Ellen Berscheid of the University of Minnesota. "Another synonym for 'honest' is 'genuine,' and I don't think he comes across as genuine."

For Gore, said political scientist Roger Masters of Dartmouth College, the big problem in this area is that he's trying too hard to look relaxed. "Incongruent cues of any sort are a problem for a candidate, and, unfortunately for Gore, he has a nonverbal style which involves keeping his head on his trunk in a position that's too rigid." Because personality and body image are so closely linked, social historian Lynne Luciano of Cal State Dominguez Hills said the ongoing effort to repackage the vice



president speaks volumes. Luciano is especially troubled by superficial gestures such as dressing the vice president in earth tones and hiring an advisor to tell him to act like an alpha male.

"Does he say, 'I don't care if you think I'm dull, here's my values?'" asked Luciano. "No. He says, 'Let me change my looks and try to persuade you I'm a nice person--not so I can show you how honorable I am, but so you can find the look you're looking for.' "

Along with--oh, yes--issues, advisors to both candidates say the real work of presenting Gore and Bush to the American public will take place at the conventions.

Until the Republican convention of 1988, a Gore media aide noted, "there were stereotypes and expectations around George Bush that were much lower than his ability to perform." But Bush "broke out," said the aide, and soon enough, voters will warm to Gore as "someone they like and can relate to."

It was the convention of 1992, where the now-famous "Man From Hope" video was aired, doing away with the then-widespread perception that Clinton was a wealthy, Oxford-educated elitist.

Gore, said the aide, has been handicapped in promoting his personality because for eight years he has occupied a job with little constitutional responsibility. Political science professor Nelson Polsby of UC Berkeley agreed, pointing out that "there are certain maneuvers of the soul that one must undertake when one becomes vice president. His was to become dutiful and wooden."

And Polsby said Gore's opponent has relied heavily on personality, which may or may not suffice. "Evidently George W. Bush is very friendly, and everybody is trying to peddle his personality as a substitute for character. And it may in his case be so."



## Gore Needs the Focus to Turn to the Issues

So for the Gore campaign especially, the challenge is to move the dialogue to a level where it can stand less on personality. "I think if Gore has a chance to win," said David Doak, a consultant to California Gov. Gray Davis, "he's going to have to make it turn on issues."

It's a sound enough plan, but consultant Sosa, now working on his fifth presidential campaign, said all the media strategy in the world can't compensate for what the public perceives to be personality problems. "You don't overcome it. It's part of who you are."

For proof, ask David G. Crane, a psychiatrist and lawyer in Indiana who is also a member of a prominent Midwestern political family. Crane ran for Congress three times. Each time, he kept thinking the voters cared about issues. "Silly me." He lost, he said, because his opponent was "a very personable young man."



USA Today

July 17, 2000; Page 1D

**Take a Casual Look at Who's Suited For Office. Bush: Conservatively Comfortable in a Tie. Gore: Liberally Loosening His Image** (Excerpts)

By MARIA PUENTE



No man is a hero to his valet, as those cynical French used to say, but his tailor is another story. Not to mention the guy who makes his cowboy boots.

So who better than tailors and bootmakers -- along with clothiers, haberdashers, style consultants and a crowd of carping fashionistas -- to dish a little on the wardrobes of the presidential candidates, sometimes known as the boys in blue. Suits, that is.

Voters have heard plenty about the candidates and their strategies, policies and 10-point plans. This is about the candidates and style: Do they have any?

Are they cuff link men? Armani or off-the-rack? Does the candidate care about his clothes? Or does he care but says he doesn't care? Maybe it's his political consultant who cares?

We know, we know. This subject isn't quite as elevating as, say, saving Social Security or remembering the name of that guy who's running Pakistan. On the other hand, these fellows who want to be



president are going to be in our living rooms every night for the next four months, and one of them is going to be hanging around for the next four years. If we have to look at them, maybe we should, well, really look at them.

We have trolled the style waters far and wide for some answers, fishing for a consensus among those who study men's clothing for clues about personality and politics. So far, we can say this:

\* Republican George W. Bush may be the Texas governor, but he isn't really a cowboy-boot kind of guy. He's a Brooks Brothers kind of guy -- meaning he follows the standard for conservative dressing. And that is a big improvement over his college days, when, by all accounts, he was rather untidy.

\* Democrat Al Gore, who started out his vice presidency in suits that were embarrassingly short and tight, has trimmed down and bought new duds. But he has seized on the idea that polo shirts, casual slacks and earth tones will loosen up his famously stiff image. Some fashion watchers despair -- and politicians aren't too impressed, either.

(...)

One thing the candidates have in common: If they have professional style advisers, they aren't saying, preferring to give their wives credit (or blame) for their clothing choices.

(...) Laura Bush is credited with "civilizing" her husband, famous in his youth for a devil-may-care attitude toward grooming. And Tipper Gore says she's the one who persuaded the vice president to try more browns and tans this year.

"I have always gone and picked out clothes for him or dragged him to the store and tried to get him to do (something) a little different," she told USA TODAY in January. "I personally get a little tired of the blue



pinstriped suit. So, yeah, actually that was my idea."

Nonetheless, the conventional wisdom still holds: American male politicians are fashion-phobic. Think of style-praised presidents of the past: John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, even Harry Truman, the haberdasher-turned-president. They looked presidential, but they weren't exactly runway-ready. Even FDR's signature cape was more upper-crust quirky than cool.

Only Bill Clinton has come close to fashionable. After a disastrous beginning -- remember those skimpy running shorts exposing way too much presidential thigh? -- he lost weight and got a designer makeover. Now he wears beautifully draped three-button or double-breasted suits and fine shirts with French cuffs. Even White House reporters, not known as a fashionable group, say Clinton looks great. Thank you, Donna Karan.

But presidential hopefuls have to stick to a familiar uniform of conservative dark suits, red ties and white shirts. This year's contenders are following suit, so to speak.

"Look, these are Brooks Brothers kinds of guys," says Mike Deaver, who was an image adviser to the always-natty President Reagan and now is vice chairman of a Washington public relations firm. "They wear what they're comfortable in, and if they're comfortable, the people watching them will be, too."

Both Bush and Gore were in full uniform mode last week in their separate appearances at the annual national convention of the NAACP in Baltimore.

Last Monday, Bush showed up in a two-button, square-shouldered suit in a rich shade of blue with a slight sheen and wide lapels, a bright white shirt with a spread collar, and a faintly striped tie in blue. He



looked like a million bucks.

On Wednesday, Gore wore a light-gray/taupe, soft-shouldered suit with three buttons and semiwide lapels, with a pale-red, faintly striped tie on a white shirt with a semispread collar. The suit was flattering and looked custom-made.

"They try to be generic, to blend in, to follow the male clothing mandate of the last 200 years," says Valerie Steele, costume historian and chief curator of the museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York. For politicians, "being well-dressed means people don't notice your clothes."

In other words, stay away from Armani. Only black male politicians can ignore the rule. Someone like San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, probably the best-dressed politician in the USA, can get away with wearing exquisite Italian-made suits (Brioni, up to \$ 4,000) without suffering politically.

"There's a tradition of African-Americans being more fashion-forward than Caucasians," Steele says.

Bush wouldn't be caught in designer wear. He sticks to custom-made suits in blue and charcoal. He prefers two buttons and absolutely refuses to wear double-breasted. No cuff links. No stripes, unless they're so faint you can't see them.

"There's no peacock in George Bush," says Clay Johnson, Bush's gubernatorial executive assistant.

"He does not want to be overdressed. He wants very simple clothes, but still dressing well," says Bush's tailor, Ghassan "Gus" Karim of Gassane in Austin, a Syrian-Lebanese immigrant who used to make Lyndon Johnson's clothes.

The governor is definitely a hero to his tailor -- and not just because



he gets \$ 1,300 to \$ 1,900 per suit. Karim goes to the governor's mansion to measure Bush (size 43), bringing books of about 200 samples of medium-weight wool.

"He's fun to be around. He's down-to-earth," Karim says. "He likes to look very sharp, in good taste. That fits his personality."

The Bush personality, clotheswise, is less Texas good ol' boy and more dear ol' dad, as in former president George Bush. Both are products of prep school, Yale, Harvard and a passel of VIP jobs -- and both look the part in their clothes.

"Bush looks like a very well-dressed corporate CEO, like his father, who had great Ivy League style," says Glenn O'Brien, who writes "The Style Guy" advice column in GQ magazine.

But some fashion lovers give him thumbs down.

"B is for boring," snorts Leon Hall, co-host of Fashion Emergency on E! Entertainment Television, where he advises people on fixing their fashion dilemmas. "Has the man never heard of Neiman Marcus? I don't see anything modern about his clothes."

But Johnson, who was Bush's college roommate, remembers the old days when his roomie built an impressive collection of unlaundered T-shirts, despite dress codes requiring coats and ties.

"His fashion decision was which gray T-shirt to wear. He cared absolutely nothing about clothes," Johnson says. "If you had asked me then, 'Will George Bush ever be candidate for president?' I would have said maybe. If you asked me will he ever appear in GQ magazine (as he did in 1998), I would have said absolutely no way."

To be sure, Bush occasionally turns up tieless, in plaid shirt and jeans, or in ostrich boots and a Texas-size belt buckle.

His staff says that is how he dresses at his ranch in Crawford, Texas,



near Waco. He bought the ranch just before he began running for president.

Rocky Carroll, the Houston cobbler whose handmade cowboy boots start at \$ 295 (Elizabeth Taylor bought a diamond-studded pair for \$ 40,000), has made more than 100 pairs of cowboy boots for the extended Bush family.

Carroll has made a pair for Bush to wear next month during the Republican National Convention. "They're black eel skin with a U.S. flag with an elephant and the words 'RNC 2000 Philadelphia' and the governor's initials."

But Al Gore wears cowboy boots -- plain black leather, decades old, resoled twice, no logos -- on the stump more often than Bush. Indeed, Bush may call himself a moderate, compassionate conservative, but almost everything about his campaign wardrobe says deeply conservative.

Gore, on the other hand, is making an effort to break out of the uniform. He wears hip three-button suits and occasionally dons a daring tie. Gore's most attention-getting attire: polo shirts with tight jeans, which he hopes make him look more like a regular guy.

But as reporters on his plane point out, even his knit shirts look starched, and his boots are perfectly shined. The guy never looks ruffled. He, too, is a product of prep schools and the Ivy League and the son of a former U.S. senator.

"He's trying to be the first 'casual Friday' president," O'Brien says. "He's modeling himself as an executive who doesn't wear a tie every day, carries a cellphone and puts a PalmPilot on his belt. He's the modern guy vs. Bush, who represents the old school."

As a political strategy, Gore's adoption of the casual look is



debatable. Switching back and forth from casual to uniform may convey confusion. Or worse, it suggests he's wearing a disguise. "The voters may conclude that his message is as mixed as what he wears," Deaver says.

"Informal clothes are perfectly fitting for some occasions, but it has got to be authentic, to look natural," Pat Buchanan says. "You can't be dressing as if you're wearing a costume."

The reviews from style mavens are mixed. "Gore has never looked better," Hall says. "His body is buffed. He's got decent arms and good shoulders, a look of vigor and youthfulness. He looks good in casual clothes. The man is terrific-looking."

"He's too often underdressed," sniffs Wilkes Bashford, the San Francisco clothier who supplies Mayor Brown with his Brioni suits. "I don't think that, except in appropriate relaxed circumstances, he should be in just shirt sleeves.

"He should be wearing clothes with a little more panache, a little more personality. I don't want to see a vice president looking like he's going out to mow the lawn.

"Unless, of course, he is."



## **Personality and Character - Bush**

USA Today

August 19, 1999; Page 1A

### **Bush Rejects Questions on Drugs. 'I'm Going To Take a Stand.'**

(Excerpts)

By JUDY KEEN

Texas Gov. George W. Bush said Wednesday that he wouldn't answer questions about whether he has used illegal drugs, even if the issue dogs him throughout the presidential campaign.

In his first interview since winning Saturday's test vote on the GOP presidential field in Iowa, Bush told USA TODAY: "People float rumors and gossip; it works its way into the mainstream press and they try to make me prove a negative.

"What's going to make it go away is the American people. They're sick and tired of this kind of politics, and I'm going to take a stand against this kind of politics.

"If the American people want gossip and rumor to decide who the next president is, then I guess I'm in bad shape."

Later, at a news briefing in Austin, Texas, Bush again refused to answer the drug question, called rumors about his past "absurd" and said they were planted by political foes. He didn't say by whom.

"I made some mistakes years ago," he said in Baton Rouge. "But I learned from my mistakes."

(...)



USA Today

September 29, 1999; Page 6A

**Doctor Says Gov. Bush Shows No Signs of Drug, Alcohol Use**

By PAUL LEAVITT and JUDY KEEN

Texas Gov. George W. Bush is in outstanding physical condition and shows no signs of drug or alcohol abuse, his physician said Tuesday.

Kenneth Cooper of Dallas, who has treated the Republican presidential front-runner since 1989, said Bush has "no history of any alcohol, drug, mental or psychiatric treatment or rehabilitation." Although no one has accused Bush, 53, of past drug use, he has been dogged by rumors and has said he has not used any illicit drugs in at least the past 25 years.

Cooper said Bush, an avid runner, suffers from stiffness in his left knee but is at low risk for heart disease. Bush has a mild high-frequency hearing loss, is 6 feet tall, weighed 192½ pounds at his last exam on June 17 and had "superb" cholesterol levels, blood pressure of 104 over 80 and a pulse rate of 38 -- normal "for a highly conditioned athlete."

Cooper said Bush "has totally abstained from alcohol during the past 13 years" and showed no indications in exams or forms he filled out 10 years ago that he ever abused drugs. "I have no knowledge of any drug use. I have no knowledge of any alcohol abuse."

Bush had minor surgery on his chest wall when he was 13, an appendectomy at age 10, and arthroscopic knee surgery in 1997. Two benign polyps were surgically removed from his colon in July 1998 and he has no prostate problems. He takes no prescription drugs.

(...)



USA Today

October 22, 1999; Page 6A

**Publisher Stops Presses on Book  
Alleging Bush Drug Arrest**

The publisher of a book that claims presidential candidate George W. Bush was arrested on drug charges in his 20s stopped publication Thursday, citing concerns about the author's trustworthiness.

Author J.H. Hatfield's unauthorized biography of Bush claims that the Texas governor used his father's connections to clear his record. Both Bushes denied the accusation. So did Carol Vance, a Democrat who at the time was the district attorney for Harris County, Texas, where the offense was alleged to have taken place.

Thursday, St. Martin's Press said it suspended publication because of concerns over Hatfield's background.

The Dallas Morning News reported this week that Hatfield, author of *Fortunate Son*, was paroled from a Texas prison in 1993. He had served five years after being convicted of trying to arrange a murder. In a statement Thursday, St. Martin's said it had stopped all sales, promotion and other activities for the book and was notifying booksellers.

"We were totally surprised and distressed by this development," publisher Thomas Dunne said. "Mr. Hatfield was the author of several successful prior books. We acquired this book through a highly reputable literary agency."

After the information about Hatfield surfaced, he reportedly checked out of a New York hotel, and his publisher has been unable to locate him.

The book alleges that Bush was arrested for cocaine possession in



1972, but the matter was dropped after he performed community service arranged by his father, George Bush, the future president. At the time, the elder Bush was a U.N. ambassador.

The allegations are based on anonymous sources. The book is at odds with other accounts of Bush's life and the Texas court system.

The candidate, asked on Thursday what he thought about his accuser's apparent criminal record, said, "Obviously, if he's a convicted felon, his credibility is nothing, but his credibility was nothing with me to begin with because his story was totally ridiculous."

Editors at many of the publications Hatfield claimed to have worked for told the Internet magazine Salon that they didn't know him.



St. Petersburg Times

April 24, 2000; Page 3A

## **Bush's Scandal Not As Sexy As Clinton's**

By SARA FRITZ

WASHINGTON -- Eliza May of Austin, Texas, is no Paula Jones or Monica Lewinsky.

Her allegations against Texas Gov. George W. Bush have nothing to do with sex. But she does pose a challenge to Bush's veracity, much as Jones and Lewinsky did with President Clinton.

In a potentially explosive lawsuit, May claims she was unlawfully fired from a state government investigative position because she was scrutinizing a Bush family friend. Like Clinton, Gov. Bush - or his attorneys, to be exact - contends the complaint against him is politically motivated.

There is little doubt that May, a Democrat, and her attorneys are trying to embarrass Bush now that he is the presumed Republican nominee for president in the November election. Although her original lawsuit was filed shortly after her termination last year, it was recently updated to include Bush as a defendant, even though a sitting governor enjoys some immunity in Texas against legal actions involving his official duties.

As a political tool, this lawsuit is an example of what C. Boyden Gray, who served as legal counsel to former President Bush, calls the "criminalization of politics." It is the all-to-familiar tactic of bringing suit against a political opponent to amplify a policy or political disagreement and to harness the power of the legal system to prevent the complaint from being ignored.



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

But even if May's motivations are purely political, her allegations should not be ignored. They give us a glimpse inside the current administration of the Texas governor and GOP presidential nominee.

As May tells it, she was serving as executive director of the Texas Funeral Services Commission when the staff found evidence that two funeral homes affiliated with Service Corporation International were embalming without the necessary licenses.

The world's largest operator of funeral homes and cemeteries, SCI was founded by CEO Robert L. Waltrip, a close friend of the Bush family and a generous contributor to the campaign coffers of the Texas governor.

When the commission began investigating SCI's funeral homes, Waltrip appears to have overreacted. Not only did he sue the agency and attempt to intimidate May, according to her complaint, but he also went directly to Bush's office seeking help in getting the commission to back down.

There's no disputing that Waltrip was successful in enlisting the help of one of Bush's top assistants, Joe Allbaugh, who then summoned May and her colleagues into a meeting in the governor's office with Waltrip and other SCI representatives. May claims she was pressured to bring the investigation to an end, a directive she ignored.

After the company was fined \$ 450,000 by the commission, May says, the Legislature came under pressure from SCI and the governor's office to shut down the agency. Then in early 1999, May was fired.

For its part, SCI claims the commission was far too aggressive in its investigation, acting more like "storm troopers" than funeral industry regulators.

In the subsequent legal proceedings, Bush successfully resisted an



effort by May's attorney to question him under oath. In an affidavit, Bush told the court that he "had no conversations with SCI officials, agents or representatives concerning the investigation or any dispute arising from it."

Other witnesses apparently tell a different story.

In testimony taken by May's attorney, according to her complaint, SCI lobbyist Bill Miller said Bush was present when Waltrip showed up in his office on April 15, 1998. "Bush asked why Waltrip was there," Miller said, and "Waltrip said he was having trouble with the funeral commission."

In addition, Linda Edwards, Bush's communications director, testified that when she read the governor the news reports about the April 15 meeting - in which Bush reportedly said to Waltrip, "Hey, Bobby, are those people still messing with you?" - he did not dispute this account.

Beyond May's request for compensation for wrongful termination, the story seems to be a classic case of a campaign contributor seeking to use his influence with the governor of Texas.

"This is not about partisan politics; this is about the power of money and influence," says Charles Herring, May's attorney.

In Bush's defense, spokesman Mike Jones insists May's case is "feeble and of no merit." Yet Heather Brown in the Texas Attorney General's Office acknowledges her office is taking the suit seriously.

Asked to comment on testimony indicating that Bush and Waltrip discussed the funeral commission investigation, Brown replied: "He knew nothing; we are going to continue to maintain that."

During the Clinton impeachment more than a year ago, you will recall, Republicans argued repeatedly that the president's chief



transgression was not having oral sex with a White House intern but, instead, lying under oath.

In this case in which Bush is being accused of lying under oath, I expect we will find that very few people, Democrats or Republicans, will spring to the defense of Eliza May. Of course, it might be different if her allegations involved sex.



USA Today

August 4, 2000; Page 5A

**Attack on Gore Risks Backlash. Character-Issue Strategy Didn't  
Work in 1998** (Excerpts)

By JILL LAWRENCE

PHILADELPHIA -- Nearly every speaker at the Republican convention advised delegates and whoever else was watching that George W. Bush and Dick Cheney would restore dignity, honor, trust and respect to the White House. As Bush put it Thursday night, his administration would teach rather than "disillusion" the nation's children.

But vice-presidential nominee Cheney sliced through the euphemisms and allusions Wednesday to launch a frontal assault on Al Gore's character.

The character issue backfired on Republicans in the elections in 1998 at the height of the impeachment scandal. If they use it this fall, they're betting that with the presidency at stake, any discomfort the public feels about personal attacks will pale beside its eagerness to banish Bill Clinton -- and the vice president whom the GOP is trying to paint as his unsavory twin.

Cheney's speech was a jarring departure from a convention touted, for the most part accurately, as a festival of light. But it was a necessary one, Bush communications director Karen Hughes says.

"You have to make the case that you have concerns about the last seven years," she says. She cites two of Gore's worst moments in 24 years of public life: a news conference at which he said there was "no controlling legal authority" over office phone calls he made to raise money, and a deposition in which he said, when asked about the role of



White House coffees in raising money, "Let me define the term 'raising.' "

A non-partisan Pew Research Center poll of 1,204 adults last month found that Gore is vulnerable to attacks on Clinton's character and his own. Four in 10 said that hearing he was associated with a scandal-tainted administration or illegal fundraising would make them less likely to vote for him. Half said the same about hearing that he stretched the truth or pandered to popular opinion.

"No one is objecting to his personal life," center director Andrew Kohut says of Gore. "They're objecting to personal qualities that would have a bearing on how trustworthy he is, whether he's been involved in scandal, whether there will be a reprise of special prosecutors. There are just more questions about his character than there are about Bush's."

Democrats and some analysts say Gore's character has been distorted. "The Republicans have taken a couple of ethical lapses and put them in the context of a much larger character flaw that goes to questions of personal values and integrity," says Stuart Rothenberg, publisher of a non-partisan political newsletter. That would be much harder to do, he says, without the backdrop of a Clinton scandal.

(...)

Targeting Gore "clearly works with core Republicans," GOP pollster Bill McInturff says. It could also be effective in holding on to the 11% of Clinton voters who, McInturff has found, don't support Gore. "It would be hard for Bush to win if those 11% drift back to Gore," McInturff says.

The latest USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll showed voters evenly split on what matters more in a presidential candidate, character or issues. Democrats say issues will prevail, but they're hedging their bets. At their convention, they'll flesh out Gore's life story and try to restore his pre-Clinton-era reputation for rectitude.



The Bush team's new criticism of Gore stands in contrast to a few nice things some Bushes have said about him lately. Jeb, the Florida governor, this week called Gore "a good man." Last week, his brother told USA TODAY that he admired Gore's loyalty to Clinton. Said George W.: "I think he's been a good vice president."



New York Times

August 12, 2000; Page 11

**Bush Calls on Gore to Denounce Clinton Affair**

By FRANK BRUNI



PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 11 -- Gov. George W. Bush called on Vice President Al Gore today to emphatically state his disapproval of President Clinton's sexual conduct in office and to send Americans a clear message that he would maintain a high level of integrity if elected to the presidency.

Mr. Bush, who has pledged "to restore honor and dignity" to the White House, conceded that Mr. Gore could accomplish the same task. But he said that Mr. Gore first needed to signal his intent to do so and to acknowledge that Mr. Clinton had done the country damage.

"If he's got a problem with what went on in the past, he ought to explain what it is," Mr. Bush said aboard his campaign plane as he flew here from Sacramento during a four-day campaign swing through states on the West Coast.

Mr. Bush also said that if Mr. Gore was determined to govern with a set of scruples different from Mr. Clinton's, "he ought to say so."

Those comments were clearly related to Mr. Clinton's affair with a



White House intern, a subject that reporters had broached. But a few more strongly worded remarks that had come just a bit earlier in the conversation with reporters on his campaign plane this morning also seemed implicitly to acknowledge the affair.

"If Al Gore has got differences with the president, he ought to say them loud and clear," Mr. Bush said, referring in part to a published interview in which Mr. Gore stated that he wanted to give the country "a fresh start." "He ought to let us know where he differed from the president, on policy matters as well as everything else."

The 10-minute conversation, which came on the heels of an appeal by Mr. Clinton on Thursday that voters not let whatever misdeeds he committed affect their judgments about Mr. Gore, was noteworthy for several reasons. In saying that Mr. Gore was also capable of bringing a renewed dignity to the White House, Mr. Bush seemed to undercut a principal argument for his own candidacy.

But the conversation also reflected and distilled Mr. Bush's continuing attempts to have it several ways in his campaign, especially when it comes to the topics of Mr. Clinton's affair and Mr. Gore's aspirations.

On one hand, Mr. Bush, the Republican presidential nominee, insisted that this race was about the future, as he often has. "This is a campaign that is going to be writing new chapters in the 21st century," he said. "We're moving forward."

On the other hand, Mr. Bush once again summoned the specter of Mr. Clinton's past, which he clearly sees as a useful wedge against Mr. Gore, his Democratic rival.

Mr. Bush's delicate and sometimes awkward attempt to straddle this contradiction was evident when he quibbled with reporters who noted



that he and his advisers had frequently said he would "restore honor" to the Oval Office, a clear assertion that this virtue had been lost.

Mr. Bush countered today that his standard pledge, at the end of almost every stump speech, was not to restore but "to uphold the honor and integrity" of the presidency. He did not acknowledge the occasional use of the other, more loaded phrase or the fact that both he and his running mate, Dick Cheney, have at times in the last two weeks added the word "decency" to the list of qualities that the next occupant of the White House should possess.

The semantic squabbling took an even odder turn when Senator John McCain of Arizona, who had stood beside Mr. Bush on the plane, introduced him at a subsequent rally here. Mr. McCain opened his remarks by saying that Mr. Bush would "restore dignity, honor and respect to the White House."

Mr. Gore has been doing his own balancing act, trying to associate himself with the prosperity of the Clinton era but not with Mr. Clinton's personal behavior. He rarely makes reference to Mr. Clinton's affair, but he has condemned the president's behavior on a few occasions, once branding it "inexcusable."

Chris Lehane, a spokesman for Mr. Gore, said that Mr. Bush should talk about his plans, not Mr. Clinton's past, and was "only offering Americans a rear-view-mirror vision for the country's future."

Mr. Bush, who has vowed time and again to run a positive and upbeat campaign, said on his plane that he was simply noting an important reality. "The president embarrassed the nation," he said.

And he said that American voters sought some reassurance that the next president understood that and wanted to fix it. "Unfortunately, in this point in history, it's a pledge that those of us running for office must



make and should keep," Mr. Bush said.

When one reporter noted to Mr. Bush that many Democrats, along with Republicans, had publicly blamed Mr. Clinton for dishonoring the presidency, Karen P. Hughes, the communications director for the Bush campaign, interjected, "Joe Lieberman said that, and Al Gore did not." She was referring to Mr. Gore's running mate, the Connecticut senator.

When another reporter asked Mr. Bush if Mr. Gore could be an agent of the reassurance that voters needed, Mr. Bush said: "I think he can. He ought to say so."



FOX The O'Reilly Factor

Sep 12, 2000, 8 pm EST

**Is a Partisan Press Going After Bush?** (Audio)



*Transcript:*

BILL O'REILLY, HOST: Hi, I'm Bill O'Reilly. Thank you for watching us tonight.

Well, I told you the presidential campaign would get nasty and one of the nastiest political articles I've ever seen is on display in the October edition of "Vanity Fair" magazine. And that's the subject of this evening's "Talking Points Memo."

Gail Sheehy is the reporter and George W. Bush is her target. I say target because Ms. Sheehy really goes after the Governor in a very personal way. The writer's thesis is that Mr. Bush could be dyslexic and may have an intention deficit disorder. She uses some of his verbal gaffes like you can't take the high horse and then claim the low road to prop up her case.

Now, I have no idea if the Governor has overcome a learning disability and I don't think Ms. Sheehy does either. It is a reporter's job to gather facts, not draw conclusions from circumstantial evidence. Sheehy quotes all kinds of experts on the subject and they all have one



thing in common, they have never examined George W. Bush.

The Bush camp denies the Governor has any problems at all in this area and wants to downplay the story. But talking points believes it is very important. "Vanity Fair," along with "Talk" magazine and the "New Yorker" are written for the so-called liberal elite and all three despise any kind of conservative thought. Unlike the "New York Times" and the "Boston Globe," which come at you from a stern ideological viewpoint based on liberal philosophy, "Vanity Fair" gets very personal in its attacks.

In the first few paragraphs of her article, Ms. Sheehy sets up Bush by saying, "He wrinkles his nose, he smirks. Bush is intent on bashing his rival. He turns back, smirking," that kind of stuff. Sheehy portrays the Governor as a juvenile clown.

Now, I am a contributing editor for "Parade" magazine and I know how the editorial process works. Sheehy's article has to build a sharp point of view. Her thesis must play out. A few months ago "TV Guide" did the same thing to me. The writer came in with a basic theory that I'm a rebel who got lucky and no matter how many facts I provided to explain the success of THE FACTOR, she still stuck with that.

So I think I know what's going on here with this "Vanity Fair" article. The Bush people would rather you not read it. But I believe that all Americans should understand just how vicious and irresponsible the press can get. Both George W. Bush and Al Gore are flawed men and both can be taken apart by skilled writers. In fact, any human being could be.

But I come back to this, Al Gore has been a successful politician for decades and has some good ideas. He is not the devil. George W. Bush has been a successful Governor in a very demanding state and was



overwhelmingly reelected. He is not an idiot and has served Texas responsibly.

We asked Gail Sheehy to appear with us this evening but even though she has been on THE FACTOR before, she declined. That says a lot. I write articles, as well. Anybody wants to talk to me about them, I'm available. I stand up for my work. "Vanity Fair" does not. Read the piece then file it where it belongs, in the garbage can.

That's "The Memo."

And we'll hear from a Bush supporter in a moment, but first, the top story tonight. Can learning disabilities like dyslexia be diagnosed by observation? Joining us now from Washington is J. Thomas Viall, the Executive Director of the International Dyslexia Association.

What did you think of the Bush piece in "Vanity Fair?"

J. THOMAS VIALL, INTERNATIONAL DYSLEXIA ASSOCIATION  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Well, I, too, am troubled by the notion of diagnosis via long distance and I think it's unwise to get into making those kinds of assertions when one hasn't had the opportunity to do a full evaluation of any individual.

O'REILLY: Should Governor Bush be angry, insulted? How should he react to this?

VIALL: Well, from our perspective, please understand that dyslexia isn't necessarily a bad thing. We believe that many dyslexics can, or individuals with dyslexia have many talents and can be very competent and capable, intelligent folks. So I can't speak, obviously, for the Bush campaign.

But from our perspective, being an individual with dyslexia isn't the

O'REILLY: No. It has nothing to do with intelligence. It just has to do with basic words.



VIAL: True.

O'REILLY: And you can be a genius and be dyslexic and I think all Americans should understand that. But Ms. Sheehy tries to stigmatize and "Vanity Fair" magazine, which I know had a huge hand in editing this article, they're trying to stigmatize Governor Bush as being someone who isn't intellectual enough to be president. That's what I took away from this article. Did you take away the same thing?

VIAL: To me what's troubling, regardless of what my personal opinion is of Governor Bush or Vice President Gore, the troubling issue is that I perceive the issue of talking about dyslexia as a slam and I'd rather see it being addressed as a legitimate disability in which people can overcome.

O'REILLY: Right. I have to say I agree with you 100 percent. I think this was so far out of journalistic bounds, so vile in its intent, in its intent. Its intent wasn't to diminish anybody with dyslexia in the country. They weren't disrespectful to Americans who had dyslexia. But its intent was to cast doubts upon the abilities of Governor Bush to serve as president. And it was done, as you said, you are the biggest expert interest country here, you can't make a diagnosis by observation. You must come in, have a medical exam, go through many, many battery of tests, correct?

VIAL: Well, it's very important for folks to understand that and especially now I'm talking about dealing with, in most cases, children, what you'll want to do, basic I.Q. test. You'll want to do some testing for chronological awareness. You'll want to do reading comprehension tests.

O'REILLY: But it's a complicated, long...

VIAL: Absolutely. Absolutely.

O'REILLY: ... drawn out situation.



VIAL: Absolutely.

O'REILLY: And Neil Bush, Governor Bush's brother, is dyslexic. It does, and then "Vanity Fair" makes a big point out of that. But just because you have a sibling who's dyslexic, doesn't mean you are, correct?

VIAL: Well, we do know that dyslexia does run in families. It is heritable. I think you alluded to the point earlier, though, you can't take circumstantial evidence, pieces of information from here and there and put them together in a manner that...

O'REILLY: And come to a conclusion.

VIAL: Precisely.

O'REILLY: Now they couch it with could be, might be, but this article is very irresponsible journalistically, I believe, and not an honest portrayal.

Mr. Vial, we appreciate your good work and we want to again tell everyone that dyslexia affects five percent of American children and it has nothing to do with intelligence and anybody with it can be, you know, one of the most, they can be very productive in our society and we thank you very much.

VIAL: A lot of competent folks. Thank you.

O'REILLY: OK.

And when we come back, we'll talk to a Bush supporter, just to be fair, with reaction to this article.

(...)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

O'REILLY: Continuing now with "Vanity Fair" magazine's attack on George W. Bush, joining us from Washington is Republican strategist Rich Galen, who is the Vice President of the National Affairs



Speakout.com. I want to tell the audience before we start our discussion, Mr. Galen, that if "Vanity Fair" had done a piece on Al Gore or even President Clinton or anyone, I would have been the same kind of outrage to my talking points memo and to my opinion about this because this is far and away a piece that doesn't really do anyone any service. It's not based on solid reporting. It's based on a thesis that they had, they pulled out of the air, with no medical exam or anything like that.

Now, let's get into the political arena. The Bush campaign kind of mad at us, we heard, that we're even covering this, but I think it's a legitimate story. Am I wrong?

RICH GALEN, SPEAKOUT.COM VICE PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, REPUBLICAN STRATEGIST: No, it is a legitimate story. I think in the wider context in which you've put it especially, as we move into the last couple of months of a presidential campaign. The Gore campaign has at its base strategy this proposition -- George Bush is not intellectually or emotionally capable of being President of the United States.

If they can make that case to the American people, then Al Gore can win.

O'REILLY: OK, we might...

GALEN: Absent that, they can't.

O'REILLY: ... I want to stop you right now. We have no evidence that the Gore campaign had anything to do with this "Vanity Fair" article. We do know that the editor of "Vanity Fair," Graydon Carter (ph), and a lot of the "Vanity Fair" staffers are very close to the Democratic Party and traditionally that magazine has been a liberal magazine. But we can't make any linkage that they are in a, you know, there's a deal going on.

However...

GALEN: No, no, I wasn't saying that. I was putting it in a wider



strategy.

O'REILLY: No, I know, I just want to make it clear to everybody. Right.

GALEN: Yeah.

O'REILLY: But you're right. I mean the strategy is to diminish the Governor's intellectual capabilities in front of the American public and they'll say gee, you know, this guy is a lightweight. I really don't trust him. I'm going to have to go with Gore.

GALEN: Right. That's what they want to do. So these kinds of things, I mean it's not so much that Gail Sheehy wrote this, which is ugly enough, but the fact that it will be picked up and it will be reported and reported and reported actually does help in terms of what the Gore campaign wants to do. So they will at least gently nudge these kinds of stories along.

O'REILLY: Yeah, and it puts the Governor on the defensive.

GALEN: And you can understand why the Bush campaign would want...

O'REILLY: It puts him on the defensive. He has to answer questions about it. Now, I sat down with the Governor face to face for 30 minutes. He didn't fumble his words. He, you know, I don't know, I'm not a medical doctor, but he seemed like a perfectly normal human being to me and I asked him some tough questions and he gave me articulate answers.

That being said, the Governor is not quick on his feet or hasn't been verbally throughout this campaign and the Republican primaries. He, you know, some people are glib, I am, but some people aren't and it's just a talent you're born with. I've got Blarney. I can blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, like this. But some people are a little bit more measured in



their speech. And I think that's what we're seeing. And we saw it with his father, President Bush, was not, you know, Jack Kennedy out there.

But that doesn't mean they're not smart. And that's what I resent, that kind of stuff.

GALEN: Well, you know, interestingly, Bill, at the Republican National Convention the reporters that followed Bush around thought Bush did very, very well in his acceptance speech because they see him every day and that was, he is not a great public speaker. Actually, none of these four guys are great public speakers. But he's not a great public speaker. And so the press corps that followed him thought that he did very well based upon what they know about where he generally is.

O'REILLY: Well, I think...

GALEN: And it was reporters that don't follow him every day didn't think he did very well because they weren't too accustomed...

O'REILLY: I thought the speech was fine. It was very effective. And the American people, he bumped up.

GALEN: Sure.

O'REILLY: But that was a speech. He was reading it off the TelePrompTer. But when the Governor is relaxed in a setting where he's not, you know, he can be himself, and he is kind of a little wise, you know, he's a little wise guy. He gets a -- but there's nothing wrong with that. He's got a good sense of humor and he sees the irony of the situation in life and a lot of people are like that. There's nothing wrong with that.

GALEN: OK, you and I have made whole careers out of this.

O'REILLY: Yeah. And it's absolutely true. Oh, some people don't like me and that's their right. But I'm saying this, I think this "Vanity Fair" piece was a vile piece of journalism, it was unfair and that people should



rise up against this kind of thing. And that Bush himself could just hold this up and say you see this? You see this kind of stuff? This is wrong. And use it to your advantage. I'm not telling you what to do, but that's what I would do if I were in his position.

GALEN: Well, one of the things that makes America so great is that elected even once, much less twice, much less Governor of California if the American public believed everything and only what they saw in the written press. So Americans are pretty good at being able to read through that, see through that and to come to the conclusions that a lot of us have come to.

O'REILLY: Yeah, most Americans are fair, are fair.

GALEN: Right.

O'REILLY: But this is going to be a nasty campaign, Mr. Galen.

GALEN: It is.

O'REILLY: I've said it, I said it. It's going to get really, really nasty on both sides, I think. And we appreciate your time very much. Thanks for coming on.

GALEN: My pleasure. Thanks for having me.



## **Personality and Character - Gore**

San Francisco Chronicle

January 28, 2000; Page A4

### **Bush, Bradley Agree on Target – Gore. They Challenge Him on Honesty, Ties to Clinton** (Excerpts)

By CARLA MARINUCCI

Nashua, N.H. -- Playing catch-up in close races, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Bradley and GOP contender George W. Bush found common ground yesterday -- taking jabs at Vice President Al Gore.

Former New Jersey Sen. Bradley, interviewed on a local television station, said, "I'm no longer going to accept misrepresentations of my record by Al Gore. . . . If somebody doesn't tell the truth in a campaign, how can we be sure he'll do it as president?"

Bush also put Gore in the bull's-eye, predicting "a litany of spending, spending, spending" proposals by the Clinton-Gore administration in last night's State of the Union address.

"I don't think (Gore) can figure out how to handle his relationship with the president," the Texas governor said. "He distances (himself), he doesn't distance. . . . It's going to send a confusing signal to the voters." With five days to go before New Hampshire's "first in the nation" primary, both Republican and Democratic candidates are pounding the pavement in the Granite State, cutting each other up in a last-ditch drive to make their case to voters.



USA Today

January 31, 2000; Page 6A

**Character Counts in Days Before Primary. Bradley Raps Gore on His Honesty, '96 Fundraising** (Excerpts)

By RICHARD BENEDETTO

CONCORD, N.H. -- The increasingly bitter fight in the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary has in its final hours become a tussle over candidate character.

Former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley is stepping up his attacks on Vice President Gore, questioning his honesty in an attempt to transform what once looked like a blowout for Gore into a fight to the finish. Most polls show Gore ahead.

(...)

Gore roared into New Hampshire last week with a strong lead after his decisive victory in the Iowa caucuses. Emphasizing his role in the booming economy, Gore is hoping for a win to knock Bradley out of the race. But Gore's lead has narrowed as Bradley battled back, charging that the vice president is distorting his record with untruths.

"If he can't be trusted to tell you the truth in a campaign, how can you trust him to tell you the truth as president?" a fired-up Bradley asked an enthusiastic crowd of 700 that jammed the Franklin Pierce Law Center here Sunday.

He repeated the line to applause and cheers in stops at Dover and Exeter later in the day. One audience member in Concord, Laconia homemaker Marie Landroche, 50, traveled 50 miles to hear Bradley speak. "It all comes down to honesty," she said. "We want the truth from our politicians."



Bradley's honest-guy pitch appealed to Howard Moffett, 56, a lawyer from Canterbury who was embarrassed by the scandals of the Clinton administration.

"I am turned off by Clinton's behavior in the White House and Gore's apparent willingness to identify himself with Clinton," Moffett said as he carried a Bradley sign from the rally.

(...)

Bradley showed no sign of letting up and hammered Gore on his role in the Democratic fundraising scandal in 1996. He

demanded to know more about Gore's 1996 fund-raising trip to a Buddhist temple near Los Angeles. Bradley said the fundraising scandal "was a disgrace."

"Unless that explanation is forthcoming, then the public will reject a candidacy that fails to come to terms with this circumstance in our Democratic Party in 1996," he said.

Gore, who has admitted mistakes in his fundraising practices, attacked Bradley's remarks.

"In the closing days of the New Hampshire primary, senator Bradley has suddenly changed. Instead of the promised character, courage and commitment, we have manipulative attack after manipulative attack," Gore said.



Daily News (New York)

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**Why Al Gore is Smiling. Republicans Are Trying to Place Scandal  
Politics Yet Again** (Excerpts)

By LARS-ERIK NELSON

WASHINGTON -- VICE PRESIDENT GORE sounds suspiciously pleased about his most recent scandal, an investigation into missing White House E-mails.

As congressional Republicans leveled sinister accusations about yet another White House coverup, Gore said cheerily, "I hope they spend a lot of time and a lot of energy on this."

The Republicans suspect - but do not know - that the E-mails may contain critical evidence about the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Gore's campaign fund-raising or some new Clinton-Gore misdeed.

This should mean trouble. Gore's biggest handicap as he runs for President is Clinton fatigue, the national weariness with the President's many scandals, real and imagined, from Whitewater to the FBI files in the White House basement.

The avowed GOP strategy is to tie Gore to President Clinton at every opportunity. "The American people are tired of scandals and investigations," says Ari Fleischer, spokesman for Texas Gov. George W. Bush. "The best way to make them go away is to elect someone different."

So why is Gore smiling at these latest charges?

He is no dummy. First, he is confident that the files were lost because of a misprogrammed computer. "Anybody who thinks this is something more than a glitch doesn't know the computers involved," he told me over the phone.



Second, one of Gore's major assets is a mirror image of his Clinton-fatigue problem: scandal-fatigue. The public is also fed up with the endless partisan accusations and congressional investigations, with the independent counsels and self-appointed watchdogs that have badgered Clinton and Gore since 1992.

"The steady drumbeat of this stuff just takes the sting out of it," says pollster Andrew Kohut. "People turn a deaf ear. They say, 'There go the Republicans again.' There's a real prospect of a backlash."

Best evidence: Trying to drive home the message that Clinton is a crook, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich decided to run anti-Clinton ads just before the fall congressional elections in 1988.

It seemed like a bright idea at the time. Clinton had just confessed to his affair with Lewinsky and was heading toward impeachment. Gingrich couldn't resist twisting the knife.

"It was the dumbest single thing I've ever seen in politics," Republican pollster and campaign consultant Frank Luntz says of those anti-Clinton ads.

In the backlash that resulted, the Republicans lost five House seats, and Gingrich resigned from his post as second in line to the presidency and leader of the Republican conservative revolution.

And now, as Kohut says, here they go again. As we move into the presidential campaign, Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) wants yet another special prosecutor, this time to investigate the White House for obstructing justice by concealing the missing E-mails. And Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) is demanding that Gore open himself up to yet another investigation of his Buddhist temple fund-raising in 1996.

(...)

Instead of making a case for their own programs, Republicans are



trying to play scandal politics yet again. It didn't work for them against Clinton in 1992 or 1996, or in the House elections of 1998, either.

Maybe they can't help themselves. As Fleischer says, the way to make these scandals go away is to elect someone different. The risk for the Republicans is that up to now, the public has been voting against the inquisitors, not their victims. That's why Gore smiles.



New York Times

August 6, 2000; Page 18

**The Image. Friends Find News Media Ignoring a Funny, Charming  
Guy Named Al**

By MELINDA HENNEBERGER

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. -- After "hello" and what he said to the waitress: Was somebody going to take his hat or was he going to have to throw it on the floor? -- the first words out of Tommy Lee Jones were, "I'll answer any decent question that you have." As though he might have to take his hat back on short notice.

Mr. Jones had agreed to meet over lunch at the San Ysidro Ranch to talk about his Harvard classmate Al Gore. But like so many of Mr. Gore's intimates, Mr. Jones arrived aggrieved. And before coughing up any stories from the old days, he had some venting to do.

Even such a wobbly softball question as, "So, you guys have stayed in touch?" got this response: "We get together when we're in the same city. Just like real people." Asked what Mr. Gore had been like at Harvard, Mr. Jones said: "Funny, a real pleasure to be around. He still is." Mr. Jones cursed "this stiffness thing" and said that reporters who attributed cynical motives to his friend "are busy writing about themselves."

Not every friend of Mr. Gore's, of course, has been through the years of "Hard Copy" and paparazzi that Mr. Jones has endured as an A-list movie star. But virtually all are similarly steamed over the coverage of his presidential campaign, and just as frustrated that the public perception of him seems distorted as a result.

"You don't want to talk about this?" Mr. Jones said, nuking an



Political Communication Lab., Stanford University

attempt to steer the conversation back to Harvard. Clearly, he and others do. In fact, their complaints have become Topic A in interviews with Mr. Gore's old friends, an assortment of mainly nonfamous and nonpolitical types he met in school, the Army and back in Tennessee.

They do not recognize their Al Gore in the stories they read. Almost invariably, they want to know why a man they know to be decent, thoughtful and funny -- they always say funny -- is so often drawn as not even quite human.

Yet they have answers, too. And beyond their irritation at what they see as a hostile press corps -- described in a recent article in *The New Yorker* as "palpably seething" over their lack of access to him -- these friends are probably better equipped than anyone to see Mr. Gore's own role in the way he is portrayed.

Often, they point to his sensitivity and essential shyness. "Behind closed doors he takes a lot of that stuff personal, takes it harder than he can show," and then further withdraws, said Steve Armistead, Mr. Gore's closest childhood friend, who runs the roads department in Wilson County, Tenn. "He does not show his human side that well."

But Mr. Gore's friends also suggest that there is an element of willfulness, even a certain defiance, born of an enduring ambivalence over the whole business of politics, in his unevenness on the stump. To hear them tell it, he can and does decide when to turn on the charm.

Several of his friends used almost the same words, "You've probably never seen him be funny." Yet when contradicted, they countered that a reporter could not possibly have seen him be really funny -- "fall-off-your-chair funny" as one of them put it. Fall-off-your-chair funny, they said, is reserved for those he trusts completely.

In other words, Mr. Gore's charm is not only a gift he can bestow or



withhold at will, but a compliment to the person who is being charmed. Put another way, those charmed by George W. Bush feel good about the encounter, but are not likely to feel it was their own special warmth or trustworthiness that made the connection possible. Whereas with Mr. Gore, friends and acquaintances typically do feel that his charm reflects well on them, and that it is to their credit to have drawn him out.

When that happens, "he'll let you into his soul," said Donna Armistead, Mr. Armistead's sister and a nurse living outside Nashville, who was Mr. Gore's first girlfriend. She, for one, says reporters are not solely to blame for Mr. Gore's image problems. "He's not being himself," she said. "He's going to have to take a deep breath and say, 'Look, this is me, and maybe I'm not an alpha male all the time.' He's such a human person," she said, and should not be afraid to show it.

Friendly acquaintances like Mike Roche, who knew Mr. Gore in the Army and now does marketing for Sears in Chicago, are more apt than his closest friends to see any distortion in the way he comes across as a function of the fact that the camera just does not seem to like Mr. Gore as much as they do. "I couldn't believe how stiff and phony he looked on television," Mr. Roche said. "I never saw a phony second out of the guy."

But his friends are convinced, too, that Mr. Gore is still getting more than his fair share of bad press, a perception backed up by a recent study by the Pew Research Center and Project for Excellence in Journalism. Their analysis of news coverage from February through June showed that most stories about Mr. Gore -- 76 percent -- focused on two negative themes: that he is tainted by scandal and that he exaggerates. In contrast, the largest share of the Bush coverage -- 40 percent -- reflected Mr. Bush's own message that he is a different kind of politician.

Mr. Gore's closest friend, Frank Hunger, a lawyer from Mississippi



who was married to Mr. Gore's sister Nancy, began an interview with a tour of the Gore family photos on the wall in his Washington office: "See, there he is in earth tones" years before he was accused of being a slave to fashion consultants, he said.

"I get terribly upset that he's been mischaracterized by people in the media world," Mr. Hunger went on. "It sounds defensive to say he is funny, he is honest, but I get upset when I see some of these articles and some of these snide comments. I traveled with him in '92 and it was great and there was not one single story about stiff and awkward. What the hell happened?"

In fact, until the Clinton-Gore administration's second term, Mr. Gore, who is himself a former reporter, had received overwhelmingly favorable notices, including a series of puff pieces about "Gore chic" in the months leading up to his 1988 presidential run.

But now, Bob Somerby, a stand-up comic who roomed with Mr. Gore at Harvard, is so offended, so consumed, by what he sees as the unfairly harsh tone of the current coverage that he devotes a good bit of his time to rebutting Gore stories in a Web review he calls *The Daily Howler*.

"It's sort of sad because the spin has overtaken reality," he said in an interview. "The basic images I always challenge are the stuck-up kid from the hotel, the kid who's not from Tennessee, and the kid who's always trying to do everything right," he said. "I don't think anyone should vote for him because he did farm chores, but he did do them. It's gotten to the point where when I see him now it's 'Oh, that is the guy I used to know.' When you hear something 100 times you sort of think it's true."

Lately, a number of Mr. Gore's friends have stopped talking to reporters altogether, which may have only compounded the problem, and contributed to their sense that the Al Gore they read about is nothing



like the guy they know.

Mr. Gore's childhood friend Gordon Thompson, a part-time farmer who works in a tire factory and has visited the vice president in Washington, said he, too, has just about given up on telling about their summers on the farm. Those stories do not fit the stereotype, he said, and almost never make the papers. Now he has caller ID, and screens for area codes like Washington's 202 that are overrun with reporters.

When Mr. Gore's friends do talk, though, they frequently mention what a loyal guy he is. Edward Blair, an old running buddy in Tennessee, where he now is a United States marshal, remembers trying to talk Mr. Gore out of visiting someone they had known as kids who was in jail on a manslaughter charge. It was 1988 and he was running for president at the time. "I said, 'How is this going to look?' But he said, 'If you were in jail, wouldn't you want me to visit you?' "

Yet they also leave the distinct impression that Mr. Gore does not share his emotions easily outside the Gore family circle.

Even on the subject of how he really feels about the coverage. Sometimes, he jokes about it. Other times, he intellectualizes it, referring in a recent interview to "the hostile takeover of journalism by deconstructionism. I'm not complaining about it, but the easy assumption that inner motive is obvious from context is often just plain wrong."

When asked about his friends' near-unanimous reaction to the way he is coming across, he smiled -- and quoted a lyric from a song by The Band, "I don't have to speak, 'cause she defends me."

Then he said this: "My friends are extremely loyal and I treasure them more than I can say. I appreciate the fact that they get their dander up. But we don't talk about it."



Daily News (New York)

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## **Gore's Toughest Job: Cleaning Up His Image**

By LARS-ERIK NELSON

LOS ANGELES - A couple of top Democratic strategists have figured out Vice President Gore's political problem: The public doesn't really know him.

Once we realize Gore's true record and position on education, health care and Social Security, says pollster Stan Greenberg, Americans will rally to him.

As soon as he steps out from President Clinton's shadow, says former Clinton adviser James Carville, Gore will be able to present himself anew, as his own man, a formidable candidate and a great campaigner.

"It's hard for a vice president," Carville said yesterday. "Everything's a damn minefield."

But Gore's problem isn't simply that he is dwarfed by Clinton, who last night gave him a tough political act to follow. Gore's problem is Gore.

For one thing, the public does indeed know him. It may be a distorted image, but after eight years he has a well-defined public persona that has become an instant punch line on late-night talk shows.

He is the teacher's pet, the class apple-polisher who got caught grubbing money from Buddhist nuns and tried to talk his way out of it. He is the policy wonk who may know a lot of arcane issues but then undermines himself by exaggerating his achievements.



One moment he sounds like a kindergarten teacher explaining to us that we mustn't run with scissors. It is dangerous. We could put out an eye that way.

The next moment, before an audience of farmers, this Harvard man suddenly rediscovers a country accent worthy of "Hee Haw." Then, before a black audience, he becomes a charismatic preacher.

Behind this clumsiness, there is indeed an outstanding resume. Gore has studied, mastered, written legislation on and successfully debated the intricacies of health care, arms control, tax policy, the environment, the Internet, global trade, the structure of government and defense.

He is one of the best-qualified candidates for President in history - and it doesn't seem to be helping him. Greenberg has him trailing Texas Gov. George W. Bush by 9 percentage points.

"He's not an instinctive, natural politician," Greenberg said yesterday. "He's not glib. I have no doubt that he will be heard on the issues, but it won't be as easy as it would be with a glib politician."

Carville has even worked out a riff that he offers to Gore as a way of reintroducing himself to America. It goes roughly like this:

"Gov. Bush and I grew up in very similar circumstances, in prosperous families with political fathers. We went to the best schools and we married wonderful wives. But from this we took two different approaches to the country's problems. It started at the age of 21, when I thought I was obligated to serve in Vietnam. Bush took another route."

BUT IT IS EASY to attack Bush. The hard part is convincing America that after his eight years at the top of government, it doesn't really know Gore, that its image of him is false and incomplete, and that he is a better, wiser, more relaxed and less calculating politician than he



appears to be.

Gore now has three months to undo eight years of false impressions, stock jokes and conventional wisdom. That's a tough hill to climb.



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