

background, and emotional experience are far greater between human beings than the gender differences between men and women. Of course there are differences, few would deny it—but they are less important than other differences. And yet the most important dividing line society makes is usually between boys and girls, men and women.

The real difference comes in women's and men's lives and expectations. Despite the social changes of the past quarter century, most women still expect to be largely responsible for the upbringing of their children. Few men do. If women don't care enough for their children, they know their children risk neglect. If men don't care enough, they know their wives will. That is the only important difference and it affects every aspect of all our lives from earliest social

awareness. How much or how little chromosomes fit into this pattern pales into insignificance beside this near-universal fact.

So Mrs. Thatcher, and tough women like her, pretend they have escaped the trap—but they haven't. They've done it at their children's expense, and at their own, in ways men never have to. Either you have no children, and you lose out on an essential aspect of human life. Or you have children, and they lose out. Successful Mrs. Thatchers who make it on men's terms change little for most women. It is all image and no content. Ostensible barriers may have fallen, but the real tactical barriers are as high as ever.

Mrs. Thatcher as an icon for women is a confusing image. So near and yet so far. She has made it look so easy. And yet so little has changed. □

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY Journalism Award

for February 1988 is presented to

Fred Barnes
The New Republic

Rep. John. P. Hiler of Indiana entered Congress in 1981 wanting to change the world. But like most congressmen, Barnes reports, Hiler was "soon transformed into a drudge, a workaholic with little time for what he calls 'macro issues,' and an obsession with the parochial interests of his district." Barnes details how tasks like raising campaign funds, answering constituent mail, and lobbying for local interests consume Hiler's schedule. It's a mind-numbing and often demeaning job.

Alix M. Freedman
The Wall Street Journal

"Gimme one bird," mumbles a grizzled Bowery wino. The clerk in the discount liquor store needs no further explanation. It's Thunderbird the man craves, Gallo's low-cost, high-alcohol wine. The makers of these skid-row wines deal in a \$500 million misery market, one growing faster than the industry norm. But Freedman reports that Gallo, Mogen David, and other producers are so reluctant to be associated with these lucrative products they won't put their names on the label.

Myron Levin
APF Reporter

In the 1950s, Kent cigarettes boasted "the greatest health protection in cigarette history." How? With "micronite" filters, made from asbestos. The health effects on the smokers who puffed 13 billion Kents from 1952 to 1957, when the filters were in use, haven't been established. But Levin found that an unusually high proportion of the workers who manufactured the filter have suffered from asbestos-related deaths. One study of 36 such workers found 29 dead, more than half of them from asbestos-related diseases.

The Monthly Journalism Award is presented each month to the best newspaper, magazine, television, or radio story (or series of stories) on our political system. Nominations for any newspaper, magazine, or radio or television station in the country are welcome. The subject can be government in its federal, state, or municipal manifestation.

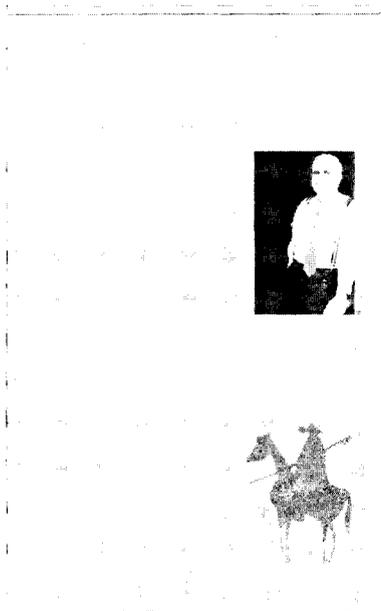
The award for stories published or aired in March will be announced in the June issue. Nominations for stories published or aired in April will close May 15. The winner will be announced in the July/August issue. Two copies of the article or broadcast text should accompany the nomination.

ANNOUNCING THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES PETERS

“A gem of a book.”
—Ken Auletta

“A magnificent book.”
—Tom Peters

Tilting at Windmills is the life story of the man Russell Baker says is “a great editor in an age that’s not producing great editors” and *Esquire* calls “the godfather of neoliberalism.” Peters describes growing up in West Virginia during the depression, his years of discovery at Columbia in the company of friends like Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac, campaigning with John and Robert Kennedy in 1960, traveling around the world with the Peace Corps, and founding and guiding *The Washington Monthly*, an adventure whose cast of characters includes Jay Rockefeller, Katharine Graham, Warren Buffett, Michael Kinsley, and James Fallows.



“*Tilting at Windmills* is a classy book, written with warmth, passion, and elegance. It accomplishes what only the best biographies are able to do: in the telling of a particular life it provides a larger window onto an extraordinary strand in the life of our country.”

—Doris Kearns Goodwin

“Charlie Peters is a pivotal figure in American journalism, an editor who has transformed the way the press covers government, a mentor who has spawned a whole generation of discerning proteges. His autobiography is as shrewd, thoughtful and humane as he is, testing the unexamined assumptions of American liberalism while reasserting the liberal’s commitment to liberty, justice, and empathy for the afflicted.”

—J. Anthony Lukas

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WHO'S WHO

With **Jesse Jackson** and **Michael Dukakis** in almost a dead heat at the beginning of last month, Democratic Washington was busy speculating on the nominees that might emerge from a brokered convention. (See "Tilting at Windmills.") If the choice were left to Democrats in the Senate, it is clear that the race would come down to three men: **Bill Bradley**, **Sam Nunn**, and a third senator, who, although urged to run in both 1984 and 1988, refused because of concern about the problems that might arise when the news of his long-term mistress inevitably emerged. Since the senator is a wise and able man who many think would make an excellent president, one veteran observer we know points to this as a case where the media's fascination with the sex lives of political leaders has done more harm than good.

Nunn is not running, his friends say, because the position he has attained in the Senate has given him all the power he wants. There are two explanations for Bradley's failure to make himself available. The cynical one is that he thinks a depression is coming and he doesn't want to be Herbert Hoover. The other, which we find more credible, is that he doesn't think he's ready. In either case, our veteran observer thinks Bradley may be making a mistake:

"Golden boys like Bradley and **Pete Dawkins** get so many job offers in their twenties and thirties they get to thinking that life is always going to let them choose what they want to do and when they want to do it, but the cruel fact is that the closer the golden boy gets to the top the less it is likely that the openings are going to conveniently coincide with his own timetable. With the presidency, the opening comes only every four years and those willing to support you now may have another favorite the next time around." . . .

For all the conversation sparked by **Larry Speakes's** new book, *Speaking Out*, its most telling anecdotes have received no attention. **Robert "Bud" McFarlane** is described as the "best" of **Reagan's** first four National Security Council directors—who also included **Richard Allen**, **William Clark**, and **John Poindexter**—"but Bud was certainly no superstar." Speakes attributes the mediocrity of the NSC to the fact "the president and his top aides—**Jim Baker**, **Ed Meese**, **Mike Deaver**, and **Don Regan** had such low regard for the position of NSC director that they paid little attention to those who held the post."

The quality of NSC subordinates reflected that of their superiors. Speakes tells of a call from **Karna Small**, who worked very closely under McFarlane, before the inauguration, inquiring as to whether the event would take place "at the White House or the Capitol."

Even White House alumni such as **Richard Darman** and **David Gergen**, who previously had had few gloves laid on them by critics, do not escape Speakes's stiletto. Thus "while [**James**] **Brady** was lying at death's door in the hospital, Gergen went to Baker and suggested that he be given the title of press secretary in

place of Brady." Gergen, Speakes further alleges, was "extremely disorganized" and "always trying to stab me in the back."

After Speakes told a reporter that Darman was "the ultimate second-guesser," Darman wrote this personal and confidential message to Speakes:

"It has been my experience that the wheel turns 'round and 'round in this town. Please be assured that the next time I am in a position to influence the prospects of your success, failure, or capacity to serve, I shall remember your thoughts."

Speakes could be similarly gracious to those he felt had been unkind to him: He liked to call attention to Gergen's resemblance to a giraffe:

"The podium in the briefing room is motorized so that you can adjust its height. Before Gergen would brief, **Mark Weinberg** of my staff would go out and drop the podium to its lowest height. Then Gergen would go in and tower over it like Ichabod Crane. He was never able to figure out why the podium struck him well below the waist." . . .

In—White House: Director of the Office of Cabinet Affairs—**Kay Woodward**; Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison—**Curt W. Anderson**. *Commerce:* Assistant Secretary for Export Enforcement—**G. Philip Hughes**; Undersecretary for Export Administration—**Paul Freedenberg**. *Defense:* Assistant Secretary for Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence, SDI Organization—**Dr. Gordon A. Smith**. *Justice:* Associate Attorney General—**Francis A. Keating**. *Labor:* Assistant Secretary for Mine Safety and Health—**David C. O'Neal**. *Transportation:* Assistant Secretary for Governmental Affairs—**Edward R. Hamburger**.

Out—White House: Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison—**Mildred J. Webber**. *Education:* Assistant Secretary, Postsecondary Education—**C. Ronald Kimberling**. *Health and Human Services:* Assistant Secretary for Legislation—**Ronald F. Docksai**. *Justice:* Deputy Attorney General—**Arnold I. Burns**; Associate Attorney General—**Stephen S. Trott**; Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division—**William F. Weld**; Associate Deputy Attorney General—**Randy L. Levine**; Associate Deputy Attorney General—**Boykin Rose**; *State:* Assistant Secretary and Coordinator for International Communication and Information Policy—**Diana Lady Dougan**.