In Politics and Sex, Some Cads Are Worse Than Others

Sexual congress, the link of love between a man and a woman, is often governed by the double standard. What's good for the goose ain't necessarily good for the gander.

The term "ladies' man" is not pejorative as is "promiscuous woman." The message is clear: Stud, good. Slut, bad.

Feminism, the pill and the sexual revolution changed some of the standards, liberating women to be more like men. But that has had a peculiar impact on society. Women, who traditionally had been perceived as the civilizing influence on men, discovered that the single standard really didn't serve them any better. In the battle of the sexes women were the larger losers as they watched a new generation of willing and unmarried sisters enter the field of battle bearing priceless gifts.

A puritanical attitude began to flourish in the public arena, with women insisting that men once again behave themselves. Date rape and harassment were the more dramatic accusations, but innocent flirting became a casualty, too.

No one was hurt more by the slogan "the personal is political" than men in the public eye, whose private lives were no longer private. Gary Hart was the first major public casualty to be labeled a womanizer, a married man who flaunted his lust for a variety of women while campaigning for the 1984 Democratic nomination for president.

Anita Hill branded Clarence Thomas a harasser, but in the first public opinion polls, women said — by a 2-1 margin — that they believed him, not her. She remained a heroine only among certain feminists.

Bob Packwood suffered the slings and arrows of outraged women who said he put the moves on them. He copped an early plea of guilty to "nerdism," which seems about right. No woman accuses him of threatening either her job or her body in pursuit of her favors.

The most curious and potentially damaging accusations were leveled at Bill Clinton, so far by three women, with supporting evidence from state troopers who guarded him when he was governor of Arkansas. Nary a feminist ripple of contempt has hit the front pages, although the accusations are considerably more serious than anything Anita Hill claimed her boss did to her — and with considerably more corroboration.

This new and different double standard is provocative and fascinating: Some cads are worse than other cads. Bill Clinton is excused, but Clarence Thomas and Bob Packwood are not.

> Lucky for Clinton that he was not elected as a role model or a moral authority. But the Republicans pretend he was.

Mickey Kaus, senior editor of the *New Republic* who believes "all the Clinton sex stories," offers reasons for the double standard. Clinton is "the best president we've had in a long time," he writes, and "that is the unspoken reason the sex charges haven't received as much play as you might expect. Reporters are patriots, too; it's their dirty little secret." Wow.

Are these the patriots who gleefully chronicled the unmarried John Tower's alleged womanizing, destroying his chance to be the secretary of defense in the Bush administration? Defenders and detractors of Tower debated whether, as a U.S. arms control negotiator in Geneva, he chased a secretary around a desk. (His defenders said the desk was hinged to the wall, evidence that such a chase was impossible.)

The *Washington Post* even reported the accusation of a retired Army sergeant that a highly inebriated Tower "fondled" a female flight crew member when touring a military base. The sergeant turned out to be a nut case who was not even assigned to the base at the time of the senator's visit. But the damage was done.

"At the end, though, there could not have been half a dozen people in the country capable of saying with any confidence whether these charges were true, much less what they showed about Tower's general character and temperament," writes Suzanne Garment in *Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics*. But the accusations were strong enough to deny him the confirmation.

When judging Bill Clinton's character and temperament, the public puts moral concerns on hold. In a recent *Time*-CNN Poll, he received high approval ratings, yet only 40 percent perceived him as trustworthy and 56 percent hadn't made up their minds.

Mary McGrory, a liberal columnist for the *Washington Post*, articulates how little we expect of a president in a technocratic age where character no longer counts. "Lucky for him," she writes, without irony, "he was not elected as a role model or a moral authority. But the Republicans, for the moment, are pretending he was, and they won't let go."

Kaus says that journalists don't want to cripple a president for lying, cheating and adulterous behavior if he can deliver an effective agenda. But why, if that is so, do character flaws continue to haunt him, effectively crippling him in other ways?

Deception is contagious. Trickle-down morality may be no better than trickle-down economics. Bernard Nussbaum explained that he was only doing his job when he impeded the investigation into Vincent Foster's suicide, took personal papers from his office and improperly tried to extract Whitewater facts from federal investigators.

Sen. Phil Gramm, the Texas Republican who has resolutely criticized the Clinton health care plan, sees an ethical change in the structure of the debate.

"I've noticed a new and dangerous phenomenon since Bill Clinton's been president. It's a tendency in political debate and discussion to state as fact what is verifiably false. I don't know whether people know better, or that it's just becoming a more accepted practice because of Clinton."

From double standards double-dealing grows.

By Suzanne Fields

1 2 3	Dist	
ALABAMA		
Y N Y	1	*Callahan*
N N Y	2	*Everett*
N N N	3	Browder
N N Y	4	Bevill
N N Y	5	Cramer
Y N Y	6	*Bachus*
N N N	7	Hilliard
ALASKA		
N N N	AL	*Young*
ARIZONA		
N N Y	1	Coppersmith
N N N	2	Pastor
N N Y	3	*Stump*
N N Y	4	*Kyl*
N N Y	5	*Kolbe*
N Y N	6	English
ARKANSAS		
N Y N	1	Lambert
N N N	2	Thornton
N N Y	3	*Hutchinson*
N N Y	4	*Dickey*
CALIFORNIA		
N Y N	1	Hamburg
N N Y	2	*Herger*
N N N	3	Fazio
N N Y	4	*Doolittle*
N N N	5	Matsui
N Y N	6	Woolsey
? ? N	7	Miller
? ? N	8	Pelosi
N Y N	9	Dellums
N N Y	10	*Baker*
N N Y	11	*Pombo*
N N N	12	Lantos
N Y N	13	Stark
N Y N	14	Eshoo
N N N	15	Mineta
? ? ?	16	Edwards
N Y N	17	Farr
Y N Y	18	Condit
N N N	19	Lehman
O ? N	20	Dooley
N N Y	21	*Thomas*
N N Y	22	*Huffington*
N N Y	23	*Gallegly*
N Y N	24	Bellenson
N N Y	25	*McKeon*
N Y N	26	Berman
Y N Y	27	*Moorhead*
Y N Y	28	*Dreier*
N Y N	29	Waxman
N Y N	30	Becerra
N N N	31	Martinez
N N N	32	Dixon
N Y N	33	Roybal-Allard
N N N	34	Torres
N Y N	35	Waters
N N Y	36	Harman
N N N	37	Tucker
N N Y	38	*Horn*
Y N Y	39	*Royce*
F ? Y	40	*Lewis*
N N Y	41	*Kim*
N N N	42	Brown
N N Y	43	*Calvert*
Y N Y	44	*McCandless*
Y N Y	45	*Rohrabacher*
Y N Y	46	*Dornan*
Y N Y	47	*Cox*
Y N Y	48	*Packard*
N N N	49	Schenk
N Y N	50	Filner
Y N Y	51	*Cunningham*
Y N Y	52	*Hunter*
COLORADO		
N Y N	1	Schroeder
N N N	2	Skaggs
N N Y	3	*McInnis*
N N Y	4	*Allard*
N N Y	5	*Hefley*
Y N Y	6	*Schaefer*

1 2 3	Dist	
CONNECTICUT		
N N N	1	Kennelly
N N N	2	Gejdenson
N N N	3	DeLauro
Y Y Y	4	*Shays*
N N Y	5	*Franks*
N N Y	6	*Johnson*
DELAWARE		
N N Y	AL	*Castle*
FLORIDA		
N N Y	1	Hutto
N N Y	2	Peterson
N N N	3	Brown
N N Y	4	*Fowler*
N N Y	5	Thurman
N N Y	6	*Stearns*
Y N Y	7	*Mica*
N N Y	8	*McCollum*
N N Y	9	*Bilirakis*
N N Y	10	*Young*
N N N	11	Gibbons
N N Y	12	*Canady*
Y N Y	13	*Miller*
Y N Y	14	*Goss*
N N N	15	Bacchus
N N Y	16	*Lewis*
N N N	17	Meek
N N N	18	*Ros-Lehtinen*
N Y N	19	Johnston
N N N	20	Deutsch
N N N	21	*Diaz-Balart*
O N Y	22	*Shaw*
? ? ?	23	Hastings
GEORGIA		
N N Y	1	*Kingston*
N N N	2	Bishop
Y N Y	3	*Collins*
N N Y	4	*Linder*
N Y N	5	Lewis
N N Y	6	*Gingrich*
N N N	7	Darden
N N Y	8	Rowland
Y N Y	9	Deal
Y N N	10	Johnson
N Y N	11	McKinney
HAWAII		
N Y N	1	Abercrombie
N Y N	2	Mink
IDAHO		
N N N	1	LaRocco
N N Y	2	*Crapo*
ILLINOIS		
N Y N	1	Rush
? ? ?	2	Reynolds
N N Y	3	Lipinski
? ? N	4	Gutierrez
N N N	5	Rostenkowski
N N Y	6	*Hyde*
? ? N	7	Collins
? ? ?	8	*Crane*
N Y N	9	Yates
Y N Y	10	*Porter*
N Y N	11	Sangmeister
N N Y	12	Costello
Y N Y	13	*Fawell*
N N Y	14	*Hastert*
N N Y	15	*Ewing*
N N Y	16	*Manzullo*
N Y N	17	Evans
N N Y	18	*Michel*
N Y Y	19	Poshard
N Y N	20	Durbin
INDIANA		
N N N	1	Visclosky
N N N	2	Sharp
N N N	3	Roemer
N N N	4	Long
N N Y	5	*Buyer*
Y N Y	6	*Burton*
N N Y	7	*Myers*
N N N	8	McCloskey
N N N	9	Hamilton
N Y N	10	Jacobs

1 2 3	Dist	
IOWA		
N Y Y	1	*Leach*
N Y Y	2	*Nussle*
N N Y	3	*Lightfoot*
N N N	4	Smith
N N Y	5	*Grandy*
KANSAS		
N N Y	1	*Roberts*
N N N	2	Slattery
N N Y	3	*Meyers*
N N N	4	Glickman
KENTUCKY		
N N N	1	Barlow
? ? ?	2	Natcher
N N N	3	Mazzoli
N N Y	4	*Bunning*
N N Y	5	*Rogers*
N N N	6	Baesler
LOUISIANA		
N N Y	1	*Livingston*
N N N	2	Jefferson
Y N Y	3	Tauzin
N Y N	4	Fields
N N Y	5	*McCrery*
Y N Y	6	*Baker*
N N N	7	Hayes
MAINE		
N Y ?	1	Andrews
N N Y	2	*Snowe*
MARYLAND		
Y N Y	1	*Gilchrest*
N N Y	2	*Bentley*
N Y N	3	Cardin
N Y N	4	Wynn
N N N	5	Hoyer
Y N Y	6	*Bartlett*
N Y N	7	Mfume
N Y Y	8	*Morella*
MASSACHUSETTS		
N Y N	1	Olver
N Y N	2	Neal
N N Y	3	*Blute*
? Y N	4	Frank
N Y N	5	Meehan
N N Y	6	*Torkildsen*
N Y N	7	Markey
N Y N	8	Kennedy
N Y N	9	Moakley
N Y N	10	Studds
MICHIGAN		
N N N	1	Stupak
Y N Y	2	*Hoekstra*
N N Y	3	*Ehlers*
N N Y	4	*Camp*
Y N N	5	Barcia
Y Y Y	6	*Upton*
Y N Y	7	*Smith*
N N N	8	Carr
N Y N	9	Kildee
N N N	10	Bonior
Y N Y	11	*Knollenberg*
N N N	12	Levin
N Y N	13	Ford
N Y N	14	Conyers
N Y N	15	Collins
N N N	16	Dingell
MINNESOTA		
Y Y Y	1	Penny
Y Y Y	2	Minge
Y N Y	3	*Ramstad*
N Y N	4	Vento
N N N	5	Sabo
N N Y	6	*Grams*
N Y Y	7	Peterson
N Y N	8	Oberstar
MISSISSIPPI		
N N ?	1	Whitten
N N N	2	Thompson
N N N	3	Montgomery
N N Y	4	Parker
Y N Y	5	Taylor

1 2 3	Dist	
MISSOURI		
N N N	1	Clay
N N Y	2	*Talent*
N N N	3	Gephardt
N N Y	4	Skelton
N N N	5	Wheat
N Y N	6	Danner
Y N Y	7	*Hancock*
N N Y	8	*Emerson*
N N ?	9	Volkmer
MONTANA		
N N N	AL	Williams
NEBRASKA		
N N N	1	*Bereuter*
N N Y	2	Hoagland
N N Y	3	*Barrett*
NEVADA		
N N Y	1	Bilbray
N N Y	2	*Vucanovich*
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Y N Y	1	*Zeliff*
Y N N	2	Swett
NEW JERSEY		
N ? N	1	Andrews
N N N	2	Hughes
N N Y	3	*Saxton*
N N Y	4	*Smith*
N Y Y	5	*Roukema*
N N N	6	Pallone
Y N Y	7	*Franks*
N Y N	8	Klein
? ? N	9	Torricelli
N Y N	10	Payne
? ? ?	11	*Gallo*
Y Y Y	12	*Zimmer*
N N N	13	Menendez
NEW MEXICO		
N N Y	1	*Schiff*
N N Y	2	*Skeen*
N N N	3	Richardson
NEW YORK		
N N N	1	Hochbrueckner
N N Y	2	*Lazio*
N N Y	3	*King*
N N Y	4	*Levy*
N Y N	5	Ackerman
N Y N	6	Flake
N N N	7	Manton
N Y N	8	Nadler
N Y N	9	Schumer
N Y N	10	Towns
N Y N	11	Owens
N Y N	12	Velazquez
N N Y	13	*Molinari*
N Y N	14	Maloney
N Y N	15	Rangel
N Y N	16	Serrano
N Y N	17	Engel
N N N	18	Lowey
Y N Y	19	*Fish*
N N Y	20	*Gilman*
N N N	21	McNulty
Y N Y	22	*Solomon*
N N Y	23	*Boehlert*
N N Y	24	*McHugh*
N N Y	25	*Walsh*
N Y N	26	Hinchey
Y N Y	27	*Paxon*
N Y N	28	Slaughter
N Y N	29	LaFalce
N N Y	30	*Quinn*
N N Y	31	*Houghton*

1 2 3	Dist	
NORTH CAROLINA		
N Y N	1	Clayton
N N Y	2	Valentine
N N N	3	Lancaster
N N N	4	Price
N N N	5	Neal
Y N Y	6	*Coble*
N N N	7	Rose
N N N	8	Hefner
F ? Y	9	*McMillan*
Y N Y	10	*Ballenger*
N N Y	11	*Taylor*
N Y N	12	Watt
NORTH DAKOTA		
N N N	AL	Pomeroy
OHIO		
N N Y	1	Mann
Y N ?	2	*Portman*
N N N	3	Hall
N N Y	4	*Oxley*
N N Y	5	*Gillmor*
N N N	6	Strickland
N N Y	7	*Hobson*
N N Y	8	*Boehner*
N N N	9	Kaptur
Y Y Y	10	*Hoke*
N Y N	11	Stokes
N N Y	12	*Kasich*
N Y N	13	Brown
N N N	14	Sawyer
Y N Y	15	*Pryce*
N N Y	16	*Regula*
N N N	17	Traficant
N N N	18	Applegate
Y N N	19	Fingerhut
OKLAHOMA		
N N Y	1	*Inhofe*
N Y N	2	Synar
N N N	3	Brewster
N N N	4	McCurdy
Y N Y	5	*Istook*
● ● ●	6	Vacant
OREGON		
N Y N	1	Furse
N N Y	2	*Smith*
N Y N	3	Wyden
N Y N	4	DeFazio
? ? N	5	Kopetski
PENNSYLVANIA		
N Y N	1	Foglietta
N Y N	2	Blackwell
N N ?	3	Borski
N N N	4	Klink
N Y ?	5	*Clinger*
N N N	6	Holden
Y N Y	7	*Weldon*
Y N Y	8	*Greenwood*
N N Y	9	*Shuster*
N N Y	10	*McDade*
N N Y	11	Kanjorski
N N N	12	Murtha
Y Y N	13	Mezvinsky
N Y N	14	Coyne
N N N	15	McHale
N N Y	16	*Walker*
N N Y	17	*Gekas*
N N Y	18	*Santorum*
Y N Y	19	*Goodling*
Y N N	20	Murphy
N N Y	21	*Ridge*
RHODE ISLAND		
N N Y	1	*Machtley*
N N N	2	Reed
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Y N Y	1	*Ravenel*
N N Y	2	*Spence*
N N N	3	Derrick
N N Y	4	*Inglis*
N N N	5	Spratt
N N N	6	Clyburn
SOUTH DAKOTA		
N Y Y	AL	Johnson

1 2 3	Dist	
TENNESSEE		
Y N Y	1	*Quillen*
Y Y Y	2	*Duncan*
N N N	3	Lloyd
N N Y	4	Cooper
N N N	5	Clement
N Y N	6	Gordon
Y N ?	7	*Sundquist*
N N Y	8	Tanner
? ? N	9	Ford
TEXAS		
N N Y	1	Chapman
? N N	2	Wilson
N N Y	3	*Johnson*
N N N	4	Hall
N Y N	5	Bryant
Y N Y	6	*Barton*
N N Y	7	*Archer*
N N Y	8	*Fields*
? ? ?	9	Brooks
N N N	10	Pickle
N N N	11	Edwards
N N Y	12	Geren
N N N	13	Sarpalius
N N Y	14	Laughlin
N N ?	15	de la Garza
N N N	16	Coleman
Y N Y	17	Stenholm
? ? ?	18	Washington
N N Y	19	*Combest*
N Y N	20	Gonzalez
? N Y	21	*Smith*
Y N Y	22	*DeLay*
N N Y	23	*Bonilla*
N N N	24	Frost
? ? ?	25	Andrews
Y N Y	26	*Armey*
N N N	27	Ortiz
N N N	28	Tejeda
N N N	29	Green
N N N	30	Johnson
UTAH		
N N Y	1	*Hansen*
N Y N	2	Shepherd
Y N N	3	Orton
VERMONT		
N Y N	AL	*Sanders (I)*
VIRGINIA		
N N Y	1	*Bateman*
N N N	2	Pickett
N N N	3	Scott
N N N	4	Sisisky
Y N Y	5	Payne
Y N Y	6	*Goodlatte*
N N Y	7	*Bliley*
N N N	8	Moran
N N N	9	Boucher
N N Y	10	*Wolf*
N N N	11	Byrne
WASHINGTON		
N N N	1	Cantwell
N N N	2	Swift
N Y N	3	Unsoeld
Y Y N	4	Inslee
● ● ●	5	Foley
N N N	6	Dicks
N Y N	7	McDermott
N N Y	8	*Dunn*
Y N N	9	Kreidler
WEST VIRGINIA		
N N N	1	Mollohan
N N N	2	Wise
N Y N	3	Rahall
WISCONSIN		
N Y Y	1	Barca
N Y Y	2	*Klug*
N N Y	3	*Gunderson*
N Y N	4	Kleczka
N Y N	5	Barrett
Y Y Y	6	*Petri*
N N N	7	Obey
Y N Y	8	*Roth*
Y Y Y	9	*Sensenbrenner*
WYOMING		
N N Y	AL	*Thomas*